

Broadsheets

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 60

The Handpress World

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Broadsheets

Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print

Edited by

Andrew Pettegree



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Preface

Most edited collections that appear in the Library of the Written Word began life as papers delivered at a conference; this is an exception. For as long as we have been working collectively in St Andrews on the print history of early modern Europe we have devoted special attention to single-sheet printing. This is undoubtedly the least known part of the book world, though recent years have seen an encouraging growth of interest in cheap print or jobbing work. But in a context where many of the standard bibliographies exclude broadsheets, even establishing the corpus of surviving material is an enormous task.

With much of this work now accomplished, and with the recent extension of the coverage of the USTC into the seventeenth century (to 1650), the time seemed right to take stock of what we have learned. Most of those who have contributed to this volume are current or former staff or students of the USTC group in St Andrews. They have shared in the experience of discovering this material, folding out a single broadsheet from the pages of a collection of pamphlets, or unearthing a great cache of single-sheet material hidden away in a document file in a library or archive. But we are also delighted to welcome a number of other scholars who have made a signal contribution to the development of the field and have graciously offered a contribution to this collection. Two in particular deserve particular thanks: Falk Eisermann, director of the great ongoing survey of incunabula, the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW) and Roger Paas, creator of the magnificent survey of *The German Political Broadsheet, 1600–1700*, now after thirty years reaching its conclusion. Both have been firm supporters of our enterprise in St Andrews, and welcome visitors to our annual conferences. At a late stage we were also delighted to recruit a contribution from Violet Soen of the University of Louvain, writing here with her colleague Johan Verberckmoes. Professor Soen has created an impressive community of scholars working on aspects of early modern Netherlandish society, and this article is one of the fruits of increasingly close co-operation between her group and our community in St Andrews. I would also like to express our thanks to the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, which in 2013 hosted on our behalf a conference where many of the themes of this volume were ventilated and discussed.

As editor my principal debt is to the contributors, both for their dedication over many years to our collective enterprise, and for the contributions to this volume (not least, for their thoughtful comments on earlier drafts of my own introductory remarks). Jan Hillgärtner deserves particular thanks for taking charge of the index. As editor of both this volume and the early modern strand

of the series in which it appears, this also provides a welcome opportunity to express my thanks, echoed by my fellow authors, to our editor at Brill, Arjan van Dijk. Arjan has become a collaborator and friend as much as an editor, and his contribution to the development of this series at Brill has been formidable. At a time when the future of academic publishing is ever more uncertain, it is heartening to know that we can rely on people of this calibre within the industry to sustain ventures of this sort.

Andrew Pettegree

St Andrews

January 2017

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List of Abbreviations

EEBO	Early English Books Online, online: http://eebo.chadwyck.com
Edit6	ICCU – Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, <i>Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo</i> , online: http://edit6.iccu.sbn.it
ESTC	<i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> , online: http://estc.bl.uk
GW	<i>Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke</i> , online: http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de
HPB	<i>Heritage of The Printed Book in Europe</i> , online: http://www.cerl.org/resources/hpb/main
IGI	Centro nazionale d'informazioni bibliografiche, <i>Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia</i> (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1943–1981)
ISTC	<i>Incunabula Short Title Catalogue</i> , online: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc
Rep. Bib.	<i>Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle</i> (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1968–1980)
RICI	<i>Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice</i> , online: http://rici.vatlib.it
RISM	<i>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales</i> , online: https://opac.rism.info
SBN	Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale
STCN	<i>Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands</i> , online: https://www.kb.nl/en/organisation/research-expertise/for-libraries/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn
STCV	<i>Short Title Catalogue Flanders</i> , online: http://www.vlaamse-erfgoedbibliotheek.be/en/stcv
USTC	<i>Universal Short Title Catalogue</i> , online: http://www.ustc.ac.uk
VD16	<i>Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts</i> , online: http://www.vd16.de
VD17	<i>Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts</i> , online: http://www.vd17.de
VE15	<i>Falk Eisermann, Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation</i> (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004)

Notes on Contributors

Flavia Bruni

is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the University of Udine and a Honorary Research Fellow at the University of St Andrews. She has a Master in History of the Reformation from the Sapienza University of Rome, a Master in Early Printed Books from the University of Siena, a PhD from Bologna and the diploma from the Vatican Library School. She has worked for the bibliography of sixteenth-century Italian books Edit16, the Italian collective catalogue SBN, the project on broadsheets of the Inquisition of the Biblioteca Casanatense of Rome and the RIC1 on sixteenth-century booklists of Italian religious houses. She is responsible for the survey of seventeenth-century Italian editions for the Universal Short Title Catalogue and currently working on her second monograph on censorship in Counter-Reformation Italy.

Alba de la Cruz

is a Mellon Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the School of History at University College Dublin, and is part of the team preparing the next phase of *Iberian Books*. She is the author of a number of studies of the eighteenth-century Spanish press, including *Las prensas del Rey: Imprenta y política en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (1759–1808) (forthcoming), *Trabajar y vivir en la imprenta del siglo XVIII* (2016) and *El control de la imprenta en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII: ¿Beneficiados y víctimas, o quejas infundadas?* (2015). Her present research focuses on the publishing industries of Spain, Portugal and their associated territories over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in particular the role of women in the early-modern Spanish publishing industry.

Jamie Cumby

is a PhD student at the University of St Andrews, affiliated with the Universal Short Title Catalogue project. She received her BA from Wellesley College with honours in philosophy, and came to St Andrews for the MLitt in Book History. Her ongoing work explores the development of the publishing industry in Lyon before the Wars of Religion, with special attention to the *Compagnie des libraires*. She is also a contributor to the Material Evidence in Incunabula database.

Falk Eisermann

has been head of the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (Union Catalogue of Incunabula) at the Berlin State Library since 2007. After receiving his PhD in Mediaeval German Literature at Göttingen University (1995), he held post-doctoral positions at the Universities of Münster (Germany) and Groningen (The Netherlands), where he worked on a three-volume catalogue of fifteenth-century

broadsides (published in 2004). From 2002 to 2007 he catalogued German Mediaeval manuscripts at Leipzig University Library. He has published on the transmission of vernacular texts in the later Middle Ages, on manuscripts, incunabula and early printing, and on mediaeval and early modern epigraphy. In 2010 he was Harris German/Dartmouth Distinguished Visiting Professor at Dartmouth College.

Shanti Graheli

is Lord Kelvin Adam Smith Fellow in Comparative Literature and Translation at the University of Glasgow, where she is pursuing a project entitled 'A European Bestseller: The Orlando Furioso and Its Readers'. She is a long-term collaborator to the Universal Short Title Catalogue project at St Andrews. Her PhD thesis explored the circulation and collection of Italian printed books in France in the sixteenth century; it will be published by Brill, under the title *Italian Books and the French Renaissance*. She is also the author of various published studies of Italian and French Renaissance print culture, including 'Reading the history of the Academia Venetiana through its booklists' (2013), 'How to build a library across early-modern Europe. The network of Claude Expilly' (2016), 'Daniele Barbaro e la Repubblica delle Lettere' and 'Italian Books and French Medical Libraries in the Renaissance' (2017).

Alexandra Hill

graduated from the University of St Andrews with a degree in History in 2012. Having enjoyed writing her undergraduate dissertation on the Stationers' Company Register and printing in London, she stayed at St Andrews to complete a Masters in book history. She recently completed her PhD at St Andrews on the lost print revealed by an analysis of the Registers of the Stationers' Company London.

Jan Hillgaertner

is a PhD student at the University of St Andrews, a member of the Universal Short Title Catalogue Project and Assistant Editor for Book History Online. His work focusses on the spread of the newspaper in seventeenth century Germany and modes of reporting in the periodical press. He graduated from the University of Marburg with a BA in Germanic Studies and an MA from the University of Erlangen Nuremberg with an MA in Book Studies. He is currently working on a bibliography of German newspapers between 1605 and 1650.

Graeme Kemp

is the Project Manager of the Universal Short Title Catalogue at the University of St Andrews. He was awarded his PhD in 2013 for a study of Religious Controversy in the Sixteenth Century. Most recently he has explored the buying and

selling of early modern editions in contemporary booklists with publications pending on the subject. He is senior editor of *Book History Online*, published by Brill, and a consultant on Proquest's *Early European Book* project.

Richard Kirwan

is Lecturer in History at the University of Limerick. His research explores the social and cultural history of early modern universities with a focus on the German-speaking lands of the Holy Roman Empire. This incorporates an interest in academic print culture. His publications include the monograph, *Empowerment and Representation at the University in Early Modern Germany. Helmstedt and Würzburg, 1576–1634* (2009); an edited volume, *Scholarly Self-Fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University* (2013); and *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World* (2015) which he co-edited with Sophie Mullins.

Nina Lamal

is postdoctoral research assistant at the University of St Andrews. She obtained her PhD at University of Leuven and University of St Andrews in 2014. Her thesis is a study of the Italian news report, political debates as well as histories on the Revolt in the Low Countries (1566–1648). Her research focusses on early modern book and communication history as well as on the political and cultural ties between Italian states and the Low Countries. She is currently working on the first bibliography of Italian newspapers entitled *Late with the news. Italian engagement with serial news publications in the seventeenth century 1639–1700*, which will be published by Brill in 2018.

Saskia Limbach

studied German, English and History at the University of Cologne. She first came to St Andrews in 2009 as an exchange student and started working with the Universal Short Title Catalogue. One of her tasks was to identify medical publications within the overall book production in sixteenth-century Basel. This work finally led her to her dissertation topic on medical disputations printed on broadsheets. After finishing her degree in Cologne, Saskia began her PhD on government use of print in the Holy Roman Empire in St Andrews in 2012. She is also responsible for accumulating data on German broadsheets printed between 1500–1650 to enrich the corpus of the USTC.

John Roger Paas

is the William H. Laird Professor of German and the Liberal Arts, Emeritus of Carleton College, where he taught for 41 years. The main focus of his research is the production of German literature and popular prints during the early modern period. He has published extensively on the cultural scene in Nuremberg

in the middle of the seventeenth century, and his multivolume edition *The German political broadsheet 1600–1700* is the standard reference work on this topic in English.

Andrew Pettegree

is Professor of Modern History at the University of St Andrews, and Director of the Universal Short Title Catalogue. He is the author of a number of books on the Reformation and, more recently, the history of communication, including *Reformation and the Culture of Communication* (Cambridge, 2005), *The Book in the Renaissance* (2010) and *The Invention of News* (2014). In 2015 *The Invention of News* won the Goldsmith Prize of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. His latest book, *Brand Luther. 1517, Printing and the Making of the Reformation*, was published in 2015. He is now engaged on a study of the book culture of the Dutch Golden Age.

Amelie Roper

is Curator, Digital Music, at the British Library, and a doctoral student at the University of St Andrews, working on the culture of music printing in sixteenth-century Augsburg. She has published on the music output of Nuremberg printer Johannes Petreius, early modern song pamphlet production in Augsburg and training for library staff in the field of music reference sources. She is more broadly interested in the material culture of the book, and, in her previous role as College Librarian at Christ's College Cambridge, regularly oversaw the curation of exhibitions in the Old Library.

Violet Soen

is Professor Early Modern Religious History at KU Leuven, and Series Editor of *Habsburg Worlds* at Brepols Publishers. Her research interests include the history of religion and inquisition in the Spanish Habsburg Empire and its borderlands. She published a book on noble, royal and imperial attempts at mediation during the Dutch Revolt (Amsterdam University Press, 2012) and on the peculiarities of the sixteenth-century inquisition in the Habsburg Netherlands (Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Sciences and the Arts, 2007). She is now working on a book project on transregional noble networks between the Low Countries and France, while coordinating research projects in early modern transregional history.

Drew Thomas

is a PhD student in the School of History at the University of St Andrews. He has a Bachelor of Arts in Theology and Philosophy from Saint Louis University and a Master of Theological Studies from Harvard University. His PhD is

a study of the rise of the Wittenberg print industry during Martin Luther's Reformation. He first started working for the Universal Short Title Catalogue as an intern in 2012 and is currently the USTC Communications Coordinator. He is also the Digital Developer for the Network for the Study of Caroline Minuscule and a committee member for *Pubs & Publications*, the PhD blog for the University of Edinburgh.

Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo

is a Mellon Postdoctoral Research Fellow at University College Dublin and the Project Manager of *Iberian Books*. Her current research interests focus on Golden-Age Spanish theatre as well as the book trade in Spain and Portugal. She is co-editor, with Alexander S. Wilkinson, of *Iberian Books Volumes II & III/Libros Ibéricos Volúmenes II y III* (2015) and, with Fernando Rodríguez-Gallego, of *Un fondo desconocido de comedias españolas impresas conservado en la biblioteca pública de Évora (con estudio detallado de las de Calderón de la Barca)* (2016). She is currently working on a study of the involvement of women in the early-modern Iberian book world.

Johan Verberckmoes

is Professor of Early Modern Cultural History at KU Leuven. His research interests are the history of early modern humour, the history of early modern emotions in family life, and the history of intercultural contacts and imaginations of the Habsburg Netherlands as part of the worldwide Iberian monarchies. He has just published a book on eighteenth-century female letter-writing as a source of autonomy in the family lives of women of the nobility: *Broze levens, krachtige vrouwen. Zussen, moeders en tantes Goubau in de achttiende eeuw* (2017).

Malcolm Walsby

is a lecturer at the University of Rennes II and co-director of the Universal Short Title Catalogue project. He is the author of *The Counts of Laval. Culture, Patronage and Religion in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century France* (Ashgate, 2007) and *The Printed Book in Brittany (1484–1600)* (Brill, 2011). He has published a number of bibliographies, edited collections, and articles on the history of the book and is currently working on a monograph on the book trade in Renaissance France.

Abaigéal Warfield

is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions 1100–1800, at the University of Adelaide. She is currently working on the

construction of fear in early modern news. She completed her doctorate on the representation of the crime of witchcraft in non-periodical broadsheets and pamphlets in early modern Germany.

Arthur der Weduwen

is a researcher at the University of St Andrews and the author of *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century* (Brill, 2017). His PhD is a study of government attempts to cultivate public opinion in the seventeenth-century Low Countries. He is a long-term associate of the Universal Short Title Catalogue, having first worked for the St Andrews-based project as an intern during his undergraduate years in Exeter. He is now engaged (with Andrew Pettegree) on a study of the book culture of the Dutch Golden Age for Yale University Press.

Alexander S. Wilkinson

is a Senior Lecturer in History at University College Dublin and the Director of *Iberian Books*. He is responsible for a number of studies of European print culture, including *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion* (2004), *Iberian Books: 1472–1601* (2010) and *Iberian Books 1601–1650* (2 vols., 2015). He is in the process of extending the survey of Iberian print to 1700 as well as preparing a book-length examination of the evolution of Spanish and Portuguese publishing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

PART 1

Introduction



Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print. Typology and Typography

Andrew Pettegree

In recent years a great deal of attention has been directed to the small change of the book market; pamphlets, brochures and pocket books that sold for small sums, and from the second generation of print established an ever more important presence both in the economics of the industry and the lives of the reading public. These small books were accompanied by an increasing range of reading matter printed on single sheets: broadsheets or broadsides.¹ This conglomeration of material has been studied under various banners: cheap print, printed ephemera, popular print, jobbing work. None of these terms, certainly where broadsheets are concerned, quite meets the case. Broadsheets were often far from ephemeral. They performed important social functions and carried important messages. To remove a broadsheet ordinance posted by order of the authorities was a serious offence, with ominous consequences for the perpetrator if apprehended.² Not all broadsheets were cheap, either to buy or produce. To be in possession of a broadsheet indulgence certificate implied that the holder had parted with a significant pious donation for the assurance of mercy in the hereafter. It might, indeed, have been the most precious thing their owner possessed.

Some of the news prints we will meet in this volume were accompanied by detailed maps or engaging illustrations; these could be expensive, and they were intended for the libraries of collectors who possessed significant wealth (which is why they have survived so well today).³ At the other end of the spectrum many broadsheets were not intended for sale at all, but were distributed free of charge by those who had commissioned them. A surprising amount of

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- 1 The term broadside is now largely regarded as a synonym for broadsheet, and indeed is removed from the latest edition of the *International Standard Bibliographical Description*. See Flavia Bruni's discussion of terminology in Chapter 2, below.
 - 2 Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), and see Chapter 10, below.
 - 3 See especially the monumental work by John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet, 1600–1700* (14 vols., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985–2017) and Chapter 13 in this volume.

this non-commercial print was in Latin, the language of scholarship: this was by no means popular print. What we can say for certain is that by the time printing was finding its feet, single-sheet printing was a well-established part of the business; and by the sixteenth century broadsheets – placards, fliers, forms, calendars, dissertations and ordinances – played an essential role in government, commerce, culture and entertainment in every part of the European print world.

We will never truly know for certain the real size of this market, and the true extent of production. Single-sheet publications were notoriously susceptible to destruction and loss. Many were intended for public exhibition, and soon lost their currency. Ordinances posted for general perusal were soon covered by other more current announcements or destroyed by rain; file copies were not always kept. Many broadsheets were subsequently reused for humble domestic purposes. It was self-evidently much easier to use single sheets in this way than the pages of a book. Most examples from the first age of print survive in only a single copy: statistical modelling of rates of loss in the early book world tends to exclude broadsheets because the samples are so small and the estimates of lost editions seem so astronomical.⁴ But we know enough to discern that the scale and variety of output played a vital role in sustaining the publishing industry, and in lubricating the process of information exchange underpinned by the new world of the printed book.

The Problem of Broadsheets

While we may applaud the increased attention devoted to broadsheets in more recent times, it is also important to recognise that systematic study of this part of the print world faces formidable obstacles. These may be described under three main headings: location, survival and description. In each case we meet circumstances quite different from those of the early book world as a whole. Books, by and large, survive in libraries. Although some books are very rare, surviving only in a single copy, many are not. Quite a number of the more substantial works can be located in one hundred or more surviving copies. This is seldom ever the case with broadsheets. If we find more than two copies of a sixteenth-century broadsheet this is already unusual; if we locate more than a handful, we can be fairly sure that a large proportion will be preserved in

4 See the contributions by Jonathan Green and Frank McIntyre and by Goran Proot in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 55–72, 160–201.

one collection, the remaining stock of an ordinance or civic announcement that would normally be reused as printer's waste but in this case has survived.⁵ With broadsheets, the examination of any new discovery comes with the high probability that it will not previously have been documented.

This exceptional state of affairs results from two other circumstances which provide daunting obstacles to the study of broadsheets. Firstly, it is often the case that the study of broadsheets has not been pursued with anything like the systematic attention with which libraries have catalogued their books. To start with, many broadsheets survive not in libraries, but in archives. Here, if they have been recognised at all, they often sit under a collective heading ('ordinances of the Duchy of Württemberg, 1502–1820'), rather than being enumerated as separate entities, as would be the case with books. Even in libraries, broadsheets are often missed, either catalogued under a similar collective heading, or passed over in a volume of otherwise catalogued material. Such is the case, for instance, with the Fagel collection in Dublin, which includes amongst a spectacular library several hundred carefully ordered volumes of pamphlets. In 1739 a manuscript catalogue was created of the pamphlets, but the broadsheets folded between their pages are entirely ignored. A recent survey conducted by the USTC team has identified over two hundred, including poetry by Vondel and polemical pieces as well as the official pronouncements of a dozen or more governmental jurisdictions.

The case is not helped by the fact that several major bibliographical projects made a conscious decision to exclude single-sheet material altogether. Why this should have been so is not entirely clear. The earliest projects, such as the English STC, included broadsheets; incunabulists, to their great credit, have always recognised the importance of such jobbing work to articulating the landscape of early print. The tide seems to have turned sometime in the third quarter of the twentieth century, when a number of major national bibliographical initiatives got under way, and excluded broadsheets from their terms of reference. Perhaps they were conscious that vast quantities of such material rested unsorted and uncatalogued in repositories never likely to be encompassed within such surveys.

It is also the case that whereas the principles of cataloguing early printed books are relatively clear, the same cannot be said for broadsheets. Books have pages that can be counted, and usually an imprint to identify the responsible printer, publisher or bookseller; most critically they have a title-page that can

5 Dirk Imhof, *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press* (Leiden: Brill/De Graaf, 2014), pp. 745–878 for multiple copies of broadsheets housed in the Museum Plantin Moretus, Antwerp.

provide the core of a catalogue record. A broadsheet may have none of these critical identifying elements. Whether the printer signed a broadsheet was a matter of local practice or utility and very far from the norm. Many surviving broadsheets are undated, and few have an acknowledged author. And in the absence of a title-page, and often a heading, it is by no means obvious what elements of the text should be chosen for a catalogue record. The proclamations and ordinances of a particular jurisdiction often open with an identical salutation, which sometimes runs for fifty words or more; a catalogue that simply replicates the opening will therefore fail to differentiate between very different texts. Here it is necessary to dig down into the body of the text to find the key distinguishing elements, and cataloguers in different libraries will make different choices. So on the rare occasions where two copies of the same text have been recognised in different libraries, catalogue entries can be so wildly variant as to disguise the fact they are describing the same thing.⁶ A graphic example of this varying practice is provided by the broadsheet ordinances printed by the Plantin firm for the city of Antwerp in the later sixteenth century, which in fact survive rather well. But the three standard reference works – Voet's bibliography of Plantin, the *Belgica Typographia* and the online catalogue of the Museum Plantin Moretus, which holds most of them, all use different descriptive principles.⁷ Reconciling them, as for instance in creating entries for the USTC, was both complex and time-consuming.

Cataloguing is thus unexpectedly complex for what is always a short text, and this too has impeded systematic study. It is also the case that few libraries build into their digital catalogues search terms that allow the identification of single-sheet items as a group: often they are variously described (1^o, broadsheet, plano, 1 bl., etc), even in the same library. For all of these reasons the cataloguing of single-sheet material lags substantially behind the systematic efforts made to describe other early printed books, often because broadsheets have been consciously excluded from these efforts: this extends to passing over single sheets bound into pamphlets collections undergoing cataloguing, making it very likely that they will never be found again.⁸ Flavia Bruni's article,

6 See, for instance, the descriptions of broadsheets in the catalogue of the Staatsbibliothek Munich, comparing the same items described in Karl Härter and Michael Stolleis (eds.), *Repertorium der Policeyordnungen der Frühen Neuzeit, Bd. 3.1 Wittelsbachische Territorien* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1999).

7 Voet uses an English paraphrase of the contents, the Museum Plantin Moretus catalogue uses an abbreviated form of the opening, and BT summarises the essence of the ordinance in Dutch.

8 This was the working practice of the STCN programme, described in conversation with colleagues from St Andrews in the University Library, Leiden. In this case, happily, the broadsheets have been systematically retrieved and catalogued by Anton van der Lem.

that follows in this volume, offers recommendations for a practical response to these challenges, reflecting both the best practice established elsewhere (for instance in the Italian bibliographical world) and the experience of project group members.⁹

The systematic effort to recover and document these single-sheet publications has been a priority for the USTC project since its inception. While much still remains to be done, this work has progressed far enough to render the stocktaking offered in this volume a worthwhile exercise. The essays collected here are a testimony both to the variety and the importance of single-sheet publication in the early modern print world.

Topography

Where do we now stand? After twenty years of work, in which broadsheets have always loomed large, the USTC now contains some 42,000 broadsheet items. The addition of a format search means that, uniquely among major bibliographical resources, these may be searched or filtered as a group. The work is far from over. While on the basis of this data it is possible to attest that broadsheets were a ubiquitous part of the book world in every part of Europe, capturing the scope of this production has made far more progress in some print domains than others.

In this, as in so much else, the compilers of the English Short Title Catalogue led the way. They meticulously included every scrap of printed matter, including a splendid early book advertisement printed by William Caxton. They even have early examples of printed book plates. Both the ESTC and EEBO remain invaluable repositories of broadsheet material; they passed over, however, one major opportunity to document single-sheet material. The STC is, in common with most other bibliographical projects, essentially a collective catalogue of surviving copies. But a diligent search of the Registers of the Stationers' Company, the London guild charged with regulatory authority for the English book trade, would reveal many thousands of single-sheet items no longer traceable in an extant copy. Thanks to the diligent work of Alexandra Hill, this work has been achieved and we will soon be in a position to add to the USTC records of several thousand lost broadsheet publications.¹⁰

9 The Italian guide to cataloguing broadsheets is available as Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, *Guida alla catalogazione di bandi, manifesti e fogli volanti* (2 vols., Rome: ICCU, 1999).

10 Chapter 18, below.

Single-sheet items were also included in one other major bibliographical project, Nijhoff and Kronenberg's magnificent survey of publishing in the Low Countries between 1501 and 1540 (NK).¹¹ Their meticulous work registers not only extant broadsheets, but a number of ephemeral publications known only from archival records of payments to the printer. Given this example, it is all the more regrettable that when the decision was made to continue this work beyond the sixteenth century in two separate projects, one for Belgium and one for the Netherlands, broadsheets were given a lower priority. Indeed, the STCN, the centrally-funded survey of the Dutch print heritage, which focussed in the first instance on the seventeenth century, excluded single-sheet material altogether.¹²

When we came to amalgamate all these separate resources for our survey of publishing in the sixteenth-century Low Countries (for which we also included printing in the French-speaking towns ignored by the Belgian survey), the USTC group focussed particularly on improving the coverage of broadsheet material.¹³ For the seventeenth century this work had to be done almost *ab initio*. This is a particularly urgent task as in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic broadsheets were both a major element of information culture and an important tool of government. Multiple jurisdictions at every level of government – the town council, the provincial estates and the States General – made their wishes known through broadsheets. While a full survey is yet to be accomplished, the USTC now contains more than seven thousand items for the sixteenth and seventeenth century Low Countries.

In excluding broadsheets from their frame of reference the Dutch STCN took its cue from the great German bibliographical project, VD16: a survey of print in German-speaking parts of Europe based initially on the catalogues of the two libraries of Munich and Wolfenbüttel, then extended to include other libraries. It has never been fully explained why broadsheets were left out. After all, there

11 Wouter Nijhoff & Maria Elizabeth Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (3 vols., The Hague: Nijhoff, 1965–71; reprint of The Hague, 1919–1942).

12 STCN, STCV. Ironically, the print continuations of NK, for the period 1541–1600 in the northern and southern Netherlands respectively, did include broadsheets. Paul Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava 1541–1600: repertorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederland tussen 1541 en 1600* (2 vols., Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1998). Elly Cockx-Indestege, Geneviève Glorieux, & Bart op de Beeck, *Belgica typographica 1541–1600: catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt* (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1968–1994).

13 The Walloon towns now part of France have been surveyed in *Rep. Bib.*; others have their own bibliography.

is a long tradition of documenting and studying the illustrated broadsheets that enjoyed such a spectacular boom in the Reformation era, and remained a significant feature of the German cultural and artistic landscape thereafter.¹⁴ The careful study of these often beautifully executed combinations of woodcut and text draws attention to a major German artistic tradition; but it is also the case that exclusive concentration on illustrated broadsheets gives a very misleading sense of the full range and purpose of single-sheet publishing in Germany. The overwhelming majority of single-sheet publications in Germany were not illustrated: they range from the earliest known editions of Luther's 95 Theses to the extensive use made of broadsheets as a tool of government. The earliest editions of Luther's Theses, being broadsheets, fall outside the scope of the VD16 and are therefore not included in the German national bibliography; somewhat bizarrely, one might think, given their role as some of the most important foundational documents of German history.¹⁵

The Holy Roman Empire consisted at this time of several hundred independent states, ecclesiastical principalities and free cities: most at some point adopted the use of printed broadsheets for routine matters of government, though to different degrees and at different times. Many German archives have substantial holdings of these materials, not always catalogued and frequently dispersed in many different collections. There are also a number of very useful bibliographical surveys, such as the venerable catalogue of sixteenth century

14 Max Geisberg, *The German Single-leaf woodcut, 1500–1550* (New York: Hacker, 1974). Walter L. Strauss, *The German Single-leaf woodcut, 1550–1600* (New York: Abaris, 1975). Michael Schilling, *Bildpublizistik der frühen Neuzeit. Aufgaben und Leistungen des illustrierten Flugblatts in Deutschland bis um 1700* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990). See also now especially Bernd Schäfer, Ulrike Eydinger and Matthias Rekow (eds.), *Fliegende Blätter. Die Sammlung der Einblattholzschnitte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts der Stiftung Schloos Friedenstien Gotha* (Stuttgart: Ardnoldsche Art Publishers, 2016).

15 They are included in the USTC at USTC 751649 (Nuremberg, Hieronymus Hölzel), 751650 (Leipzig, Jakob Thanner). Recent literature includes Wolfgang Thönissen, 'Luthers 95 Thesen gegen den Ablass (1517) – Ihre Bedeutung für die Durchsetzung und Wirkung der Reformation', in Irene Dingel and Henning P. Jürgens (eds.), *Meilensteine der Reformation. Schlüsseldokumente der frühen Wirksamkeit Martin Luthers* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2014), pp. 89–99, 259–261; Falk Eisermann, 'Der Einblattdruck der 95 Thesen im Kontext der Mediennutzung seiner Zeit', pp. 100–106, 261–264; Volker Leppin, "'Nicht seine Person, sondern die Wahrheit zu verteidigen". Die Legende vom Thesenanschlag in lutherischer Historiographie und Memoria', in Heinz Schilling (ed.), *Der Reformator Martin Luther 2017. Eine wissenschaftliche und gedenkpolitische Bestandsaufnahme* (Berlin: Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, 2014), pp. 85–107.

works printed in Low German.¹⁶ This includes references to several hundred broadsheets, including many documented in libraries destroyed during the last stages of the Second World War or subsequently dispersed.¹⁷ These will generally be the only known references to these now lost items. Contemporary accounts also offer valuable references. Many of the ordinances of Electoral Saxony issued by the Wittenberg publisher Georg Rhau discussed by Drew Thomas in this volume would be totally unknown were it not for the careful record of sums due to the printer in the Electoral accounts.¹⁸

Though the USTC has made a significant start documenting this material, there is no doubt that there is major work still to be done before we can be satisfied that German single-sheet publishing is fully surveyed. In particular it remains to investigate many regional archives which quite possibly hold many hundreds of copies not yet known to researchers or, indeed, to historians of print. A beginning was made, at least in surveying the terrain, at a workshop in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel in 2013, an occasion that brought together archivists and librarians, leading German scholars in the field and members of the St Andrews team.¹⁹

The Italian collective catalogue, Edit16, in principle includes single-sheet items, though its coverage is very partial.²⁰ Others can be found in the SBN. But this still leaves huge quantities surviving and awaiting systematic work; some of this has now been achieved for the USTC. Italy was again a land of multiple jurisdictions, and church authorities in particular made generous use of print. Some of these collections are explored in this volume. In addition the USTC has been able to profit from further independent cataloguing projects that have surveyed single-sheet publication in, respectively, Bologna and Rome.²¹ It is little surprise that the Italian states, precocious both in their embrace of print

16 Conrad Borchling and Bruno Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie: Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800* (2 vols., Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1931–1936).

17 For the impact of these events on German libraries see now Jan Alessandrini, 'Lost Books of "Operation Gomorrah": Rescue, Reconstruction and Restitution at Hamburg's Library in the Second World War', in Bruni and Pettegree, *Lost Books*, pp. 441–461.

18 Chapter 5, below.

19 I am happy to express thanks to the Herzog August Bibliothek for their characteristically generous hospitality on this occasion.

20 See the articles in this volume by Flavia Bruni (Chapters 2 and 6) and Shanti Graheli (Chapter 8).

21 Zita Zanardi, *Bononia Manifesta. Catalogo dei bandi, editi, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi, stampati nel XVI secolo per Bologna e il suo Territorio* (Florence: Olschki, 1996). Manuela Grillo, *Leggi e bandi di antico regime* (Cargeghe: Editoriale documenta, 2014).

and in their pioneering commercial news services, should have made early and imaginative use of broadsheets for the purpose of administration. A full survey will in due course reveal Italy as one of the major centres of broadsheet production.

The same could not be said, it appears, of the third great centre of the first age of print, France. The relative absence of single-sheet printing for France is something of a mystery. The French crown made shrewd use of print to make its wishes known through their sprawling kingdom. The USTC has documented over six thousand ordinances published in France in the sixteenth century, in Paris, Lyon and elsewhere.²² Not surprisingly, the title of King's printer was eagerly pursued, both in the capital and provincial towns: in some smaller places the publication of official print was the mainstay of the local press. Yet the vast majority of these printed ordinances were in pamphlet form; if official ordinances were routinely printed for posting up as broadsheets then these have scarcely survived. We have some examples from Caen, where the local council dutifully obeyed an order to reprint a royal decree (and kept an annotated file copy to prove it).²³ The municipal archive in Troyes has a collection of political proclamations from the time of the Catholic League, as well as some rare surviving broadsheet regulations of bread and commodity prices.²⁴ But there is remarkably little from the hands of Paris or Lyon printers: meagre pickings indeed from a country with such a highly developed administrative structure.²⁵

France also lacks the tradition of illustrated broadsheets that developed in Germany at this time. The Reformation spurred murderous passions in France, but remarkably little in the way of visual polemic. Were it not for the assiduous collecting of Pierre de l'Estoile in Paris in the 1590s, we would think that this tradition of satirical woodcut scarcely existed. L'Estoile's albums of broadsheet propaganda pieces for the League, picked up on his ruminative perambulations of the capital's streets, are now one of the most cherished possessions of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.²⁶

22 Searching 'France' and 'Ordinances and edicts' returns 6,588 hits. See also Lauren Kim, 'French Royal Acts Printed before 1601: a Bibliographical Study' (University of St Andrews, PhD dissertation, 2007).

23 USTC 20212, Edict sur les troubles de France, 1561. Caen (Fr), Archives départementales: 1 B 2 fol 160, one of eleven broadsheet ordinances for Caen registered in the USTC.

24 *Rep. Bib.* XII, pp. 53–64 (Jean Moreau nos. 18, 71, 74, 86, 88, 89) and pp. 93–95 (s.n. nos. 1, 5–7, 9–11, 19–21).

25 For Lyon see Chapter 7, below.

26 Les belles Figures et Drolleries de la Ligue avec les peintures Placcars et Affiches. Paris, BnF: RES GR FOL-LA25-6. Now digitized by the BnF on Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k859264h/f50.image>.

In the course of our work on France we visited some three hundred libraries; we also investigated the holdings of every one of the Archives départementales and the more promising of the Archives municipales. If there were large caches of broadsheet material to be found, we would probably have discovered them. One can only conclude that the relative paucity of broadsheet material is a real phenomenon, rather than an accident of survival, a reminder that local practice (in this case the preference for the pamphlet form for official print) was a real factor in shaping how printers responded to market opportunity in different parts of Europe.

For Spain the quantity of surviving broadsheet material is also small. A scrupulous search by Alexander Wilkinson and his colleagues in our partner project at University College Dublin registers only 119 examples for the sixteenth century, and 1,175 for the whole period before 1700. In this case, and supported by archival evidence, Wilkinson and his colleagues argue that this represents the visible remains of a much larger trade.²⁷ For scholarly books Spanish readers, like those in England, relied very heavily on imports; in contrast to England, however, the Spanish kingdoms had no one single dominant centre of printing, but an industry widely dispersed between several regional centres. For obvious reasons broadsheets were necessarily a part of the book trade that relied on local production. The need for immediacy militated against printing abroad, and this was the sort of work that customers were prepared to consign to local shops. These customers were generally the church or state; and whereas elsewhere in Europe the market diversified over the centuries, in Spain three quarters of all broadsheet commissions came from church customers all the way through to the end of the seventeenth century.

Other smaller publishing centres in northern and eastern European made significant use of broadsheet publication, not least for official ordinances; again, these were the sorts of works that would generally be consigned to a local printer. In Denmark and Sweden national bibliographies have documented meticulously the whole corpus of print, in the case of Sweden revealing a significant body of official print in broadsheet form, as the new Lutheran state endeavoured to enforce its authority over a sparsely populated land.²⁸ Finally an indeterminate quantity of broadsheet material cannot successfully be attributed to any precise place. For many commissions (indulgences, for

27 Below, Chapter 3.

28 Lauritz Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi, 1482–1600* (5 vols., repr. Copenhagen: Kongelige Bibliotek, 1996). Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600* (3 vols., Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1927–38) lists 90 broadsheets for the period before 1600, more than 15% of the total known publishing output.

instance), it was customary for the printers not to add their name and address. When published in Latin the place of publication can be difficult to establish.

Holy Mother Church

In the first two centuries after the invention of printing the church was the most reliable client of print, at all levels of the market. Gutenberg made his reputation with his spectacular Bible, but he was also shrewd enough to take on other small jobs for church clients: two of his early authenticated works are printed indulgences.²⁹ When they furnished indulgences and other devotional material for the market Gutenberg and his successors were building on a tradition that long predated the birth of print. In the centuries before the first European experiments with moveable type the church had generated a large and profitable trade in small paper tokens of faith, devotional pictures or amulets.³⁰ These were printed up from woodblocks, normally consisting of a devotional picture, Mary or a local saint, sometimes accompanied by a text cut into the block. The century after the Black Death also stimulated a vogue for *Pestblätter*, small sheets that could be carried about, pasted in books or pinned up at home to provide reassurance of the healing possible through Divine Grace. Like so much of the manuscript tradition, these pre-print forms were not extinguished by the coming of print. In this volume Alexander Wilkinson

29 Albert Kapr, *Johann Gutenberg: the Man and his invention* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 189–197. For the Gutenberg indulgences see most recently Günter Hägel, 'Paulinus Chappes Besuch beim Mainzer Erzbischof Dietrich von Erbach und der Druck der 31-zeiligen Ablassbriefe (GW 6556/VE15 C-15)', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 2012, pp. 93–104; id., 'Neue Quellen zum Druck der 30-zeiligen Mainzer Ablassbriefe und zum Vertrieb des „Zypern-Ablasses“ im Erzbistum Köln und in den umliegenden Gebieten', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 2013, pp. 54–62. Janet Ing, 'The Mainz Indulgences of 1454/5. A Review of Recent Scholarship', *The British Library Journal*, 9 (1983), pp. 14–31, online: <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1983articles/article2.html>.

30 Volker Honemann, 'Vorformen des Einblattdruckes', in Honemann, *et al.*, (eds.), *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), pp. 1–43. Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words. Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Penn State, 2006), pp. 222–233. I am grateful to Saskia Limbach and Flavia Bruni for these references. For the complex and ambiguous history of Chinese experimentation with printing (with mostly wooden characters) see now Joseph P. McDermott and Peter Burke (eds.), *The Book Worlds of East Asia and Europe, 1450–1850* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015).

cites evidence of the huge stock of sheets of prayers (21,000) and devotional woodcuts (10,000) in just one Spanish bookshop inventory taken in 1529.³¹

In much the same way the trade in indulgences adapted smoothly to the new potentialities of the printing press. Gutenberg's two indulgence certificates were the first of several thousand commissions fulfilled by printers in Germany and elsewhere before the end of the fifteenth century.³² The quantities involved here were sometimes mind-boggling. We know of contracts for more than one hundred thousand copies in a single order.³³ Printed indulgences must have been the most ubiquitous printed artefact of the fifteenth century; for many families such a certificate might have been the only example of the new art of printing to enter their home.

In the sixteenth century it becomes more difficult, for reasons already explained, to gauge the full extent of the indulgence trade, though the trail is not entirely cold. We know that the production and purchase of certificates of indulgence remained very important in Catholic countries such as Spain: important enough for Philip II to intervene personally to complain about the quality of the printing. An indulgence certificate was a momentous investment, and the workmanship should reflect this. Mostly printers rose to the challenge. The surviving examples from the preaching of the St Peter's Indulgence in Germany in 1515, the campaign that so aroused the ire of Martin Luther, are of notably high quality; not surprising, since they were the work of some of the most distinguished printers in Germany's leading commercial cities.³⁴ A few years later these same men were equally profitably engaged printing the works of Martin Luther.

The majority of the indulgences that have survived tend to be blank, without the name of the donor added in the appropriate space. Presumably they were unused stock, and indeed, many of the fifteenth-century indulgences have been recovered during conservation of other early books, having been used as printer's waste to pad the bindings.³⁵ The signed indulgences recording details of the donation would generally have been kept among family papers with deeds and other legal documents. But unlike deeds, which passed down

31 Below Chapter 3, and the contribution by Falk Eisermann, Chapter 4.

32 VE 15.

33 Paul Needham, *The Printer and the Pardoner* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1986), p. 31.

34 Hans Volz, 'Der St. Peters-Abläss und das deutsche Druckgewerbe', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1955, pp. 156–172.

35 For a wonderful example, which revealed an early indulgence published by Caxton, see Needham, *The Printer and the Pardoner*.

through the generations, indulgences were most likely discarded, since their value expired with the death of the original purchaser. Sometimes they were actually buried with the recipient, a practice denounced by Pope Pius II in 1464. That his strictures were not always observed we know from the spectacular case of Doña Isabel de Zuazo. When researchers opened her tomb in 2008, they discovered the remains of no fewer than forty-seven indulgences, ranging in date from at least 1484 to 1539.³⁶ This time-limited value provides one further barrier to preservation, and helps explain why the preservation rate of these certificates is so low; though some examples made out to their recipient certainly survive.³⁷

The Reformation was obviously a blow to the indulgence trade, at least in places that adopted Protestantism, but printers were compensated for their loss with many new types of business. In the 1520s more well-to-do supporters of the Reformation could choose to be entertained by the rash of satirical broadsheets excoriating the Pope and his minions. The iconographic complexity of these images, even with accompanying text, was a barrier to wider circulation every bit as significant as cost. Other citizens who wished to possess a totem of their new allegiance could purchase a picture of Luther himself. Based on the early iconic representations created by Lucas Cranach these pictures were distributed through Germany in very significant numbers. Their representation of the Augustinian friar as the humble instrument of God's purpose was undoubtedly the most influential broadsheet image of the Reformation.³⁸ With the passage of years the Reformation's supporters could follow Luther's metamorphosis from lonely prophet to Protestant patriarch and family man. Luther's death in 1546 brought no interruption to this trade. In the second half of the sixteenth century, in a strange inversion of the devotional traditions so fiercely condemned by evangelicals, portraits of Luther would take on the imputed powers of a amulet, or even perform miracles, such as when a portrait of

36 Chapter 3 below. Robert N. Swanson, 'Printing for Purgatory: Indulgences and Related Documents in England, 1476 to 1536', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 14 (2011), pp. 115–143, here p. 120: 'In the 1550s John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, inquired whether any of his subjects were still being buried with their confessional letters – letters which had not been distributed in England for some fifteen years.' I am grateful to Falk Eisermann for drawing this reference to my attention.

37 VE15, pp. 275–277 offers a list of indulgence recipients' names as preserved in the copies.

38 Martin Warnke, *Cranachs Luther. Entwürfe für ein Image* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1984). R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther. 1517, Printing and the Making of the Reformation* (New York: Penguin, 2015).

Luther emerged unscathed from a conflagration that destroyed everything else in the house: the 'incombustible Luther'.³⁹

When the fires of controversy dimmed, the tasks of church building in the new congregations provided plentiful further opportunities for the publishing industry, and new types of broadsheets. The expansion of educational provision created a market for ABCs and catechisms, and some were published as large single sheets to use as wall posters. Given the rough handling they undoubtedly received from their young pupils it is no surprise that surviving examples are spectacularly rare. And the Reformation unleashed an extraordinarily fertile period in the development of communal singing, reflected in both the Lutheran tradition of hymnody and the Calvinist adoption of metrical psalms. This too left its mark in the production of broadsheets, as demonstrated in the careful work of Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, and by Amelie Roper in this volume.⁴⁰ Hymns were issued in individual sheets as well as collections. Later the familiar tunes would be re-used for works of satire and defiant confessional rallying cries in times of war or tribulation, as the new churches faced up to both traditional enemies and alienated former friends.

The struggle between the competing churches also left a more sinister mark in the output of the book trade, not least in the printed lists of forbidden books. Booksellers were ordered to exhibit them on their stalls; it is a moot point whether they acted more as an advertisement of previously unknown texts than as a caution against purchase.⁴¹ This very particular example of book advertising was one aspect of a trade that relied heavily on printed broadsheets to provide both lists of booksellers' stock and examples of the typefaces available to clients of the more ambitious print offices: a phenomenon through which we can trace the growing sophistication and ambition of the industry.

39 Robert Scribner, 'Incombustible Luther: the Image of the Reformer in Early Modern Germany', in his *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Hambledon, 1987), pp. 323–353.

40 Chapter 17, below. Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1974). See also Gisela Ecker, *Einblattdrucke von den Anfängen bis 1555*, 2 vols. (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1981).

41 This remained a concern. When the English envoy Thomas Chudleigh protested to the Dutch government about the publication of two libels critical of the English government, he was told that banning them would 'onely serve to publish the thing, and make people curious to get the libels, but doe no good as to the suppressing of them.' Cited in Paul Hoftijzer, 'Metropolis of Print: the Amsterdam book trade in the seventeenth century', in Patrick O'Brien, etc. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 254.

By the end of the seventeenth century, as described here by Graeme Kemp, such broadsheet advertisements could be tailored for a particular segment of the book-buying public, in this case offering a comprehensive array of literature likely to appeal to supporters of Jansenism.⁴²

Hear and Take Note

After the church, the lay authorities provided the second most important customer for printed broadsheets. In the centuries after 1450 governments all over Europe took on an ever increasing range of functions. Kings and princes aspired to the monopoly of violence that had eluded them in the mediaeval centuries; city authorities sought to bring order to the commerce, health and sociability of their citizenry.

The first to recognise the potential of print to facilitate the process of government was the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I. From around 1480 onwards instructions that would normally have circulated in manuscript copies were routinely issued in printed form.⁴³ Surviving copies indicate the care with which these documents were prepared: characteristically in a single bold body of text with generous margins, in a landscape format. In these essential features Maximilian's proclamations followed with remarkable fidelity the familiar chancery form also adopted for the first indulgence certificates, a textual association that made perhaps unconscious reference to a shared source of authority for temporal and spiritual power.

The use of print to facilitate the functions of government soon spread across Germany and beyond, though the speed and enthusiasm with which different jurisdictions embraced print varied considerably from place to place. In England, a relatively small print market, the crown was by far the most important and reliable client of London's print shops. Proclamations, an increasingly important instrument of government in England, were routinely printed for exhibition and distribution.⁴⁴ Surviving examples demonstrate the care that was

42 Chapter 20, below.

43 VE 15. Falk Eisermann, 'Imperial Representation and the Printing Press in Fifteenth-Century Germany', in Margriet Hoogvliet (ed.), *Multi-Media Compositions from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004) (Groningen Studies in Cultural Change, 9), pp. 61–73.

44 P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (3 vols., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964–1969).

taken in the execution of this work by the responsible print shops. Beyond the nation state, Europe's cities adopted print to varying degrees, and sometimes with reluctance. The promulgation of new orders and regulations was traditionally made orally in one or more central locations, advertised by the ringing of bells or blowing of trumpets.⁴⁵ This sense of collective engagement with and implicit approval of regulations enacted by the gathered citizenry had a tenacious hold. It took time to accept that communities were now often too large, and the regulations too complex, for oral proclamation to suffice. The printing of ordinances was therefore often seen as a supplement to the necessary public proclamation, which continued to be an important part of the legislative process. It took root first in the major centres of international commerce, where non-citizens also had a vital need to know the regulations. As Saskia Limbach has shown, in Cologne this sort of commercial ordinance was circulated in printed form several decades before the town council employed the printing press for orders of purely domestic import.⁴⁶

Scholars are only now beginning to recognise the importance of these printed ordinances as a window on the values, preoccupations and political culture of early modern societies. In this respect the Low Countries provide a particularly interesting laboratory. A predominantly urban society with both a highly literate population and a well developing publishing trade, it might be expected that imaginative use would be made of print in the business of government, and this is indeed the case. Print was put to good use by all tiers of government: in the sixteenth century by both the crown and the rebel authorities; in the seventeenth century by the States General, the individual provinces and city councils, as well as various public bodies such as the East India Company.⁴⁷

In the case of individual towns, rather like in Germany, coverage is patchy. When ordinances survive they tend to be deposited in local archives, which have not always been systematically searched for print material. But recent work by Arthur der Weduwen has unearthed surviving ordinances for at least eighty different Dutch and Flemish cities before 1700.⁴⁸ None of the Dutch towns can match the extraordinary series of edicts that survives for Antwerp, where city ordinances exist in an almost complete run, thanks to the assiduous

45 For a particularly sophisticated system of oral communication see Steven J. Milner, "Fanno bandire, notificare, et expressament comandare": Town Criers and the Information Economy of Renaissance Florence', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 16 (2013), pp. 107–151.

46 Saskia Limbach, 'Government use of Print in the Holy Roman Empire in the Sixteenth Century' (University of St Andrews, PhD dissertation, 2017).

47 Below, Chapter 10.

48 Some of these findings are highlighted in Chapter 10, below.

filing of the printer Christophe Plantin and his heirs.⁴⁹ But several thousand copies have been recovered for the major Dutch towns, revealing the increasingly ubiquitous presence of regulatory authority in their citizens' lives.

It should not automatically be assumed that regulation of this sort was widely resented. Ordinances routinely begin with a preamble laying out the process that had led to the promulgation of the new regulation. Often it resulted from an appeal from aggrieved citizens, or the trade body affected; sometimes a new ordinance was issued following protests against an ineffective or misjudged earlier order. The printed ordinance often included a specific appeal to make others aware of what had been ordered ('tell it forth'); on at least one surviving ordinance it is recorded that a copy was distributed to each member of the guild concerned, in this case the coopers.⁵⁰

The burgeoning use of official print needs to be put in context. Print was certainly only one of a range of instruments on which the rulers of early modern Europe could draw to enhance their authority. Important recent studies have emphasized that in many parts of Europe face-to-face contact remained the norm between governors and the governed, and negotiation the preferred means to exercise authority.⁵¹ The increased use of print thus needs to be seen not as the inevitable result of technological progress, but as a contingent response to specific circumstances, introduced at an uneven pace and to different extents in jurisdictions all of which had their cherished local traditions for the making and dissemination of laws. In this volume Jamie Cumby demonstrates that the city magistrates of Lyon, a major centre of both international trade and high quality publishing, used print extremely sparingly for official purposes.⁵² The relative absence of official broadsheets for certain jurisdictions does not therefore need to be attributed purely to the vagaries of archival survival; it can be evidence of real cultural difference.

Forms

A particular sub-group of these official publications was the form. Forms – printed text left with blanks to be inscribed by the issuing official – came in

49 Leon Voet, *The Plantin press (1555–1589): a bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980–1983). Imhof, *Jan Moretus*.

50 I am grateful to Arthur der Weduwen for this reference.

51 An important conclusion of the review of recent literature by Beat Kümin, 'Political Culture in the Holy Roman Empire', *German History*, 27 (2009), pp. 131–144.

52 Chapter 7, below.

all shapes and sizes. Most surviving fifteenth-century examples were generally printed to serve the needs of the church rather than state authorities. Most common of all, of course, were indulgence certificates: in the respect that they included blank spaces for the recording of the name of the donor and other critical information they can be regarded as a form.⁵³ Guilds and chantries made use of printed forms in much the same way; church authorities also began to employ forms in their administration, as for instance, when granting permission for clergy to leave their cure in the hands of a substitute officiant for a stipulated period. In later years the church in Wittenberg made use of a printed form to certify that a minister had completed his training and was now considered fit to be installed in a parish. One of the most exotic of these small publications was the form reported by Flavia Bruni as having been issued to cardinals voting in an eighteenth-century Papal election. This might seem a rather esoteric purpose for the employment of a printing press; but when an election could go to many ballots (and as a protection against fraud) one can appreciate the utility.

Secular government was not slow to see the benefits of these sorts of certificates. Already in the fifteenth century forms were put to use in the publication of circular letters demanding troop contributions (the space left to insert the required number). While the first examples, like the first printed ordinances, come from the German princely states, it was cities and other local jurisdictions who found the most sustained use for such certificates. We have come across receipts for tax paid, bills of lading for ships, financial bonds and various forms of passports and permissions to travel.

Most such forms relate to taxation (generally receipts for contributions received) or commerce – a note that goods have been inspected, an authorisation for transportation across a war zone. Lyon, as we have seen, made relatively little use of printed ordinances, but in 1543 Denis de Harsy was commissioned to print 800 copies of a receipt to be given to citizens from whom the city had extracted a loan.⁵⁴ One interesting subgroup of commercial print is the early lists of goods traded in the markets of Europe's major cities. Here the goods (mostly types of cloth and spices) were listed in print, so that the current prices could be added by hand. These were the original, transitional state of what became the printed lists of stock and commodities prices and rates of exchange, which would become the corner-stones of international commerce. Although

53 Falk Eisermann, 'Zu den Anfängen des gedruckten Formulars', in Rayan Abdullah and Karsten Henze (eds.), *Formulare: Von der Wiege bis zur Bahre. Formulare im Corporate Design*, (München: Stiebner, 2007), pp. 12–25.

54 Lyon, Archives Municipales, CC 959. I am indebted to Jamie Cumby for this reference.

these exchange rate and price lists were issued regularly in major European cities from the sixteenth century, they do not survive in any numbers until well into the next; if they survive at all they often turn up in runs of business papers, or among other legal documents in family archives.⁵⁵

These, like any other forms of printed ephemera, are among the most elusive products of the print industry. So again we are grateful for the archiving practice of Christophe Plantin, for whom no jobbing work was too menial to escape his meticulous record-keeping.⁵⁶ In his archive we find an impressive array of forms, a number dating from the increasingly desperate days when the city found itself threatened with re-conquest by the army of the Duke of Parma. One surviving example gives the bearer protection from enrolment in the night watch, since they have already provided a horse for work on building the city fortifications. Others provided permission to move goods outside the city walls; when the siege was at its height, such a printed form was necessary even to pass through the gates. In times of crisis such certificates took on an importance that belied their modest appearance, for to be apprehended without the appropriate paperwork could bring an accusation of treasonous concourse with the enemy, leading to the confiscation of precious wares – or worse.

None of these little certificates is more poignant than the simple chit ordering the bearer (name to be added) to leave Antwerp within twenty-four hours.⁵⁷ Does this assume that even the indigent begging in the streets would be sufficiently literate to seize the import of this abrupt official order? Perhaps; certainly itinerant pedlars and entertainers were among those who commissioned printed artefacts to hawk around the streets. Whether it impacted on their lives as commercial opportunity or regulatory threat, print had become a ubiquitous part of daily existence in many communities too large to function by word of mouth alone.

Vital for the state, this sort of work could also be enormously lucrative for the printer. Between 1618 and 1646 Simon Moulert and his heirs held the title of printer to the States of Zeeland.⁵⁸ Working in the city of Middelburg, ordinances accounted for 45% of the family's income from the States; they were paid

55 John J. McCusker, and Cora Gravesteyn, *The beginnings of commercial and financial journalism: the commodity price currents, exchange rate currents, and money currents of early modern Europe* (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1991).

56 Voet, *The Plantin Press*, nos. 80–96.

57 Antwerp, Museum Plantin Moretus, R 16.27 (55). Voet, *Plantin Press*, no. 85.

58 Thijs Weststrate, “Drucker ordinarij der Heeren Staten van Zeelandt.” Het bedrijf van Symon Moulert en erfgenamen (1597–1646) als Statendrukkers (1618–1646), *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 11 (2004), pp. 51–66. I am grateful to Arthur der Weduwen for calling this article to my attention.

an average of 470 guilders a year for the printing of forms, ordinances and announcements and in some years as much as 800 guilders. This was almost three times the sum guaranteed the firm of Plantin-Moretus for similar work in Antwerp. The contract was not exclusive: in 1632 an order was placed by the Admiralty of Zeeland for the printing of a massive quantity of passports.⁵⁹ The admiralty ordered 60 reams of foreign and 35 reams of domestic passports. This represented 47,500 sheets of paper, and since the passports were probably printed two or four to a sheet, could have represented as many as 200,000 individual items. For this work the family Moulert received no less than 852 gulden. This was the equivalent of 20 months' salary for a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church; and Dutch clergy were generally reckoned to be well paid.

The Life Academic

In 1962 the Catholic church historian Erwin Iserloh tossed a nonchalant bomb into the calm waters of Reformation scholarship: Luther, he suggested, did not post his 95 theses on the church door at Wittenberg. Reactions in the Lutheran fraternity were predictably unfavourable. Luther's determined trudge through the streets of Wittenberg, paper in hand, is one of the iconic moments of European history; it would be unsettling indeed if it had not taken place.

In retrospect the earnest discussions that followed Iserloh's bombshell must rank as one of the most unnecessary of academic controversies. Iserloh made much of the fact that no contemporary claimed to have witnessed Luther at work. But why would they? The advertisement of dissertation theses for disputation on the university noticeboard (the door of the Castle church in the case of Wittenberg) was utterly mundane routine business. The 95 Theses would probably have joined a jumble of other official academic print: perhaps even Luther's bolder theses on Scholastic theology published six weeks previously, a copy of which surfaced only relatively recently bound with a longer contemporary text.⁶⁰

Luther's theses against indulgences are only the most famous example of a practice ubiquitous in Europe's early modern universities. Sometimes, as in this case, the professor would propose the theses for debate. On other occasions

59 Ibid, p. 65.

60 Josef Benzing and Helmut Claus, *Luther Bibliographie. Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod* (2 vols., Baden-Baden: Heinz/Koerner, 1966, 1994), no. 84a.

theses would be published as part of the stipulation for graduation with a degree; some dissertations were academic exercises preliminary to the degree granting process.⁶¹ Practices differed between universities. Sometimes theses were published in the name of the student defending the theses, elsewhere in the name of the professor presiding. This difference of practice finds its echo in library cataloguing practice, where this same difference is sometimes confusingly maintained; if, that is, dissertation theses are catalogued at all.

Many thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of these dissertations can be found tucked away in library collections across Europe (and this is indeed a form of print that survives almost exclusively in libraries, rather than archives). Most are bound together into volumes of twenty or thirty: in some cases consecutive signatures suggest printers deliberately encouraged them to be collected in this way. Many remain uncatalogued; some libraries have so many that they are functionally beyond the scope of any conceivable cataloguing project. By no means all dissertations are broadsheets. In most academic traditions the normative mode of publication was as a neat quarto pamphlet of four or eight pages. But a fair number of academic dissertations were published, like Luther's 95 theses, as a single sheet. Several examples of this practice are explored in this volume.⁶² It is interesting to ask why this should have been so. Some would have been intended to advertise a forthcoming disputation, either, as in Luther's case, on a topic of urgent topical interest, or, more usually, leading to the award of a doctoral degree. Extra copies might also have been handed out to those attending, so they could follow the discussion or make notes.⁶³

Whatever the purpose, it is fairly clear that the costs of printing these various forms of academic ephemera fell squarely on the student supplicating for the degree. To students on a tight budget the printers' costs were another painful burden, along with the toasts and feasting that customarily accompanied such rites of passage. The diary of Felix Platter gives a pained account of the financial cost of supplication for his doctoral degree in Basel, and certainly Basel supplies some of the most impressive broadsheet dissertations that

61 Douwe D. Breimer, *et al.*, *Hora Est! On Dissertations* (Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 2005). The title refers to the amiable Dutch custom that after precisely one hour the beadle will bring examinations to an end, if necessary in mid-sentence. Kuniko Forrer, 'Dutch Academic theses as printed matter', in W.A. Kelly and G. Trentacosti (eds.), *The Book in the Low Countries* (Edinburgh: Merchiston, 2015), pp. 55–79.

62 Chapters 14 to 16.

63 Or indeed exhibited: on the Jesuit tradition of the thesis poster see Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke, *Das Thesenblatt im Hochbarock: Studien zu einer graphischen Gattung am Beispiel der Werke Bartholomäus Kilians* (Weissenhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1988).

have survived to this day.⁶⁴ In many university towns one designated printer enjoyed the monopoly of publishing dissertation theses, leading, in the opinion of many disgruntled students, to inflated prices. In some places the only evidence we have that dissertation theses were published are these complaints; no extant examples have survived.⁶⁵ Elsewhere, there were complaints that the dissertations were badly printed: even in Leiden, where Abraham Elzevier, the last member of the distinguished family to hold the valuable privilege as university printer, had let matters slide. Quality had deteriorated to the extent that in 1712 the university authorities stepped in to allow students to take their business where they chose, and to protect them from extortion.⁶⁶

The survival of academic ephemera is extremely patchy, and those theses that were published in quarto format are far more likely to have survived than broadsheets. The broadsheet theses that have survived are almost all unique copies, unless a second copy survives in the same volume, a sure sign that they represent only a small proportion of a far larger phenomenon. When Malcom Walsby pursued an enigmatic reference in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France he was not to know that this single volume would disgorge over two hundred single sheet dissertation theses from Louvain University.⁶⁷ Not only are they all previously unknown, they offer the only tangible evidence, to this date, that Louvain published theses in this way. The unexplored, uncatalogued material in Europe's libraries surely offers further surprises of this nature.

Dissertation theses offer a prime example of a form of print that was published almost exclusively to be given away: to be posted up or handed out to participants. In this respect it is what we might call non-commercial print, print never intended for retail sale; in other respects, especially for the printer, this was a very attractive commercial proposition, since they had a captive market and a client with a very weak bargaining position compared to institutional clients such as the church and local authorities. Pity the poor student. It also offers a timely reminder that a large proportion of what is referred to as printed ephemera was not in the vernacular, but published in Latin, the language of the scholarly community. Other Latin forms included the poetical works composed

64 Saskia Limbach, Chapter 16, below. Andrew Pettegree, 'De promotie van Felix Platter', *Nexus*, 60 (2012), pp. 111–116. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Beggar and the Professor. A sixteenth-century Family Saga* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 318–325.

65 As for instance in Nantes: Malcolm Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany 1484–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 122.

66 Forrer, 'Dutch Academic Theses', p. 60.

67 Chapter 15, below.

to congratulate distinguished individuals on their graduation, engagement or marriage, or the obituary verses published in tribute to a celebrated figure, sometimes, but not always, accompanied by a woodcut portrait.⁶⁸

An interesting elaboration of this particular tradition was the publication, mostly in the seventeenth century, of highly ornate illustrated theses prints.⁶⁹ Taking their cue from the colonnaded borders with which Louvain dissertations had been decorated from the last years of the sixteenth century, within fifty years these had become extravagant concoctions topped by an often delicate and iconographically complex engraving. Such beautiful images (some designed in the Rubens workshop) were obviously only available to the best connected or most aristocratic students, and the academic purpose was almost submerged in an ornate display of Baroque magnificence. In the words of Gwendoline de Mûlernaere such broadsheets were now simultaneously 'a scientific report, a work of art, and a propaganda tool.'⁷⁰

News

It is easy to see why printers relished work of this kind; almost all the publications in the categories we have discussed so far were delivered for a single client, who also took responsibility for distribution. But printers were also aware of a wider commercial market for broadsheet publications. First, almost in order of chronology, and certainly in order of importance, is the market for news. Printers discovered the utility of print in sating the appetite for gossip and information very early. The famous meteor that fell near Ensisheim in Alsace of 1492 was celebrated in print by no less a figure than Sebastian Brant, later author of *The Ship of Fools* (1494). Brant's verses, accompanied by a graphic woodcut, went through several editions, alerting Europe's publishers to the potential of this market.⁷¹ Over the next century and more the illustrated news

68 Examples with such a portrait in Strauss, *German Single-leaf woodcut, 1550–1600*, I 149, 156; II 531, 806; III 1365.

69 Gwendoline de Mûlernaere, 'Disputatio and Dedication. Seventeenth-century thesis prints in the southern Low Countries', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 31 (2015), pp. 284–306.

70 Ibid, p. 305.

71 Ingrid D. Rowland, 'A Contemporary Account of the Ensisheim Meteorite, 1492', *Meteoritics*, 25 (1990), pp. 19–22. For this and much else in this section see Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News* (London: Yale University Press, 2014). Eisermann, 'Mixing Pop and Politics. Origins, Transmission, and Readers of Illustrated Broadsides in Fifteenth-Century Germany', in Kristian Jensen (ed.), *Incunabula and their Readers. Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century* (London: British Library, 2003), pp. 159–177.

broadsheet became a staple of the market, principally though not exclusively in Germany. It was during the sixteenth century that the woodcut reached its zenith as an art-form in the prosperous and sophisticated German cities. It was put to service first for the Reformation, then the news market.

The news market developed rapidly from the 1520s. As the fires of Reformation dimmed, the creative energies and public curiosity unleashed by the evangelical movement shifted from religious controversy to news. Nor were the two genres wholly distinct. News had a strong moralistic element. Readers looked to tales of extraordinary natural phenomena or the execution of a notorious criminal for the confirmation of eternal verities or signs of God's favour; disasters were frequently interpreted as a call to repent and submit to divine providence. It is notable that the writers of many of the texts that accompanied these woodcuts, and pamphlet treatments of the same subjects, were clergymen. For these moral tales to retain their potency it was not necessary that news should be especially current. The moral remained the same, whether the horrible crime and exemplary punishment occurred last week or some years ago, in the next door village or half way across Europe.

The need for news that was current, accurate and immediately available was met by other media: manuscript newsletters and from the seventeenth century, newspapers. These play a tangential role in the history of the broadsheet, since while the earliest German papers were published in pamphlet form, other newspapers were published as a single half-sheet, printed on both sides. This was the predominant form of the newspaper in the Dutch Republic, and a model later followed by the *London Gazette* and later English newspapers.

This form of newspaper publication was exceptionally economical in production terms. Dutch publishers could cram onto a single half-sheet about 30% more copy than was usual in a four-page pamphlet. This though came at a price for later scholars of the newspaper. The single sheet was also infinitely more disposable, and far less obviously suitable for the shelves of a library than the consecutive issues of a pamphlet newspaper bound together in book form. Were it not for the obsessive interest in Dutch affairs of their international rivals, which led to collections being carefully curated in diplomatic archives abroad, many of the early Dutch newspapers would be lost altogether. As it is, many survive only in a few scattered numbers.⁷²

In the seventeenth century, the market for illustrated news broadsheets took a significant turn, with the substitution for the woodcut of finely-cut etchings. This was a change with significant market implications. Not only were

72 Arthur der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century, 1618–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

engravings far more complex to create, they also demanded the use of a separate roller press. It therefore required a complex double-impression process to publish a broadsheet combining engraving and text, whereas a woodcut could be integrated smoothly into the page for impression on a conventional printing press. Broadsheets with engraved illustrations were not cheap to produce, and the retail price reflected this; it suggests that they were aimed at a relatively affluent market and considered eminently collectable. The fact that in many cases a relatively large number of copies have survived, often bound into fine albums, bears this out. The triumph of the engraving was incremental, and occurred at different times in different markets: relatively early in France, more slowly in the Low Countries and England, where the woodcut maintained a tenacious appeal.⁷³ The centre of this market was the Holy Roman Empire during the Thirty Years' War, a critical catalyst of the newspaper market also. Probably the two forms of the news market were aimed at the same customers: they could follow the movement of armies in detail in the weekly newspapers, then celebrate the great triumphs of their heroes, or mock their enemies' tribulation, in the illustrated news prints.⁷⁴ It would be some centuries before the two forms were effectively combined.

Almanacs and Calendars

It should be remembered that though engravings offered a superior fineness of line and shading, woodcut artists could also execute exquisite and subtle images. In the sixteenth century the most popular subjects for news broadsheets were celestial apparitions and heavenly portents. Europe's citizens scanned the heavens for signs of God's purpose and prefiguration of future events; this was an age in which astrology and astronomy exercised the imaginations of all classes of literate society. The most tangible expression of this phenomenon was the complex and eye-catching astrological calendars that decorated the wall of many of Europe's commercial classes; these fine decorative objects were part of a huge market for calendars and almanacs.

Almanacs certainly provided printers with a profitable line of business. For medical practitioners an almanac was one of the basic tools of their trade: a table of astrological plottings was essential to guide their diagnosis and dictate

73 On France see Carl Goldstein, *Print Culture in Early Modern France. Abraham Bosse and the Purposes of Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

74 Paas, *German Political Broadsheet, 1600–1700*.

propitious moments for blood-letting.⁷⁵ Physicians feature largely among the known authors (as with news books many of the authors of apparently ephemeral print were highly educated men from high status professions). The great attraction of this market was that the plottings were only valid for a single year, and thus physicians and barber surgeons were required to make a new purchase with each new year. Not surprisingly, this encouraged a degree of competition in the market, unhealthy competition in the eyes of some regulatory authorities. If this led to doctors following contradictory advice, this undermined the credibility of the profession as a whole. In Germany several cities insisted on a standard text. In 1498 Constance gave the local barber surgeons the chance to choose their almanac, so long as they all used the same; in Nuremberg in 1527 the astronomer at the local grammar school was asked to determine which publication should be used within the city.

These broadsheet almanacs were the very definition of ephemera, used heavily through the year (or exhibited on a wall) and then discarded. Often what survive are isolated examples of what was clearly a yearly series.⁷⁶ Given the circumstances it is remarkable how many have survived: almost 800 for the period before 1600, including 483 incunabula. This no doubt reflects the assiduous manner in which fifteenth-century print has been studied and collected, but it also indicates the speed with which the commercial possibilities of this sort of print were recognised. A sheet of medical rules which included the required computational calendars emanated from the press in Mainz as early as 1457. Published in considerable numbers according to an annual cycle, these singular amalgams of the quotidian and the celestial seldom survive in more than one copy; most have disappeared altogether. But they were a hugely profitable part of the book market. Nothing was more resented in the book world than when one printer was granted a monopoly of publishing almanacs. For this was a hugely lucrative trade and defending such a monopoly from industry competitors worrying and burdensome.⁷⁷ The medical profession was of course one of the most reliable supports of the print trade. Later generations would spawn a rather less respectable broadsheet genre, with the proliferation

75 Richard L. Kremer, 'Incunable Almanacs and Practica as Practical Knowledge Produced in Trading Zones', in Matteo Valleriani (ed.), *The Structures of Practical Knowledge* (London: Springer, 2017), pp. 333–369.

76 For examples, taken from the second half of the sixteenth century, see Strauss, *The German Single-leaf woodcut, 1550–1600*, I 228–229, 230, 242, 417; II 731, 732; III 1332. Often surviving examples are only a fragment of a larger whole.

77 Stijn van Rossem, 'The Struggle for Economic and Political Domination of the production of almanacs in the Southern Netherlands (Antwerp, 1626–1642)', in Kelly and Trentacosti, *The Book in the Low Countries*, pp. 81–120.

of broadsheet advertisements for quack medicines. Rare before 1600, these became a deluge in the second half of the seventeenth century; among their collectors was the distinguished physician and patron of the Royal Society, Sir Hans Sloane. Through his good offices a large body of this material found its way into his library, and thence to the British Museum.⁷⁸

Music and Literature

Almanacs were an essential tool of one of the most important professional groups in early modern society, an important but defined clientele. Music broadsheets could potentially tap a far more diverse market. Song was ubiquitous in early modern culture, an essential part in both the pedagogy and recreational culture of the age. Serving the needs of consumers engaged diverse parts of the print industry, and generated a surprising quantity of broadsheet publishing. Broadsheet songs were sometimes lavish productions, with a large and expressive woodcut accompaniment, but they by no means always contained printed music. Sometimes there is a single line of musical notation; on others, simply the indication that the song is to be sung to such and such a tune. These lavish and rather beautiful prints (see the contribution by Amelie Roper below) had their cognate at the bottom end of the market in small sheets run off for street singers to peddle during their performances. A number were printed with three or four sheets in parallel columns. These were clearly intended to be cut up and sold as individual strips, just as we see illustrated in contemporary prints of street pedlars.⁷⁹

It is interesting that even these sort of marginal contracts were attractive commissions for printers. According to Rosa Salzburg, who has made the most detailed study of street singers in sixteenth-century Italy, some would pay for their stock in instalments as the sales were made, at which point the printer would release to them a new portion of the printed sheets.⁸⁰ The itinerant ballad singer might not seem the most promising client, but some street singers built a considerable reputation and could rise to a respectable position in

78 Giles Mandelbrote, 'Sloane and the preservation of printed ephemera', in Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor (eds.), *Libraries within the Library. The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections* (London: British Library, 2009), pp. 146–170.

79 For some splendid Dutch examples, still in their uncut sheets, see Berlin Staatsbibliothek, 2" Yd 7803: R (51–54).

80 Rosa Salzburg, *Ephemeral City: cheap print and urban culture in Renaissance Venice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

society, as was the case with the famous Ippolito Ferrarese, whose death in the mid-sixteenth century was marked by at least three pamphlets purporting to record his dying words.⁸¹

Profit and risk; these two considerations were never far from the concerns of Europe's printing fraternity. Printers had to be careful that there was nothing in the text that would risk causing offence and bring retribution; the ballad singer could always slink off elsewhere, but the printer had fixed capital and premises. The wise printer kept a weather eye on local politics. Early modern authorities monitored carefully what was said or sung on the streets and no printer wanted to be in the firing line if the songs they printed sailed too close to the wind of topical comment.⁸² No-one wished to risk the fate of the Italian printer who published a song mocking Venice, only to discover too late that the long-time foe was now a trusted ally.⁸³

The wise ballad printer kept to the safer ground of love, illicit sex and marital strife, eternally popular subjects in popular culture. This was certainly the case in England, where few of the surviving ballads make any really pungent comment on contemporary domestic politics, an area where the tightly-controlled London industry was any case extremely cautious. Most ballads with a contemporary focus treat moments of national celebration such as the defeat of the Spanish Armada, or later, the so-called execution ballad, a distinct sub-genre penned to take advantage of the curiosity aroused by the execution of a notorious criminal.⁸⁴ Ballad publishing is again an area where the known surviving examples represent no more than a fraction of what was once printed, as can be demonstrated by the sort of careful analysis described here by Alexandra Hill. By close reading of the registers of the Stationers' Company, the regulatory body of the London trade, Hill has identified several thousand ballads known to have been printed but no longer identifiable from a surviving copy.⁸⁵

In some of these cases it is by no means clear, as Amelie Roper points out, whether the texts were to be sung or enjoyed as verse. The closely interlocking genres of music and literature are on occasions almost indistinguishable. Versifying for public consumption was, as we have seen, an established part

81 Ibid, pp. 84–86.

82 Allyson F. Creasman, *Censorship and Civic Order in Reformation Germany, 1517–1648* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), provides an excellent example of the regulation of speech in sixteenth-century Augsburg.

83 Salzberg, *Ephemeral City*.

84 Bertrand T. Whitehead, *Brags & Boasts. Propaganda in the Year of the Armada* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), with an appendix of Armada ballads at pp. 209–211.

85 Chapter 18 below.

of academic culture, with the publication of poetic encomia to distinguished professors or successful dissertation candidates. Similar congratulatory verses, also in Latin, were penned to celebrate the wedding or mark the passing of distinguished local figures. These funereal tributes were often accompanied by a woodcut portrait. The Dutch *Rederijkerkamers*, essentially literary debating societies, also took to print to publicise the contributions of individual chambers at major competitions. We have examples from the famous Antwerp *Landjuweel* of 1561 and a far less well known event in Bruges.⁸⁶ By the seventeenth century purely literary work was being issued in single sheets by authors or publishers alert to the potentialities of this market. The distinguished Dutch poet Vondel was much published in this way. But for the most part gifted figures from the literary world made their most significant contribution to broadsheet publication by providing texts for works with a large cross-over appeal, such as illustrated news prints. Where Sebastian Brant had led with his verse celebrations of the Ensisheim meteorite many others would follow.

Conclusion

To inform, educate and entertain: the phrase chosen in the early twentieth century to express the mission of the British Broadcasting Corporation, still the universal model of public service broadcasting, can also serve as a neat encapsulation of the role of broadsheets in early modern society.⁸⁷ Exploring the full range of the broadsheet texts that have survived from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only serves to demonstrate that a printed broadsheet had potency in the market place and a social significance that far outweighed its relatively modest production price. For the publisher, a broadsheet was both the opportunity to take advantage of some recent newsworthy event, and a source of steady work for reliable institutional customers. Historians of the book now recognise how important this sort of work was in maintaining the viability of many businesses; what we probably now need also to recognise is how important this sort of printing was in the process of social formation. In this respect, the impact of broadsheet publishing was far from ephemeral. Where broadsheets played their most obvious role was in building community: the community of professors and students in the university; the congregation that sang together and united in the ridicule of competing churches; the bond with the Almighty sealed by the precious indulgence certificate. The sheer

86 BT 1770–1804, 6138–6141 for the Antwerp *Landjuweel*, 8986–8993 for the Bruges event.

87 http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethebbc/whoweare/mission_and_values.

ubiquity of the broadsheet was here its strongest card, witnessed by the use made by urban authorities to inform the citizenry and marshal support for the community's wider aims. From the fish-wives in the market square checking the authorised prices of their wares, to the Chancery official sniggering at cartoon representations of the humiliation of some enemy general, everyone had use of broadsheets. Europe's printing fraternity were of course active members of these communities as well as their chroniclers. The trade in broadsheets, bought, sold, handed out for free or publicly exhibited, was a vital tool in shaping society, wherever Europe's citizens lived, traded and laughed together.

Early Modern Broadsheets between Archives and Libraries: Toward a Possible Integration

Flavia Bruni

Since the early modern age, broadsheets and single-sheet items have been media of versatile content: occasional literature, such as funeral and nuptial orations; celebration of public or private events; short polemic texts and propaganda, as occurred during the Reformation; texts intended for entertainment, comprising ballads, poems, and short stories.¹ Certainly the largest category, by both size and quantity, were the ordinances, edicts and other administrative acts. These could be intended for circulation among a target audience, for posting up, or as an official communication or statement.² Despite their relevance as historical sources and as printed objects, our ability to integrate them into a historical analysis of print is still obstructed by several systemic problems.³ Fundamental to the current situation is the variety of places

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- 1 See the many examples in this volume and, for an overview, especially Andrew Pettegree's chapter. Specifically on ballads, see the excellent English Broadside Ballad Archive and Broadside Ballads Online from the Bodleian Libraries, respectively <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu>> and <<http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>>. I am grateful to Odir J. Dias, Stella Di Fazio, Falk Eisermann, Daryl Green, Manuela Grillo, Saskia Limbach, Simonetta Migliardi, Margherita Palumbo, Alberto Petrucciani, Andrew Pettegree, Alessandra Toschi and Zita Zanardi for the many suggestions, which I have incorporated into this essay. All online resources were last consulted on 20 December 2015.
 - 2 The International Standard for Bibliographic Description for Older Monographic Publications (Antiquarian) defines a broadsheet as "a separately published sheet, printed on one or both sides so as to be read unfolded; usually intended to be posted, publicly distributed, or sold, e.g., proclamations, handbill, ballad-sheet, news-sheet"; and a half-sheet as "half a sheet, separately published and printed so as to be read unfolded": see *ISBD(A): International Standard for Bibliographic Description for Older Monographic Publications (Antiquarian) recommended by the ISBD Review Group of the IFLA Cataloguing Section*, 2006 revision, pp. 3 and 5.
 - 3 See for instance Ugo Rozzo, *La strage ignorata. I fogli volanti a stampa nell'Italia dei secoli xv e xvi* (Udine: Forum, 2008), p. 197, where he remarks the significance of a sheet on the possession of forbidden books that was notably ignored by relevant studies, confirming the scant attention paid to such documents "as they were 'transparent'" (quotation marks in the text).

in which they have been conserved; in this, the status of broadsheets differs sharply from that of other printed matter.

This paper provides an overview of descriptive practices for single-sheet items, focusing on inconsistencies in the current procedures between libraries and archives. Cataloguing practices for archival material have different purposes from the strictly bibliographical and follow different rules accordingly. This often results in a poverty of information on individual items, especially to bibliographers' eyes. This survey will highlight the need for a new integrated standard for broadsheet description based on the principles of data sharing and interoperability to promote a wider access to these valuable resources in an international framework.

Single-sheets Items in the Bibliographic Universe

Single-sheet items are marvellous sources for historians as much as they are for bibliographers.⁴ I have intentionally avoided so far any definition of a broadsheet either as manuscript or printed artefact. This distinction would make little difference for scholars focused on the content of a document. Historians of music and literature are accustomed to focus on the text rather than on the form or material features of a document. On the other hand, the material features of printed broadsheets are significant evidence. The use of print for official publications developed through the sixteenth century, gradually replacing manuscript ordinances.⁵ This sort of cheap print became a large part of the production of the printing presses. Some printers built their fortune solely on the production of such documents, or used the income resulting from official commissions to finance more ambitious projects. For Italy, Alberto Petrucci estimated single sheets to be around 20% of the total production of the

4 The relevance of printed broadsheets as primary sources has been largely underestimated by scholars, who even expressed the opinion that they 'hardly have any historical value': see Arthur der Weduwen's chapter in this volume.

5 Cf. Armando Petrucci, 'Appunti per una premessa', in Zita Zanardi (ed.), *Bononia manifesta. Catalogo dei bandi, editti, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi, stampati nel XVI secolo per Bologna e il suo territorio* (Florence: Olschki, 1996), pp. v–xv, at pp. vi–vii. See also Saskia Limbach, 'Tracing Lost Broadsheet Ordinances Printed in Sixteenth-Century Cologne', in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 489–503, especially pp. 490–491; and Arthur der Weduwen's chapter in this volume.

printing press in eighteenth-century Genoa.⁶ The printing of such items was a relatively secure business, and could ensure a decent income through work that was easy, fast and cheap.⁷

This production was largely ephemeral, intended for practical purposes and eventually destroyed through sheer use. What is left of a flourishing printing business is very often a series of rare items, even unique at times.⁸ As a consequence of their peculiar function, these few copies are now scattered between archives, libraries and museums. Cataloguing standards in such institutions have different purposes, and have accordingly followed different rules. The difference in access that results from this is one of the points that I would like to discuss in this chapter, mainly focusing on ordinances, edicts and other administrative and religious acts.

During the first decades of printing, printed books at first imitated and eventually replaced the layout and style of manuscripts. Extensive studies have documented the transition to a new model as a gradual process. Broadsheets took longer than books to emancipate themselves from manuscript exemplars. The use of traditional templates was even more fundamental in documents than in books, as it served as a guarantee of authenticity. Chancery practices provided the model for the structure of the text at least until the first half of the sixteenth century. At the same time, proof of legal effectiveness was often signalled through a combination of handwritten and printed features.⁹ Fig. 2.1 shows an apostolic letter by Pope Leo X on the devotion and liturgical celebration of St Philip Benizi, printed on parchment in the second decade of the sixteenth century. The text is divided into three parts: an introduction or protocol, starting, in this case, with the name of the addressee to whom the document is directed in capital letters (*inscriptio*), followed by the superscription (*intitulatio*) giving the name and title of the sender; the main text or context, starting with a decorated initial; and the concluding formulas or

6 Alberto Petrucciani, 'L'editoria a Genova: stampa e vita sociale in una capitale repubblicana', in Marco Santoro and Valentina Sestini (eds.), *Testo e immagine nell'editoria del Settecento* (Pisa and Rome: Serra, 2008), pp. 169–189, especially pp. 170–173 and 176.

7 Cf. Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 30–32, 55, 70, 93–94.

8 See for instance Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, pp. 19 and 97–98; Petrucci, 'Appunti per una premessa', pp. v–v and xiii–xv; and Paul Needham, 'The Formats of Incunable Broadsides', in Christine Haug and Rolf Thiele (eds.), *Buch – Bibliothek – Region. Wolfgang Schmitz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), pp. 127–144, at pp. 127–128.

9 Petrucci, 'Appunti per una premessa', pp. xi–xiii; Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 112.



FIGURE 2.1 Apostolic letter by Pope Leo X on the veneration and liturgical celebrations of St Philip Benizi, c. 1516 (Editi6 CNCE 69069; USTC 840891). Broadsheet printed on parchment.

ROME. ARCHIVIO GENERALE DELL'ORDINE DEI SERVI DI MARIA, DIPL.A/9.

final protocol, including the *datum* (date and place of issue).¹⁰ These elements, inherited from manuscripts, are combined in the copy in the Servite General Archive in Rome with a distinctive notarial mark, a handwritten authentication and a seal.¹¹

Engravings started to be placed beside or even replace inscriptions on broadsheets and pamphlets in the course of the sixteenth century. Fig. 2.2, taken from the last page of a pamphlet of 1563, shows the printed version of the rota of Pope Pius IV, whose name appears at the top preceded by a cross, with motto “Si mei non fuerint dominati tunc immaculatus ero” and the Papal cruciform monogram signature for ‘Bene Valet’, followed by a list of cardinals

10 For the definition of these terms, see for instance the *Encyclopædia Britannica* online: <<http://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomatics>>.

11 Dipl.A/9. Editi6 CNCE 69069; USTC 840891. Date inferred from the *datum*: 24 January 1516. See also Petrucci, ‘Appunti per una premessa’, p. xi.

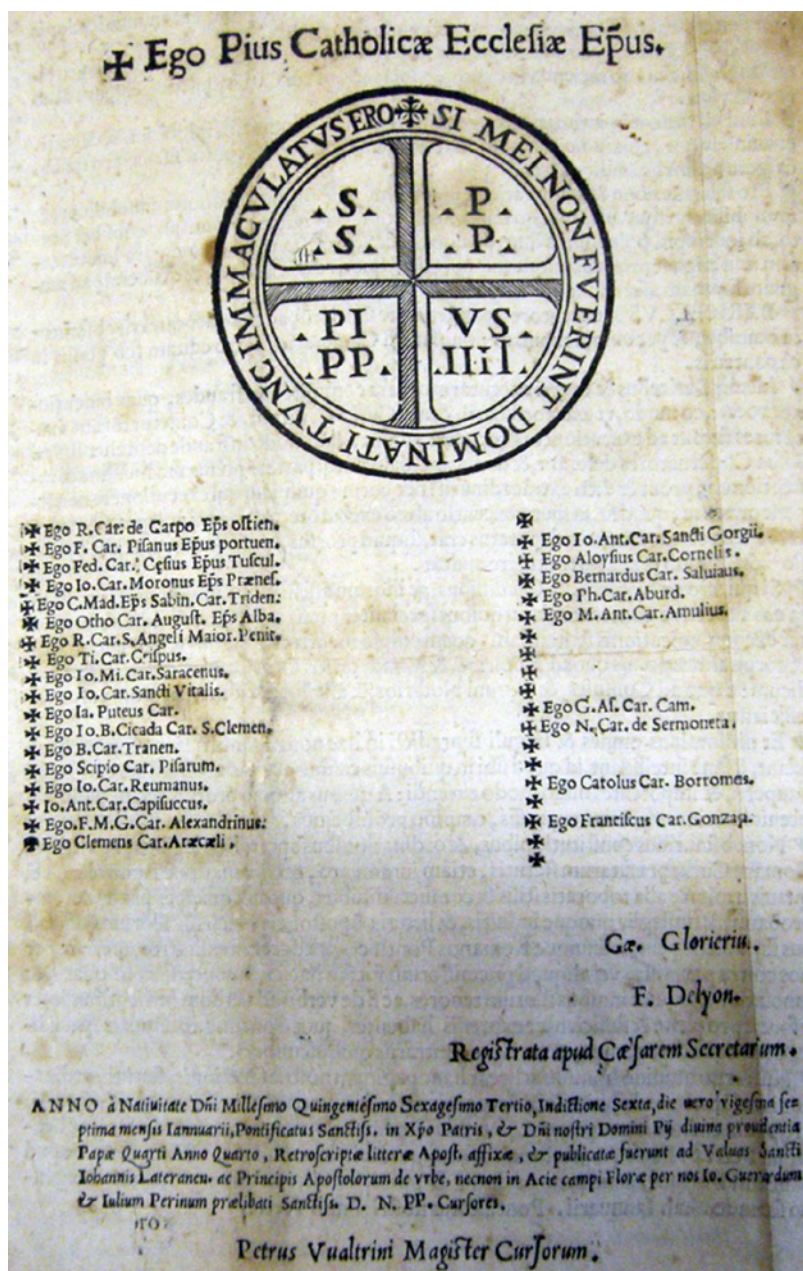


FIGURE 2.2 Pius IV, *Bulla super reformatione tribunalium ordinariorum Urbis et Romanae Curiae, conservatorum, fisci procuratorum, et aliorum officialium, ac ab eis dependentium* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1563) (Edit16 CNC 40520; USTC 849322), f. A₆v.

ROME, ARCHIVIO GENERALE DELL'ORDINE DEI SERVI DI MARIA, DIPL.A/28.

who signed the act.¹² This mirrors the typical structure of a consistorial letter, such as that issued for the promotion of cardinal Dionisio Laurerio in 1539, a manuscript on parchment also in the Servite General Archive (fig. 2.3). On this document, the rota of Pope Paul III with motto “Confirma hoc Deus quod operatus es in nobis” is surrounded by the signature of the Pope on top and 22 cardinals (the column on the left is not visible in the picture), including Grimani, Gasparo Contarini, Gian Pietro Carafa, Pietro Bembo and Reginald Pole. Just as in the pamphlet, the signatures of both the cardinals and the Pope are introduced by a small Greek cross.

Over this time period, official statements such as pontifical letters were often printed on parchment (fig. 2.1). Printing on parchment was not infrequent in itself in the first decades of print. Books were printed on parchment to serve as presentation copies or prestigious gifts. Yet in the case of printed documents, the use of parchment was not a consequence of the desire for luxury, fashion or mere tradition. Broadsheets printed on parchment were more durable. Distrust of paper lasted longer in chancelleries than in bookstores. In February 2016, the debate on the use of paper for the registration of the acts of Parliament reminded newspaper readers that UK laws are still being recorded on goat and calf skin: this despite the exorbitant cost, and an agreement of the House of Lords to move to printing acts of parliament on archival paper instead of vellum dating back to 1999.¹³ As it turned out, in the absence of major disasters paper survived many centuries of readers; still, the even more impressive resilience of parchment to adversities such as flood and fire eventually confirmed that trust in this physical medium was well founded.

The use of the printing press and moveable types also affected the layout of broadsheets, just as had already occurred with books. A short statement providing information on printer, place and date of printing started to appear on such items as it did on printed books a few decades earlier.¹⁴ Such data remained mostly latent on forms, one of the simplest and at the same time most

12 Pius IV, *Bulla super reformatione tribunalium ordinariorum Urbis et Romanae Curiae, conservatorum, fisci procuratorum, et aliorum officialium, ac ab eis dependentium* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1563) (Editi6 CNCE 40520; USTC 849322), f. A₆v. On the use of such symbols on broadsheets see also Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 183.

13 According to The Guardian, “this change is expected to save at least £80,000 a year”: see <<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/15/lords-overruled-recording-laws-vellum-goat-calf-skin>>, but also The New York Times: <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/11/world/europe/critics-ruffled-as-parliament-turns-the-page-on-parchment.html?_r=0>, amongst other newspapers around the world.

14 I describe the evolution of broadsheets printed in Rome between the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Chapter 6 of this volume.

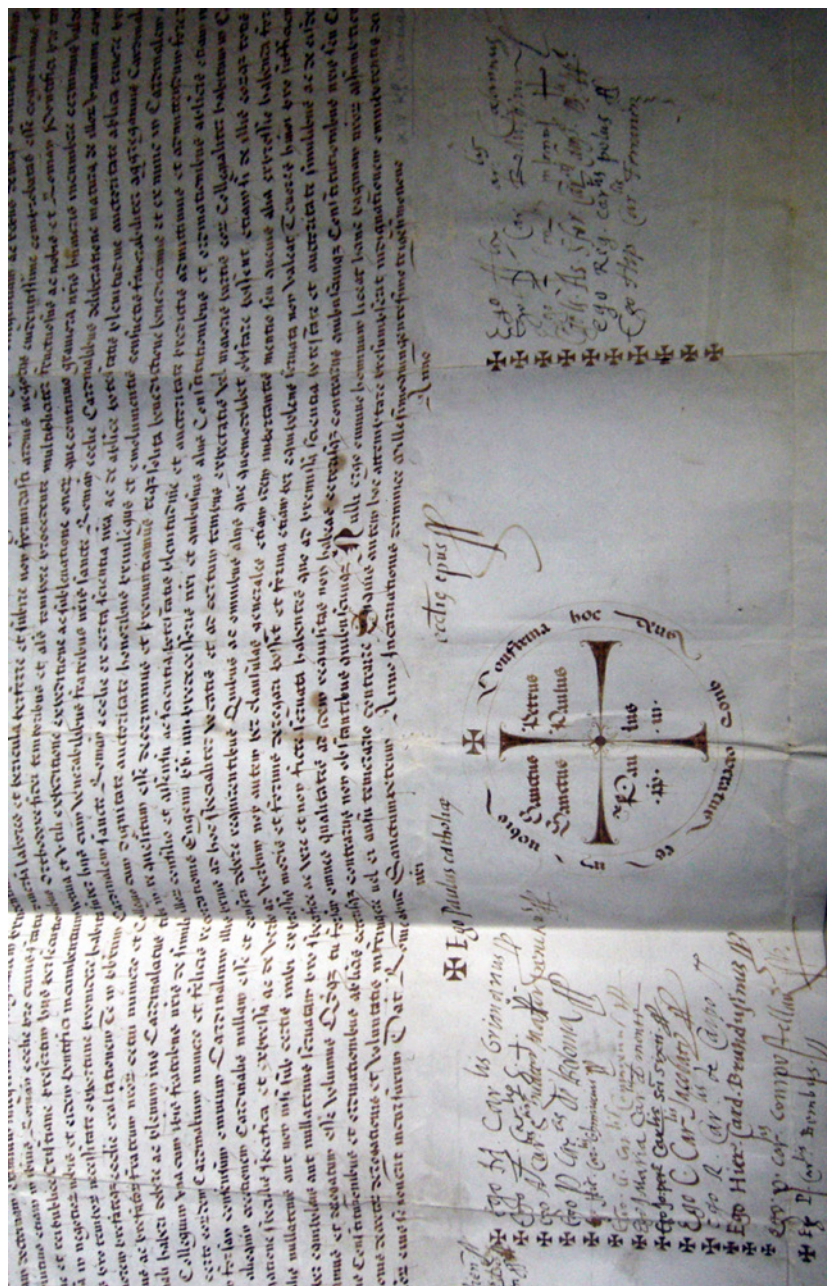


FIGURE 2.3 Detail of the rota of Pope Paul III with motto *Confirma hoc Deus quod operatus es in nobis*, monogram for 'Bene Valet', surrounded by the signature of the Pope and 22 cardinals on the consistory's letter for the creation of cardinal Dionisio Laurerio in 1539. Manuscript in ink on parchment.

challenging group of imprints for bibliographers. Printed forms show the increasing pervasiveness of printing in the sixteenth-century routine of ordinary and clerical tasks. Forms were used as receipts, certificates or statements on a range of occasions (figs. 2.4–2.5).¹⁵ Indulgences are pre-printed forms ready to be filled in with the name of a purchaser.¹⁶ Regardless of whether they were actually used or remained blank, forms are usually treated as a sort of stationery and thus are frequently excluded altogether from catalogues.¹⁷

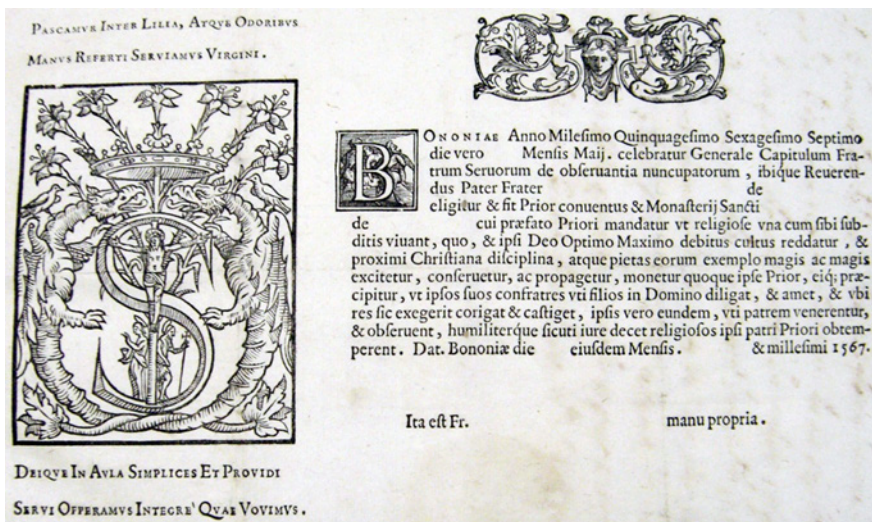


FIGURE 2.4 Form for the election of priors of convents, 1567.

ROME, ARCHIVIO GENERALE DELL'ORDINE DEI SERVI DI MARIA,
ANNAL.C.3.264–265.

- 15 On forms produced for religious purposes see Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 55.
- 16 Cf. Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 31. See also <<http://www.bl.uk/treasures/gutenberg/indulgences.html>>; Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 18.
- 17 Exceptionally, the bibliography of the Plantin press by Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589). A bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980–1983), does include forms. For some examples of this varied production of ephemera in Genoa, including forms for the election of the Doge and for the lottery, see Petrucci, *L'editoria a Genova*, p. 176. An eighteenth-century form for the papal election is displayed in the catalogue of the exhibition on the Vatican Secret Archives that took place in Rome in 2012: Alessandra Gonzato, et al. (eds.), *Lux in arcana. L'Archivio Segreto Vaticano si rivela* (Rome: Palombi, 2012), p. 84.

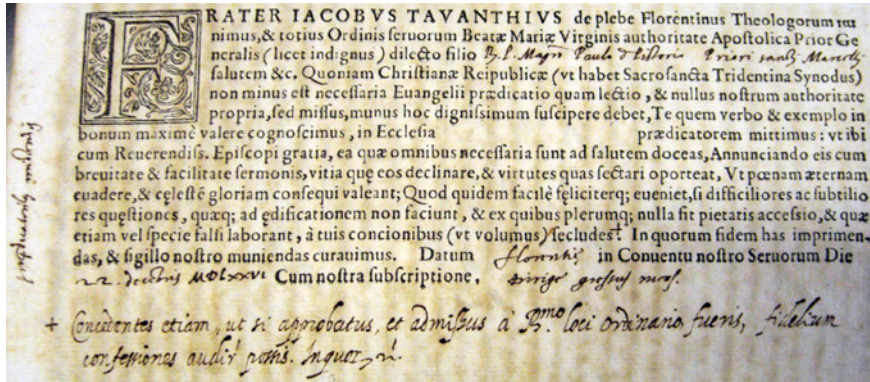


FIGURE 2.5 Form for the Prior General friar Giacomo Tavanti to release licences to preach, after 1576.

ROME, ARCHIVIO GENERALE DELL'ORDINE DEI SERVI DI MARIA, REG.PP.GEN. FLOR.35.110.

The Challenge for Description

Given their peculiar nature and function, ordinances, edicts and other administrative and religious acts are more likely to have found their way into archives than libraries. Archives are indeed the most obvious repository for such items in terms of their institutional role and historical tradition.¹⁸ Yet the description of such documents in archival inventories is often far less complete.

Quoting the ISAD(G) – General International Standard for Archival Description manual, in its last revision of 1999, “the purpose of archival description is to identify and explain the context and content of archival material in order to promote its accessibility”. Access is defined as “the ability to make use of material from a collection, usually subject to rules and conditions”.¹⁹ Archival description is focused on an archive as a whole, documenting the

18 Cf. Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, *Linee guida per la digitalizzazione di bandi, manifesti e fogli volanti* (Rome: ICCU, 2006), pp. 9 and 14–22; Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 24; and Manuela Grillo, *Leggi e bandi di antico regime* (Carghe: Editoriale Documenta, 2014), p. 48. See also Andrew Pettegree's chapter in this volume.

19 International Council on Archives, *ISAD(G): General International Standard Archival Description*. Second edition adopted by the Committee on Descriptive Standards, Stockholm, Sweden, 19–22 September 1999 (Ottawa: 2000), available online: <<http://www.icacs.org.uk/eng/ISAD%28G%29.pdf>>, pp. 7 (1.2) and 10.

activity of an individual or organisation. The principles to guide the arrangement and indexing of archives are intended to provide enough information for users to find what is necessary to pursue independent research. The level of description is usually targeted on the file, defined as “an organized unit of documents grouped together either for current use by the creator or in the process of archival arrangement, because they relate to the same subject, activity, or transaction. A file is usually the basic unit within a record series”.²⁰ Only occasionally and exceptionally is a detailed description provided of each item, defined as “the smallest intellectually indivisible archival unit, e.g., a letter, memorandum, report, photograph, sound recording”.²¹

As a result, printed broadsheets are very often ignored or mentioned only in passing in archival inventories. This situation is also complicated by a persistent sense that printed items are intrinsically not deserving of as much attention as manuscripts. In the rare and exceptional circumstance of a more detailed description, this seldom provides enough information for bibliographic purposes. The guidelines for archival description suggest following specific existing standards for each type of material: books, serials and pamphlets should be described following the standards for bibliographic description; pictures, maps and audio/video material with those for non-book materials. Perhaps as a consequence of their crossbred character, single sheets preserved in archives are treated differently and not described according to the procedures suggested for early printed material.

Although the situation is more encouraging in libraries than in archives, there are still extensive collections of broadsheet preserved in historic libraries that have not been properly described. Users interested either in the content or in the material features of single-sheets will often experience difficulties accessing such items in archives, libraries and museums. This is mainly the result of poor or incomplete description in catalogues and inventories. They may indeed be completely missing; in much the same way as archival inventories, many library catalogues have neglected broadsheets. When descriptions are provided, they are often inconsistent and unreliable. On the one hand, archival records do not provide the core information a bibliographer would need; but, on the other, bibliographic records might omit crucial information, such as a note of contents for items with a generic and unrevealing heading or opening (many ordinances for a specific jurisdiction, for instance, begin with a near identical salutation).

20 *Ibidem*, p. 10.

21 *Ibidem*, p. 11.

The issue with single-sheet items starts from their definition or, in bibliographic terms, specific material designation. In common parlance the term 'broadsheet' is often confused with a poster. This ambiguity is a consequence of a cursory approach. International standards have established some specific rules for the description of early printed books. The distinction in the description of early printed and contemporary items is far from being clear for broadsheets to the same extent. The latest consolidated edition of the *International Standard Bibliographic Description (ISBD)*, published in 2011, defines a 'broad-sheet' as "a separately published sheet, *printed on one side only* and intended to be read unfolded; usually intended to be posted, publicly distributed, or sold, e.g. proclamation, handbill, ballad-sheet, news-sheet".²² The term 'broadside' is apparently considered a synonym of 'broadsheet', which it cross-references.²³ In the 2006 edition of the *International Standard Bibliographic Description for Older Monographic Publications (Antiquarian)* the term 'broadside', present in the second revision of 1991, disappeared, replaced by 'broadsheet'.²⁴ This was distinguished from 'half-sheet', described, as a self-standing publication, as "half a sheet, separately published and printed so as to be read unfolded".²⁵

22 *ISBD. International Standard Bibliographic Description* (consolidated edition). Recommended by the ISBD Review Group. Approved by the Standing Committee of the IFLA Cataloguing Section (Berlin and Munich: De Gruyter Saur, 2011). The same version is also available online: <http://www.ifla.org/files/assets/cataloguing/isbd/isbd-cons_20110321.pdf>, p. 320 (my italics).

23 *Ibidem*. In literature, the term 'broadside' is sometimes used as a synonym of 'broad-sheet', and on other occasions to signify difference. See the page "Broadsheets, Pamphlets and Broad-sides" on the website of the Oxford Museum of the History of Science, <<http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/collections/library/prints-collection-guide/broadsheets-pamphlets-broadsides-prints-collection/>>.

24 *ISBD(A): International Standard for Bibliographic Description for Older Monographic Publications (Antiquarian)* (2nd rev. edition). Recommended by the Project Group on the International Standard Bibliographic Description for Older Monographic Publications (Antiquarian). Approved by the Standing Committees of the IFLA Section on Cataloguing and the IFLA Section on Rare Books and Manuscripts (Munich: Saur, 1991). The same version is also available online: <<http://archive.ifla.org/VII/s13/pubs/isbda.htm>>. The definition reads: "Broadside: a separately published sheet *or part of a sheet, printed on one side only* and intended to be read unfolded; usually intended to be posted, publicly distributed, or sold, e.g., proclamation, handbill, ballad-sheet, news-sheet": see <<http://archive.ifla.org/VII/s13/pubs/isbda2.htm#4>>; and *ISBD(A): International Standard Bibliographic Description for Older Monographic Publications (Antiquarian)* recommended by the ISBD Review Group of the IFLA Cataloguing Section (2006 revision), available online: <http://archive.ifla.org/VII/s13/pubs/ISBD%28A%29_February2006.pdf>, p. 3 (my italics).

25 *Ibidem*, p. 5.

The sheet could be “printed on one or both sides”.²⁶ The latest version of the ISBD seems thus to have incautiously excluded the eventuality for single-sheets to be printed on both sides, making them exclusively single-sided as a distinctive feature. Yet single-sheets intended for circulation are usually printed on both sides today, as they occasionally were in the past centuries as well; even broadsheets intended for hanging were occasionally printed on both sides.²⁷

Specific guidelines for bibliographic descriptions of single-sheet items are still in an early stage of development and an international agreement on such guidelines seems still quite far away. Two volumes published by the Italian Central Institute for the Union Catalogue of Italian Libraries and Bibliographic Information (ICCU) in 1999, one with the rules and one with examples, are the only handbook for the description of broadsheets and single-sheet items available to date shaped around the international standards for bibliographic description. Broadsheets and single-sheet items are defined as “full sheets or part of a sheet, usually printed on one side only, so as to be read unfolded”, in line with the latest edition of the ISBD(A).²⁸ In 2006 the ICCU published another handbook with guidelines for the digitisation of such material.²⁹ The interest in broadsheets and single-sheet items in Italy is also apparent in a few digitisation projects and printed catalogues, such as the reference volumes on ordinances for Bologna in the sixteenth century, *Bononia manifesta*; the catalogue of single-sheet items of the Biblioteca di storia moderna e contemporanea of Rome printed between 1814 and 1849; and, more recently, the catalogue of broadsheets printed in Rome between 1544 and 1656 now in the National Library of Rome.³⁰

26 *Ibidem*, p. 3. The definition reads: “a separately published sheet, *printed on one or both sides* so as to be read unfolded; usually intended to be posted, publicly distributed, or sold, e.g., proclamations, handbill, ballad-sheet, news-sheet” (my italics).

27 See Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, *Guida alla catalogazione di bandi, manifesti e fogli volanti* (2 vols., Rome: ICCU, 1999), vol. II, examples 92, 93, 102 and 103.

28 *Ibidem*, vol. I, pp. 17 and 50, 5.1.2.4.

29 See above, note 18.

30 For the digitisation projects, see the appendix B in *Linee guida per la digitalizzazione di bandi, manifesti e fogli volanti*, pp. 99–111. For *Bononia manifesta*, see above, note 5, with a recent supplement: Zita Zanardi (ed.), *Bononia manifesta. Supplemento al Catalogo dei bandi, editti, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi, stampati nel XVI secolo per Bologna e il suo territorio* (Florence: Olschki, 2014). The other volumes are: Sara Mori, *Fogli volanti toscani. Catalogo delle pubblicazioni della Biblioteca di storia moderna e contemporanea di Roma (1814–1849)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2008); and Grillo, *Leggi e bandi di antico regime*. Single-sheet items are also the subject of the monograph by Ugo Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*,

According to this policy promoted by the ICCU, single-sheet items have been included in the survey of sixteenth-century books printed in Italy or elsewhere in the Italian language Edit6, as they are in the Italian collective catalogue SBN.³¹ In contrast, the addition of single-sheet items into some other national bibliographies is relatively recent. Excluded from the German national bibliography for the sixteenth century VD16, single-sheet items are now included in that for the seventeenth century VD17.³² Similarly, single-sheets were not considered in the Dutch STCN, the retrospective bibliography for the period 1540–1800 compiled by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, while 1,062 descriptions are available through the Short Title Catalogue Flanders (STCV).³³

already mentioned above; Italian catalogues and reference volumes available to date are briefly reviewed at pp. 118–122.

- 31 Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo*, online: <<http://edit6.iccu.sbn.it/>> and OPAC SBN. Catalogo del Sistema Bibliotecario Nazionale, online: <<http://www.iccu.sbn.it/>>. See also Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, pp. 118–120.
- 32 *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD16), online: <www.vd16.de/>. From the home page of the project (<<https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/en/catalogues-databases/special-collections/early-and-rare-printed-books/16th-century-vd-16/further-information-about-the-vd-16/>>): “The VD16 records all the hitherto known printed works of the 16th century (1501–1600) published in the German speaking area. Broadside, maps, and musica practica, however, have not been included”. They are included in the survey of seventeenth-century editions though, the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* (VD17) <www.vd17.de/>. See Jürgen Beyer, ‘How complete are the German national bibliographies for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (VD16 and VD17)?’ in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 57–77, at pp. 58–59; and Limbach, ‘Tracing Lost Broadsheet Ordinances’, pp. 491–492.
- 33 Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands (STCN), online: <<https://www.kb.nl/en/organisation/research-expertise/for-libraries/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn>>. Also included are concise descriptions of Dutch (post-)incunabula. On the exclusion of broadsheets see: <<https://www.kb.nl/en/organisation/research-expertise/for-libraries/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn/delimitation-of-the-stcn>>. Short Title Catalogue Flanders (STCV), online: <<http://www.vlaamse-erfgoedbibliotheek.be/stcv>>. The current STCV manual, in Dutch, is available online: <<http://www.vlaamse-erfgoedbibliotheek.be/sites/default/files/bron/736/stcv-handleiding-1-2001.pdf>>. An English updated version is in progress. For the information on the STCN and STCV I am grateful to Goran Proot, Marja Smolenaars and Susanna De Schepper. See also Arthur der Weduwen’s chapter and, for an overview on the state of the art in different countries, Andrew Pettegree’s chapter, both in this volume.

The rules carefully drawn up by the ICCU encouraged and enhanced the description of broadsheets in Italy but could not ensure a consistent quality throughout the collective catalogue SBN. Despite these detailed and specific guidelines, a comparison of the handful of Italian printed catalogues of broadsheet and online records from the Italian collective catalogue SBN reveals serious inconsistencies, as has been pointed out by Manuela Grillo in her study of early modern broadsheets printed in Rome.³⁴ In an international framework, inconsistencies are even more apparent when we compare descriptions for copies of the same issue in online library catalogues.³⁵ My work for the compilation of a bibliography of seventeenth-century Italian imprints for the USTC revealed unconventional and sometimes imaginative interpretations of the standards for bibliographic description in their application to broadsheets.³⁶

With the exception of the Italian SBN and Edit16, and the Universal Short Title Catalogue of the University of St Andrews, the catalogues I have exploited do not offer an option to filter by specific material designation, or to search for keywords such as 'sheet' or 'broadsheet'.³⁷ Such an option is an essential feature for bibliographers with a specific interest in such material. On the contrary, when one meets physical description of "2 sheets ([2] pp.); 58 × 42 cm. & 57 × 44 cm." it might not immediately be clear that this refers to a broadsheet formed by two full sheets pasted together to be hung one below or beside the other, in oblong orientation. This only became clear to me when I matched this entry with another copy of the same imprint fortuitously discovered in SBN.³⁸

34 Grillo, *Leggi e bandi di antico regime*, pp. 48–56 and 59–60. OPAC SBN – Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale, online: <<http://www.sbn.it/>>.

35 Compare, for instance, the records for the broadsheet of the Inquisition *Feria v* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1641) (USTC 4018152) in SBN (<<http://id.sbn.it/bid/RMLE042868>>; digital copy available online: <<http://scaffalidigitali.casanatense.it/identifier/RMLE042868>>) and in the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France: <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb337687870>>.

36 This survey took place between 2012 and 2015. My examples are therefore focussed on broadsheets printed in Italy, mostly in Rome, in the first half of the seventeenth century.

37 University of St Andrews, *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC), online: <<http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>>.

38 From the online catalogue of the National Library of Scotland: <<http://main-cat.nls.uk/vwebv/holdingsInfo?searchId=1975&recCount=25&recPointer=8&bibId=1780402>>. According to the Italian guidelines, *Guida alla catalogazione di bandi, manifesti e fogli volanti*, vol. I, p. 50, 5.1.2.5, example 42(b) and Commissione permanente per la revisione delle regole italiane di catalogazione, *Regole italiane di catalogazione* (REICAT) (Rome: ICCU, 2009), pp. 130–131, 4.5.1.5 B., the description would be 1 broadsheet (2 sheets). See also the examples 31 and 42 a, b and c in *Guida alla catalogazione di bandi, manifesti e fogli volanti*, vol. II.

It is a very accurate description indeed, providing the measurements for each sheet, but still difficult to understand. The 'format' indicated as a 'book', referring to the rules for bibliographic description of early printed books, might cause further disorientation. This contrasts to the present trend for the development of descriptive standards, OPACs and tools such as facets, pushing toward clear and user-friendly interfaces, not requiring any specific knowledge on the part of their users. A note would perhaps help the user to understand the nature of this physical object.

This leads us to introduce another critical issue. The majority of online catalogues do not describe the format of single-sheets, or even use the term properly. As already noted by Paul Needham

specific format statements, by which I mean identifications of whether paper broadsides are full sheets, half-sheets, or quarter-sheets (and so forth), are not entirely absent from descriptions of incunable broadsides, but they are rare and when they are found, they are typically inconsistent and very often, if not merely ambiguous, positively erroneous.³⁹

According to Philip Gaskell, "in bibliographical usage the format of a book of the hand-press period means the arrangement of its formes and the subsequent folding of the printed sheets as indicated by the number and conjugacy of the leaves and the orientation of the paper in the gatherings".⁴⁰ For broadsheets, half-sheets or quarter-sheets and so on, cut and not folded, the format should be given in terms of fractions of a full sheet: 1°, ½°, ¼° etc.⁴¹

39 Needham, 'The Formats of Incunable Broad-sides', p. 129. I owe this reference to Saskia Limbach. This is followed by an accurate analysis of the description of broadsheets in some renowned catalogues of incunabula, at pp. 129–133. Here he notices that "in a sense, he [Proctor] never really focused on broadsides as a class of incunables" and that "if Proctor was inconsistent in his treatment of broadsides and their formats, BMC took those inconsistencies to new heights" and "the various editors of BMC have employed well over two dozen different formulations to describe a little more than one hundred different broadsides" (p. 131). On the challenge of understanding the actual format of a single-sheet item in catalogues see also Alexander S. Wilkinson, Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo and Alba de la Cruz's essay in this volume.

40 Philip Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2012), p. 80. See also Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 196: "the statement of the format is a statement of a number of leaves formed by a whole sheet of paper folded to make it ready for binding in the book along with other sheets".

41 Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography*, p. 81.

When appropriate, this should be followed by the statement of oblong orientation.⁴² According to the ISBD consolidated edition of 2011, “broadsheets and half sheets may be recorded by the respective term, discarding the format designation, or as 1 leaf and the proper format designation”.⁴³ In the current practice, though, the format designation is often replaced, rather than followed as suggested by the ISBD, by the dimensions in centimetres.⁴⁴ Where indicated, the format of single-sheets is usually given as for folded sheets (2° instead of 1/2°, 4° instead of 1/4° and so on).⁴⁵ Furthermore, the prevalence of (supposedly) folios combined with a weird absence of full sheets (1°) generates doubts on the actual correspondance to the actual format, where ‘folio’ seems rather generically used to indicate a ‘large’ size.⁴⁶ In some other instances, the term ‘format’ is improperly used to indicate the specific material designation.⁴⁷ As remarked, again, by Paul Needham, “in general, incunable catalogues have ignored the formats of broadsides, or considered the word ‘broadside’ itself to be an adequate format statement”.⁴⁸

Broadsheets are often described through an inferred title in the language of the catalogue, without including any word from the actual text or even specifying the language of publication.⁴⁹ Collection-level cataloguing, allowed by

42 Needham, ‘The Formats of Incunable Broadsides’, p. 133.

43 ISBD (2011 consolidated edition), 5. Material description area; 5.3.2: Bibliographic format and dimensions (Older monographic resources), p. 224, 5.3.2.1. Examples: “1 broadsheet” or “1 leaf ; 1°”; “1 half sheet” or “1 leaf ; 1/2:0”.

44 *Ibidem*, p. 225: “Dimensions may be given in area 5” etc.

45 Needham, ‘The Formats of Incunable Broadsides’, p. 128. Needham actually recommends, if possible, to state the fraction of a paper sheet represented by the broadside in question directly: full sheet instead of 1°, half-sheet etc.; and considers the numeric fractions as suggested by Bowers and Gaskell to be a “unnecessary and confusing practice” (p. 140).

46 This was also noted by Paul Needham for the *Einblattdrucke des xv. Jahrhunderts. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der wiegendrucke* (Halle: Karras, 1914), where “no broadside is identified as 1°, that is, a full sheet of paper. Yet a great many incunable broadsides were printed on full sheets of paper. It follows that in a large number of instances, Einbl.’s formats must be incorrect”. Needham, ‘The Formats of Incunable Broadsides’, p. 132.

47 So the already mentioned website of the Oxford Museum of the History of Science, <<http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/collections/library/prints-collection-guide/broadsheets-pamphlets-broadsides-prints-collection/>>: “The terms broadsheet or broadside refer to both *a format* and a type of print: a sheet of paper printed on one side and not folded” (my italics).

48 Needham, ‘The Formats of Incunable Broadsides’, p. 128.

49 See, for instance, the record from the online catalogue of the British Library: <http://primocat.bl.uk/F?func=direct&local_base=PRIMO&doc_number=003145318&format=001&con_lng=prm>.

MARC standards for bibliographic description, is also not unusual for collections of single-sheet items. This practice is described as follows:

Collection-level cataloguing involves the creation of a single bibliographic record for materials randomly accumulated over time or for materials acquired as a group. These collections are usually formed by or around a person, family, corporate body, or subject, and may be from a common source. This material may be individual volumes, bound together or housed in pamphlet boxes or gaylords. Collection level records may be created for material classed either together or separately.⁵⁰

As a result, such records refer to a number of items bound or collected together, although in some cases printed over a quite extensive period of time. They are more similar to an archival than bibliographic description and provide no data on individual items.⁵¹

Inconsistencies are, to a large extent, the result of the many challenges faced in the description of such material. Perhaps the most serious of these is the frequent absence of a proper title. In many cases, what can be identified as a title for its typographic prominence is a generic word or formula, such as 'edict' or 'ordained and proclaimed';⁵² even more frequently, the documents start off with the name of the official in charge of the prescription followed by some recurrent titles and formulas. In such cases, the words graphically prominent, if there are any, are not enough to identify editions or to describe the content.⁵³

Printers used to reprint broadsheets line by line copying the previous issue as a model or draft with minimal updates. In early modern Rome, ordinances

50 See the guidelines by Stephen Young on the website of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University: <http://www.library.yale.edu/BeinCatM/coll_lev.html> (last revised: 6 January 2002).

51 See for instance two records from the online catalogue of the British Library, one related to 17 items printed in Rome between 1607 and 1675: <http://primocat.bl.uk/F/?func=direct&local_base=PRIMO&doc_number=003483057&format=001&con_lng=eng>; the other comprising three documents printed again in Rome between 1625 and 1643: <http://primocat.bl.uk/F/?func=direct&local_base=PRIMO&doc_number=003145847&format=001&con_lng=eng>; and a third one from the online catalogue of the Bodleian Library, referred to 9 papers addressed to the Pope printed in Rome between 1646 and 1648, perhaps on single sheets: <<http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:oxfaleph014183297>>.

52 See also Arthur der Weduwen's chapter in this volume.

53 See for instance the record from the online catalogue of the National Library of Scotland for an edict printed in Rome in 1649: <<http://main-cat.nls.uk/vwebv/search?searchArg=licet+in+constitutione&searchCode=TALL&setLimit=1&recCount=25&searchType=1&pa.ge.search.search.button=Search>>.

on the price of meat were printed twice a year: the main text was only subject to small adjustments, usually reflecting the increase of prices.⁵⁴ Other documents were sometimes reprinted with the addition of a few lines or words, leaving the rest unaffected. A 1642 ban by the Congregation of the Index was reprinted with an additional suggestion for the expurgation of the Roman breviary.⁵⁵ The text was not recomposed except for seven lines added before the final statements. The differences in the engravings on top, showing the coat of arms of Pope Urban VIII Barberini between St Peter and St Paul, would only emerge from the examination of copies. The LOC fingerprint, whose function is to identify printed material with, ideally, a unique code like fingerprints for human beings, gives an identical reading for both.⁵⁶

Identification and Access: Some Suggestions

Despite some internal and mutual inconsistencies and ambiguities, there are some positive signs of an awareness of the need for shared rules for description in order to promote wider access to these resources. The ground shared by archives and libraries will provide a starting point to develop and improve new standards and policies adopted by archives, libraries and museums in an international framework. The following suggestions are based on my personal experiences as a user, as a bibliographer and as a cataloguer of single-sheet ordinances. The aforementioned guidelines published by the ICCU proved particularly useful in such study.

The description should comprise elements from both bibliographic and archival description. Beside place of printing, printer and date of printing, the date of promulgation and publication of an ordinance are also essential elements that must be recorded. In some cases, the date of printing can be inferred by that of promulgation, though careful consideration of the typography is required to avoid the misleading eventuality of a later reprint. Archival and bibliographic guidelines should agree on a policy for the choice of a title

54 See Chapter 6, below.

55 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Per.est.18.6.488 and Vol.misc.260.6. Digital copies of both imprints are available online: <<http://scaffalidigitali.casanatense.it/identifier/RMLE042896>> and <<http://scaffalidigitali.casanatense.it/identifier/RMLE041056>>.

56 z.m.,&r. i.s. 2.um (S) 1642 (A). On the relevance of both fingerprint systems, LOC and STCN, for the identification of variant imprints see Neil Harris, 'Tribal lays and the history of fingerprint', in David J. Shaw (ed.), *Many into one: Problems and opportunities in creating shared catalogues of older books. Papers presented on 11 November 2005 at the CERL Seminar hosted by the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome* (London: CERL, 2006), pp. 21–72.

as an essential element of each description. As seen above, in bibliographic description a title comprises the words having visual prominence. Archival description rather focuses on the content. The title provided in archival records comprises one or two sentences from the document, not necessarily from the start, and without any criterion for transcription. When no title is displayed on the item or it is too short, generic, or in any way not appropriate to describe the edition, the start of the text (*incipit*) should also be provided.⁵⁷ In such cases a note of content is suggested as well. Adapted from archival practice, this document summary could play a significant role in merging archival and bibliographic descriptions. Access to the document could be enhanced by providing subject and keywords.

Strict criteria for transcription and punctuation of early printed materials should be defined as well. In a context where hundreds of imprints were largely based on a recurrent scheme with minimal variations, the smallest differences might lead to the discovery of variant imprints. A Württemberg ordinance was printed in seven variants, the only change being in the very first words or even just in the final line, to make them appropriate to the different social classes of the addressees.⁵⁸ The historical research required to understand and describe such documents is another element in common with archival practice. The identification of the issuing authority and of the addressees is another challenge posed by ordinances to the cataloguer. It is also suggested that one should mention the officials who signed the document. The language, or languages, of the document should be noted. The format and orientation of the sheet should be provided as described above. Measurements of height and width in centimetres are useful too. The description and measurements of types and illustrations, including coat of arms and initials, would help to identify the printer, if not given, and provide additional information on the use and re-use of woodcuts in printing workshops. Coat of arms can provide additional historical information.

The STCN fingerprint is very straightforward for single-sheet items and can prove handy as well. It registers the date of printing, the bibliographical format,

57 The Italian handbook suggests providing at least the first five words of the main text: see *Guida alla catalogazione di bandi, manifesti e fogli volanti*, vol. I, p. 26, 1.1.1.

58 Saskia Limbach, 'Propaganda im Druck. Politische Kommunikation beim "Armen Konrad"', in Peter Rückert (ed.), *Der 'Arme Konrad' vor Gericht. Verhöre, Sprüche und Lieder in Württemberg 1514* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2014), pp. 40–47. Saskia Limbach describes this phenomenon in more detail in her PhD dissertation 'Government Use of Print in the Holy Roman Empire in the Sixteenth Century', especially Chapter 1: 'Governing the German Duchy' (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2017).

and the portion of text placed immediately above the third word of the last line of the text; or above the third word of the penultimate line if the last line does not contain a third word.⁵⁹ The 1642 broadsheets mentioned above have identical LOC fingerprint, while the STCN fingerprint is slightly but clearly different.⁶⁰ Another way to distinguish the records for these two broadsheets would be by including the number of lines of the text. The number of lines is usually included in German reference volumes on incunabula broadsheets.⁶¹ The number of lines is also useful to give an idea of the extent and layout of the text.⁶²

Despite some rather negative premises, there are encouraging signs of a trend towards a more analytical description of broadsheets in libraries and archives. A project on the city archives of Bologna is making inventories and other resources publicly available through a rich, sleek and well-organised website.⁶³ In this effort to promote a wider interaction with the archival heritage, a choice has been made to provide a detailed description of items included in

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- 59 See P.C.A. Vriesema, *The STCN Fingerprint*, in «Studies in Bibliography», 39 (1986), pp. 93–100: p. 98, 3.9. Harris, 'Tribal lays and the history of fingerprint', p. 34, erroneously refers to "the penultimate line placed above the prepenultimate word in the last line".
- 60 164201 – b1=b2 Typographia Melanum\$\$S.\$D for Per.est.18.6.488; 164201 – b1=b2 Typographia \$Melanum\$\$S.\$ for Vol.misc.260.6. It should still be noted that, even on different imprints, both LOC and STCN fingerprints can be identical due to the repetition of imprint statement and signatures at the bottom of broadsheets: see for instance Rome – city, *Bando contra facchini, carrettieri, barilari, & altri per li vini* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1603) (USTC 4037771), copy: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense (hereafter BC), Per.est.18/3.315; and Rome – city, *Bando per la dogana di Ripa* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1603) (USTC 4037776), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/3.317; LOC: I.s. o-s. r.s. M.3. (S) 1603 (R); STCN: 160301 b1=b2 Appresso \$Cursorum for both; or Rome – city, *Editto sopra lo spiano del pane del distretto di Roma* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1648) (USTC 4046748), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.246; and Rome – city, *Editto, e provisioni sopra le future sementi* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1648) (USTC 4046749), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.247; LOC: 8.s. s.*, s.n. P.s. (S) 1648 (A); STCN: 164801 b1=b2 Nella cis\$pu for both.
- 61 See for instance Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Kölner Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Buchhandlung Wamper, 1979); and Falk Eisermann, *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation* [VE 15] (3 vols., Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004).
- 62 The suggestion to include such information for single-sheets printed in the following centuries as well emerged in the symposium 'Einblattdrucke des 16. Jahrhunderts', organised by Falk Eisermann and Andrew Pettegree at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel between 7 and 8 March 2013. I am grateful to Saskia Limbach for a report on the symposium and for the many valuable suggestions on a template for the description of broadsheets for the USTC.
- 63 *Una città per gli archivi*, online: <<http://www.cittadegliarchivi.it/>>.

archival files through a specific, purpose-built record. This template for broadsheets description complies with the standards for EAD – Encoded Archival Description.⁶⁴

Broadsheet databases online tend nowadays to provide only short descriptions as an help-aid where the principal purpose is access to digitised copies. This approach has been followed, for instance, by the English Broadside Ballad Archive and the Broadside Ballads Online from the Bodleian Libraries, where the description is focused on the content rather than on the bibliographic and physical elements of single-sheet items.⁶⁵ This was also the choice of the project on the Bandi Merlani of the Archiginnasio in Bologna, comprising over 75,000 items from the Stamperia Camerale of Bologna from 1560 to 1869. 22,580 ordinances printed from January 1601 to June 1796 have been digitised to date, a total of 28,215 images available through the web site of the project.⁶⁶ Without underestimating the unquestionable utility of digital reproductions, a detailed description remains a fundamental research tool both as a source of information and as access to actual resources.

The use of an integrated template, merging elements from the archival and bibliographic domains as suggested by the Italian guidelines from the late 1990s and now by RDA, would prove useful for users interested either in the content or in the material features of single-sheet items.⁶⁷ Consistent descriptions should be compiled with a view to the interoperability of OPACs in an

64 The template comprises the following fields: Classmark; Physical position; Title; Secondary title; Date; Definition of object; Typology; Technique; Dimensions; Extent; Image; Iconography and content; Personal or corporate name; Personal or corporate role; Preservation state; Damage; Notes; Digital copy. See Sara Verrini, 'Un approccio archivistico alla descrizione dei manifesti', *Archivi & Computer*, 2 (2012), pp. 174–186.

65 See note 1.

66 <<http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/bandi/index.html>>. Digitisation was made on microfilms and not of original documents. See also *Linee guida per la digitalizzazione di bandi, manifesti e fogli volanti*, vol. 1, pp. 99–100.

67 *Resource Description and Access (RDA)* is a new standard for descriptive cataloguing for bibliographic data in libraries and other cultural institutions such as museums and archives. It was published jointly by the American Library Association, the Canadian Library Association and the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals (CILIP) in the UK in 2010 as the successor to Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules, Second Edition (AACR2), the prevailing standard for English language libraries since 1978. I presented some of the issues discussed here in a paper entitled 'Stepchildren of printing. Toward an integrated standard for the description of single-sheet items' at the international *RDA and rare materials seminar* that took place in Edinburgh on 6 November 2015, organised and hosted by CIG Scotland, in conjunction with members of RBMS, EURIG, RBSCG, CIG, IFLA and JSC, and in association with the JSC for Development of RDA meeting.



FIGURE 2.6 Multiple leftover copies of the same imprint (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1747)
ROME, ARCHIVIO GENERALE DELL'ORDINE DEI SERVI DI MARIA.

international framework. A shared effort is needed to provide wider access to such resources, many of which are not so much ephemeral as invisible in their actual location: unexplored boxes and shelves in archives and libraries (fig. 2.6).⁶⁸

68 See also Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 188; and, on the ephemerality of broadsheets, Andrew Pettegree's chapter in this volume.

PART 2

Surveys



A Survey of Printed Spanish Broadsheets, 1472–1700

Alexander S. Wilkinson, Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo and Alba de la Cruz

In 1655, a Flemish illusionist from Lille named Juan Roge took his act to Spain. There, he appears to have caused quite the sensation. To drum up interest in his shows, he produced a promotional poster, a printed '*cartel*'.¹ Framed in an ornamental border, the poster was surprisingly imposing. In the upper section could be found a coat of arms, flanked by a sun, moon and Latin motto. With the text addressed to 'SEÑORES MIOS', the poster went on to describe what the audience might expect. Roge 'el maravilloso bebedor de agua' was apparently able to drink large volumes of water, which he would then miraculously transform into other liquids – including red and white wines of varying varieties. A space was left at the end of the *cartel*, to be filled by hand, which would give the location where the magician was performing. No doubt captivated and nauseated in equal measure by such controlled regurgitation, audiences witnessed this 'eighth marvel of the world' in courtyard theatres in Toledo, Seville, Granada, Córdoba and Madrid. It is unlikely to have diminished Roge's box-office success that he had been questioned twice by the Inquisition to establish whether his performance relied on any diabolical activity.² The poster, the only known copy, can now be found nestled amongst the Inquisition records at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid.

Broadsheets were a ubiquitous part of life in Spanish cities, used for a myriad of diverse purposes including advertising, communicating legal, civic and ecclesiastical information, to service bureaucratic needs (forms, certificates and stock legal documents), for news, commemorating special events, and for

1 *Señores míos. Aquí ha llegado a esta ciudad el maravilloso bebedor de agua* (Granada: en la imprenta real de Baltasar de Bolibar, 1655), Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Inquisición, 94, no. 15. One Madrid resident remarked on Roge's act, 'grandes modos hay de sacar dineros en este mundo', Jerónimo Barrionuevo, *Avisos (1654–1658)* (Madrid: Tello, 1892), II, p. 212, entry dated 17 November 1655. Roge was not the only illusionist working in this field in Europe. The work of Floram Marchand from Tours is recounted in Thomas Peedle & Thomas Cosbie, *The falacie of the great water-drinker discovered* ([London]: B. Alsop for T. Dunster, 1650). As with Roge, Marchand was also seemingly viewed with suspicion, at least by the French authorities, see A2r. More recent exponents of this sort of work include Hadji Ali in the 1920s and 1930s, and David Blaine circa 2013.

2 See Julio Caro Baroja, *Vidas Mágicas e Inquisición* (Madrid: Edicions Istmo, 1992), I, p. 380.

religious devotion. Although they have left only a very slight and precarious record, their investigation can tell us much not only about patterns of contemporary culture, but also of the ways in which print connected with urban populations. The purpose of this essay is to offer a survey of surviving physical examples, as well as fleeting glimpses in archival documentation and contemporary literature, in order to gain a better understanding of the character of broadsheet production in Spain during the first two centuries of the printing press.

Identification

The broadsheets discussed in this article were generally printed horizontally or vertically on an unfolded sheet of paper. There were two typical sheets used by Spanish printers – the most common corresponds roughly to chancery size 320 × 440 mm, a few centimetres larger than a modern A3 sheet, while the second corresponds roughly to the royal size, around 400 × 600 mm. The latter was most commonly employed in Aragon and Catalonia.³ Broadsheets could be cropped, either soon after printing or when they were archived – often being bound with other materials, whether manuscript or print. As a result, they may well now be smaller than the standard sheet dimensions. To add to the variety, broadsheets could, on occasion, be far larger, with sheets being joined together. Such is the case, for instance, with the 1560 *Catalogo de los libros que se prohiben*, the Inquisition's index of forbidden books, which measures 1030 mm × 500 mm.⁴

3 There appear to be relatively few examples of broadsheets in Spain being printed on this type of sheet. On Spanish sheet sizes, see Víctor Infantes, 'Historia mínima (y desde luego incompleta) de los impresos de una sola hoja. II. Los años áureos', in Anthony Close (ed.), *Edad de Oro Cantabrigense. Actas del VII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional del Siglo de Oro (AISO) Robinson College, Cambridge, 18–22 de junio de 2005* (Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2006), p. 352. Neil Harris offers a slightly different standard for Italy and most of Europe – 315 × 450 mm and 445 × 615 mm. On this, see his 'The Shape of Paper' at <http://ihl.enssib.fr/paper-and-watermarks-as-bibliographical-evidence/the-shape-of-paper> accessed 23 March 2015.

4 *Catalogo de los libros que se prohiben, ansi en latin como en romance, por mandado del ilustrissimo y reverendissimo señor arzobispo de Sevilla, inquisidor general de España, y de los señores del supremo consejo de la sancta general inquisicion* (Valladolid: Sebastián Martínez, 1560). The only known copy is in the Houghton Library, Harvard, CB In23 1560. On the Index, see Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, *Index de l'Inquisition espagnole, 1551, 1554, 1559* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1984).

Actually identifying broadsheets presents very particular challenges. In addition to the usual places where one might come across printed books, it is also necessary to scour less obvious locations – not least archives, manuscript collections in libraries, churches and museums. However, there is another obstacle. Broadsheet is a term that has no fixed equivalent in the Spanish context. Online and printed catalogue entries can be frustratingly unhelpful. In the absence of any major political broadsheet culture, as in Germany, or broadside ballad culture, as in England, bibliographers and the library community are perhaps less sensitised to these sorts of publications. Library catalogues typically identify broadsheets using a variety of terms including *1º*, *doble folio*, and *hoja impresa por una sola cara*.

Archival information can be similarly inconsiderate to the broadsheet hunter. While there are occasional clear documentary references to the commissioning of posters or broadsheets, most often references contained in inventories of bookseller's stock are so ambiguous that it is almost impossible to determine with any certainty whether they refer to broadsheets as we understand them, or to sheets printed on both sides which might eventually be folded – ‘una resma de romances’, for instance, is more likely to be a *pliego suelto*, a ‘loose-fold’ pamphlet,⁵ but a ream (500 sheets) of calendars or poetry – such as those noted as part of a cargo from Spain to America – may well have been in broadsheet form.⁶

Notwithstanding the obvious challenges, we have so far identified some 1,175 broadsheets for the period 1472 to 1700.⁷ This is not comprehensive, and some educated guess work has been employed in distinguishing between broadsheets and other types of printed matter. Identification is, then, not as straightforward as one might have anticipated. However, this corpus provides a helpful sample for us to begin to explore.

5 Stock of Guillermo Remón, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cuenca, ms. Leg. 226, f. 366r.

6 See Pedro Rueda Ramírez, ‘La redes comerciales del libro en la colonia: “peruleros” y libreros en la Carrera de Indias’, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 71.2, 2014, pp. 447–478. There is a reference to a box of books sent to America from Spain. The inventory includes, among other titles: ‘15 resmas de menudencias el uiaxe de Jerusalem, espexos de uida humana, conde Fernán Gonçalez, confesionarios, calendarios, Carlomanos, el Cid, Marques de Mantua, San Alexo, St. Francisco, Santa escalera, Flores y Blancaflor, Roberto y coplas’, p. 467.

7 Information taken from *Iberian Books*, an ongoing project based at University College Dublin and funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. *Iberian Books* offers the most complete unified catalogue of Iberian print available. To date, it has surveyed all printing up to 1650, and by 2018 it will have completed its survey to 1700. It is available online at <http://iberian.ucd.ie> and as part of the Universal Short Title Catalogue Project <http://www.ustc.ac.uk>.

Survival

By their very nature, broadsheets represent a category of print particularly vulnerable to destruction. Single-sheet publications are fragile and disposable, often intended to be posted for a short period onto buildings, city walls, posts, or in churches, shops and houses. They have no intrinsic value, and as we will see below, there was little in the character of their subject matter which seems to have inspired collectors. As a consequence, and in comparison to print more broadly, broadsheets have survived in an astonishingly small number of locations. They are almost always preserved anthologised with other items, a fact which has dramatically transformed their likelihood of being preserved. While there are records of Spanish books in over 1,800 libraries worldwide, only 106 collections are known to hold broadsheets, and over 70 per cent of those house fewer than 5. By far the largest collections of extant examples are in the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya in Barcelona, followed by the Real Academia de la Historia, the Biblioteca Nacional de España and the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. 90 per cent of broadsheets are known in just a single copy. Where multiple copies of a broadsheet are known, they can often be found in the same collection, if not the same bound volume.⁸ Only 6 per cent of all broadsheets can be found in more than one collection, though from an examination of the titles concerned, this would appear to be almost entirely a matter of chance rather than anything inherently exceptional about the items. We can say with high confidence that relative to what once existed, very few broadsheets have survived. What has survived almost certainly distorts, and perhaps quite significantly, original publication patterns – more so than almost any other type of printed literature from this period. In one bookstore alone in 1529, could be found 50,500 sheets of rhymes, 21,000 sheets of prayers and over 10,000 single-sheet devotional woodcuts.⁹ We have virtually no surviving evidence for any of these types of broadsheets before 1700.

Normally, statistics of surviving printed items can be used to outline or at least suggest general patterns of production. With broadsheets, this is simply not the case. We can have little confidence that the surviving record reflects the rhythms of production or of the relative proportions of different types of broadsheet that once issued from the presses. Fig. 3.1, then, can only tell us

8 For instance, the half sheet *Ab sentencia real proferida à relació del magnífich micer Ioan Amell als 27 de octubre 1586* is known in five copies, all in the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya.

9 From the bookstore of Jacobo Cromberger. Two documents dated 7 June 1529, can be found in the Archivo Protocolos (Seville), Oficio 4, Libro [2] of 1529, unfoliated), cited in Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville. The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 36.

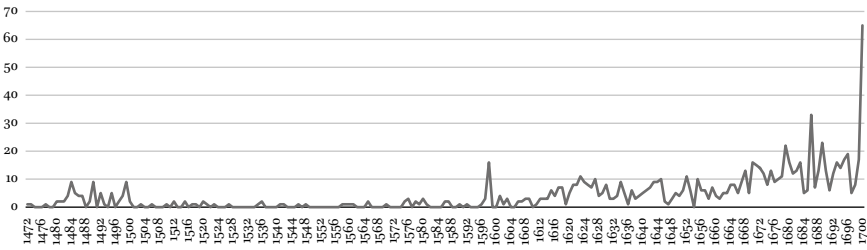


FIGURE 3.1 Chronological overview of surviving broadsheets, 1472–1700.

about what has defied the odds and made it into modern collections. There are many years, especially in the sixteenth century, where there are no known broadsheets at all. Incunable broadsheets (all indulgences) seem to have been preserved and cherished more than their sixteenth-century counterparts. Indeed, and quite remarkably, there are almost the same number of broadsheets (74) known for the period 1472 to 1500 as for the period 1501 to 1603. The peak in 1598 is the result of a group of broadsheets in verse which marked the death of Philip II. The other, in 1686, is due to a large group of religious verse – *Goigs* – dedicated to a range of saints. The number of surviving broadsheets balloons in the seventeenth century, though the incredible spike in 1700 is the result of attributed dates, i.e. items catalogued as circa 1700.

Place of publication	Surviving broadsheets
Not known	557
Barcelona	233
Madrid	58
Granada	53
Valencia	40
Zaragoza	26
Seville	24
Valladolid	19
Huete	18
Gerona	17
Toledo	14
Salamanca	13
Alcalá de Henares	12
Other Places (32)	71

FIGURE 3.2 Stated or inferred places of publication, 1472–1700.

Broadsheets, as we can see from Fig. 3.2, were produced in all major Spanish cities and towns. Despite the legal requirement to have place of printing and printer recorded, this was honoured more in the breach than the observance when it came to cheap print, or indeed the even more ephemeral single-sheet printing. The vast majority of broadsheets do not carry the place of publication or name the printer or publisher. This is especially true of broadsheets commissioned by the civil or ecclesiastical authorities. The high number of surviving Barcelonan broadsheets is noteworthy. Many of these, though not all, were religious poetry intended to be sold rather than posted freely. It was more common for such items to include publication information.

Printer's names are recorded on just a quarter of all items. Where they are mentioned, they tended to be well-known in the industry. In Barcelona, named printers included Pere Posa, Gabriel Graells, Giraldo Dótil, Juan Amelló, and Rafael Figuerò. In Madrid, we can see figures such as Julian de Paredes, Francisco Martínez, and Pedro Tazo. From the very scant information we have, broadsheets do appear to have been part of the everyday business of many print shops from the very moment that the presses arrived in the Peninsula. Broadsheets could be printed very quickly, and in the case of jobbing work, printers could cover their costs and make at least a modest return almost instantly. There were commissions to print broadsheets from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. There would also have been work from all manner of businesses and performers eager to advertise their wares. Others, including pedlars, may also have paid the printing costs of certain types of texts, such as devotional images and prayers, almanacs and news. No doubt many printers too saw the potential for profit in this market, as in others, and invested themselves. Still, in the absence of detailed account books for the Spanish printing trade in this period, quite how important single-sheet printing was to the financial health of their businesses is frustratingly opaque.

The overwhelming majority of surviving broadsheets, around 73 per cent, were related to ecclesiastical administration or religious devotion (see Colour Plate 1). Over a fifth of this total were printed indulgences, part of the revenue-raising mechanism of the church, where the faithful would pay for remission of their time in purgatory. On the whole, simple typography was employed on indulgences with spaces left for the recipient, date and an authorising signature. One of the very first surviving items known to have been printed in Spain was a broadsheet indulgence, printed around 1477 to raise money to support

the conversion of Guinea, Africa and the Canary Islands.¹⁰ Other indulgences soon followed – to fund the fight against the Turks, to help expel the Moors from Granada or for a variety of other causes.¹¹ While many indulgences could be found in broadsheet form, such was the scale of the industry that often multiple indulgences were printed on a single sheet and then cut. This is the case with Fig. 3.3, a quite extraordinary example of a sheet with as yet uncut indulgences. It was probably printed in Logroño around 1502.

The quality of indulgence printing deteriorated as the sixteenth-century wore on. By 1604, such was the concern that poor-quality printing was putting off potential buyers for indulgences relating to the crusade against the Moors, that king Philip III was himself compelled to intervene. He instructed that the indulgences should be printed on better paper – Genoese if possible – and that the overall quality of the printing had to be improved. He also increased the printer's wages.¹² It does seem that there was a marked upgrading in the quality of indulgences in the seventeenth century – with most on decent-quality paper, and many even boasting woodcuts and ornamental borders.

Many of these indulgences, once purchased, would probably have been pasted up in the houses of the faithful, or otherwise kept safe. The degree to which they could become treasured objects was revealed in November 2008 during the restoration of church in Cuéllar in Segovia. Researchers opened the tomb of Doña Isabel de Zuazo, to find her partly mummified body. X-rays revealed that no fewer than 47 printed indulgences had been laid carefully on her pelvis.¹³

The church commissioned many other sorts of broadsheets too – not least ecclesiastical edicts and proclamations. For the sixteenth century, only a few such works survive. The best known is undoubtedly the supersize broadsheet which offers a list of books prohibited by the Inquisition. It was published in Valladolid in 1560, and the only copy known to survive can now be found in the

10 *Indulgentia* [Sevilla, Antonio Martínez, Alfonso del Puerto y Bartolomé Segura, 1477–1478].

11 On bulls of indulgence, see Luisa Cuesta Gutiérrez, 'Algunos datos sobre la impresión de bulas en España' in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 30, 1955, pp. 86–92.

12 Cuesta Gutiérrez, 'Algunos datos', p. 89.

13 This work was undertaken by the Fundación de Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León. DNA analysis suggests that Isabel died aged between 65 and 70. Cristina Gamba, Eva Fernández, Mirian Tirado, Francisco Pastro & Eduardo Arroyo-Pardo, 'Brief communication: Ancient nuclear DNA and kinship analysis: The case of a medieval burial in San Esteban Church in Cuellar (Segovia, Central Spain)', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 144/3 (2011), pp. 485–491; table 1, 486.

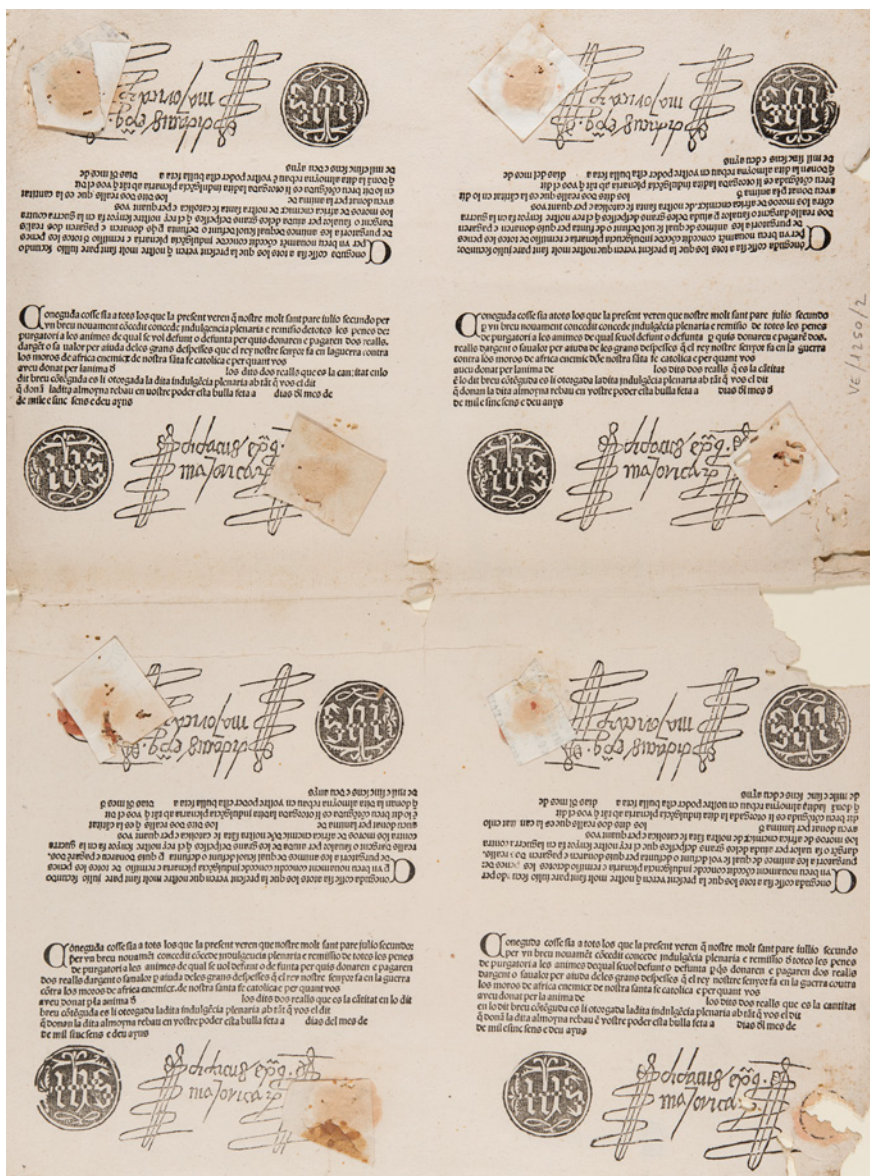


FIGURE 3.3 [Bula de indulgencia], [Logroño, 1502].

MADRID, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, VE 1250 (2).

Houghton Library, Harvard.¹⁴ A greater number of surviving edicts and proclamations survive for the seventeenth century. Many of these, though not all, were published at the request of the Inquisition to ensure that everyone was aware of the clear boundaries to theological discourse and practice. Some were of a decidedly local significance. In one, the university professors at the University of Salamanca were chastised for egging on the local clerics to go and see bull fights.¹⁵ Others, though, were almost certainly part of much broader coordinated campaigns, including no fewer than five broadsheets published between 1615 to 1617 which attempted to ensure that nothing was preached in ‘sermones populares’ which would dispute the Immaculate Conception.¹⁶ The Immaculate Conception was something of a tense issue in Spain, following a series of Dominican sermons which openly disputed the doctrine in 1613 and 1614. Another interesting example of coordination, was the large 58 × 43 cm broadsheet published around 1679 which was issued by Diego Sarmiento de Valladares (1615–1695), Grand Inquisitor of Spain from 1669 to 1695. Part of the broadsheet was in Latin, the rest in Spanish. It contained Innocent XI’s prohibition against any discussion of sixty-five issues of a scandalous and pernicious nature.¹⁷ It was issued in response to the University of Louvain’s sending of 115 dogmatic and moral propositions to the Pope for condemnation, and focused on the issue of probabilism.¹⁸ It was mandated that the ‘edict be published in

- 14 *Catalogo de los libros que se prohiben, ansi en latin como en romance, por mandado del illustrissimo y reverendissimo señor arzobispo de Sevilla, inquisidor general de España, y de los señores del supremo consejo de la sancta general inquisicion* (Valladolid: en casa de Sebastián Martínez, 1560).
- 15 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter BNE), MS 5785, f. 29 begins *Don Hie ... sancta yglesia ... si delegado apostolico en el ... de vn breue de nuestro muy sancto Padre Sixto Papa v, sub annulo piscatoris, especial y expressamente a nos dirigido, cuyo tenor de verbo adverbium para que de el conste y de nuestra jurisdiccion apostolica como se sigue* [Salamanca: s.n., 1586?]. Dated Salamanca 17 June 1586.
- 16 For instance, *Constitucion del santissimo señor nuestro Pio Papa v para que en los sermones populares no se dispute de la concepcion de la gloriosa Maria madre de Dios, con la qual tambien se renueua lo que ha sido establecido por Sixto Papa IIII de felice recordacion, y el sacro concilio Tridentino* (Baeza: Pedro de la Cuesta, 1615). This was a Spanish translation of a Bull of Pius V dated Rome 30 November 1570. There is another known edition of this broadsheet from the same year, but without imprint.
- 17 *Nos Don Diego Sarmiento de Valladareres ... Inquisidor General en todos los reynos y señorios de su Magestad &c. Por quanto la Santidad de Inocencio XI ...estableció y decretó quen debian ser condenadas y prohibidas ... sesenta y cinco proposiciones ... por ser (al que menos) escandalosa y perniciosas*, [Madrid?: s.n, 1679?]; 58 × 43 cm. Madrid, BNE VE/67/91.
- 18 Innocent XI condemned the taking of the least probable option or tenuously probable options.

every metropolitan church, cathedral and college in the kingdoms of his majesty, 'and that it be 'fixed onto one of the doors of the said churches, where it should not be removed except under the express license of the Inquisitors of each district, under the penalty of excommunication and 50 ducats'.

However, perhaps the most extraordinary group of broadsheets relate to the discovery in Granada in 1588 of parchment and relics at a tower called Torre Turpiana, and a few years later in 1595 the unearthing of a series of lead tablets and other relics on the nearby Sacromonte hill.¹⁹ The relics apparently included those of St Caecilius, while the lead texts in Arabic and Latin espoused a very particular form of Christianity with a stress on devotion to the Virgin Mary. With surprising speed, the relics became the focus of intense devotion in Granada, and a concomitant increase in pride in the city. Their significance was not lost on the local church authorities, especially the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Castro, who by 1600 was ready to endorse the relics and other finds as genuine in a broadsheet proclamation.²⁰ Over the next few decades, a heated dispute arose largely between the church in Granada, the Crown, and Rome concerning the authenticity of the finds. It was a tussle eventually won by Rome who took possession of the tablets in 1642. However, in the intervening period, there were efforts on both sides to win over public opinion in Granada and elsewhere. There are, for instance, a few surviving broadsheets published at the instigation of Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisitor General from 1632 to 1643, prohibiting the *Informacion para la historia del Sacro Monte* – a translation of the tablets produced at the instigation of the local church and council in Granada – from being reprinted, sold, or even commented on in print or in manuscript.²¹ That this was a long running cause of concern for the Inquisition

19 On this, see A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

20 Granada (Archidiócesis) Arzobispo (1588–1610: Pedro de Castro), *In domine nomine nostri Iesu Christi. Nos don Pedro de Castro por la gracia de Dios, y de la Santa Sede Apostolica, Arçobispo de Granada ... Auiendo tratado de las reliquias, que ... se hallaron ... en el año de mil y quinientos y nouenta y cinco, en el monte que llaman de Valparayso cerca desta ciudad* (Granada: Sebastian de Mena, 1600). Madrid, BNE Porcones 4/1(2). A further proclamation, following a similar theme, was printed in 1614, *Sentencia de d. Pedro de Castro arzobispo de Granada y otros en la causa sobre la autenticidad de la s. reliquias halladas en las acavernas del monte del Valparaiso de la ciudad de Granada* (Granada: Bartolomé Lorenzana, 1614). Madrid, BNE VE/64/17.

21 *Edicto de fray Antonio de Sotomayor, inquisidor general, publicando breve de Clemente VIII acerca de la lecutra de libros y papeles hallados en el monte de Valparaiso de Granada y reiterando el edicto promulgado por don Antonio Zapata en 1623* [Madrid, s.n., 1633?]. The penalty was 'excommunication mayor, trina canonical monitione praemissa, y de docientos

is revealed by the issuing of a further broadsheet on the same subject some eight years later.²² One suspects that there would have been many in between.

We also have a number of surviving broadsheets commissioned by churches to publicise upcoming religious festivities. Fig. 3.4 offers one example of these. It was commissioned by the Congregation of the Unworthy Slaves of the Holy Sacrament, located in the convent of Santa Maria Madalena in Madrid – opposite the church of San Sebastián in the Calle de Atocha. Its function was to publicise the eight day remembrance of Judas Maccabeus, and his efforts to restore worship in the Temple in Jerusalem. Both a literary and religious congregation founded in 1608, the Congregation of the Unworthy Slaves included a number of illustrious members, especially in its early years – not least Lope de Vega, Francisco de Quevedo and Miguel de Cervantes. The simple but effective ornamentation is striking, and it offers a calendar of speakers and other commemorations for the coming week. Also of note, but difficult to see in the reproduction, is the fact that the original named speaker for the final Sunday has been replaced by the overlay of another strip of paper, again printed, which now reads Francisco Pimentel – a high-ranking and well-connected Jesuit. This is likely to have been the result of a last minute correction to the line-up, rather than an error in the original printing.

For larger events, such as the celebrations which surrounded the beatification of Teresa de Jesús in 1615 in Barcelona, posters were printed up and posted in the city, but they were also sent out by courier to other cities and towns in Spain in an effort to publicise the event as widely as possible.²³

There were also some broadsheets of a more devotional nature. We have already remarked on the existence of sheets containing woodcuts of religious images and of sheets of prayers. None of these appear to have survived. What has been preserved, however, are copious examples of devotional poetry, bought to assist in personal worship, to commemorate a particular saint's day, or as a memento of a visit to a particular relic or shrine. In one instance, in a field

ducados para gasto extraordinarios del santo Oficio, entregueis y exhibais al Secretario infra escrito, o a qualquier comissario del santo Oficio, para que lo presente en el Consejo de su Magestad de la santa General Inquisicion'.

- 22 *Edicto de fray Antonio de Sotomayor, inquisidor general, publicando breve de Urbano VIII, referente a la lectura y tenencia de libros prohibidos y en especial los hallados en la Torre Turpiana y Monte de Valparaiso de Granada* [Madrid, s.n., 1641]. Dated 9 March 1641.
- 23 Joseph Dalmau, *Relacion de la solemnidad con que se han celebrado en la ciudad de Barcelona las fiestas a la beatificacion de la madre S. Teresa de Jesus* (Barcelona: Sebastián Matevad, 1615), f. 5, cited in Antonio Castillo Gómez, 'Salió també, de la parte de la ciudad, un cartel impreso. Usos expuestos del escrito en los certámenes del Siglo de Oro', *TECA. Testimonianze, editoria, cultura, arte* (2011), p. 9.



ALABADO SEA EL SANTISSIMO SACRAMENTO,
 y la purissima Concepcion de la Virgen Maria nuestra Señora.
 concebida sin pecado original.

A Venerable Congregacion de los indignos Esclaues
 del santissimo Sacramento, sita en el Religioso Conuento de santa
 Maria Madalena desta Villa. Emula al glorioso zelo del esforçado Ca
 pitan y Caudillo del Pueblo de Dios Iudas Macabeo, pues si aquel (al
 intensissimo sentimiçto, y general dolor de ver profanado el Templo
 material en que era Dios venerado) hizo igualasse la gloria, y rego
 zijo con que le purificò, adornò, y engrandecio, eternizando su memo
 ria con anual recordacion de ocho dias: Afsi esta si (a las luctuosas memorias de los sacri
 legos defacatos executados, no en el Templo material, sino en los Diuinos accidentes que
 encierran a Dios viuo y verdadero) responde con continuos sentimiçtos: a la gloriosa opo
 sicion, y defagruio dellos, entre penosas memorias, dedica festiuas aclamaciones, y cele
 bra gloriosos triunfos en anual correspondencia por ocho dias, que empezarán el Domingo
 16. deste mes. Y acordandose, que mientras el Pueblo pelca, ora Moyses, y el feruor, o de
 caecimiento en esta accion obra el mismo efeto en los que pelean: pide a todos, asistan a
 este Señor que estará patente, con tan feruorosos afectos que se reconozcan los efectos en
 los felices sucesos destas guerras, y en el desahogo de las publicas necesidades. Alentará
 los animos la dulce melodia de la Capilla Real: y engendrará nueuos brios la trompeta
 Euangelica en la boca de los Oradores siguientes.

Domingo 16. El señor Doctor don Luis de Velasco, Catedratico de Prima en la Vniuer
 sidad de Alcalá, y Canonigo en su santa Iglesia.

ESTE DIA AY COMVNION GENERAL.

Lunes 17. El Reuerendissimo Padre Agustín de Castro, de la Compañia de Iesus, Pre
 dicador de su Magestad.

Martes 18. El Reuerendo P. M. F. Ignacio de Vitoria, de la Orden de S. Agustín.

Miercoles 19. El Reuerendo P. M. F. Fráncisco de Peralta, de la Ordē de São Domingo.

Lucues 20. El Reuerendissimo P. F. Iuan de Ocaña, de los Capuchinos, Predicador de
 su Magestad.

Viernes 21. El Reuerendo P. F. Joseph Montes, de la Orden de S. Fráncisco de Paula.

Sabado 22. El Reuerendo P. M. F. Francisco Tello de León, de la Orden de la san
 tissima Trinidad.

Domingo 23. Haze la fiesta la Reyna N. Señora, por la salud del Principe N. Señor, Pro
 tector desta santa Congregacion. Predicará el R.^{mo} P. Fráncisco Pimçtel
 Preposito de la Casa Professa de la Compañia, Predicador de su Mag.^{dad}

ESTE DIA AY COMVNION GENERAL.

Por la tarde aurá Proçesion.

La Congregacion continua en su Oratorio, en frente de S. Sebastian, sus exercicios todos
 los dias, empieza en este tiempo a las cinco de la tarde.

 FIGURE 3.4 *Alabado sea el santissimo sacramento* ([Madrid: s.n., 1657?]).

MADRID, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA VE/59/42.

near Albalate de Zorita in Guadalajara, a dog uncovered a crucifix. A verse was penned to commemorate the discovery, and printed up ‘en letras de molde’.²⁴ While there are some surviving examples of religious poetry as broadsheets being printed in Madrid and elsewhere, a large percentage of surviving examples seem to come from Barcelona and the surrounding area.²⁵ Here, there was a particular tradition of printing *Goigs* or *Jays*.²⁶ We have so far located some 83 of these *Goigs* in Catalan (most from the second half of the seventeenth century), and a further 29 *Gozos* or *Gosos*, the Castilian equivalent.²⁷ The first documented mention of *Goigs* was in the fourteenth century, but their origins are likely to be older.²⁸ They were songs usually sung after mass on feast days throughout the year, or during processions, a fact which explains the multitude of saints to whom these works were addressed. The presence of publishing details on *Goigs*, suggests that unlike the vast majority of surviving broadsheets, these were intended for sale from booksellers, printers and no doubt pedlars outside churches and elsewhere. The first surviving printed examples come from the very beginning of the seventeenth century. They usually adopted a heptasyllabic form, with the first and last verses containing four lines. The last verse, the ‘tornada’, was also sung at the end of the other verses. The *Jays* are relatively simple typographically, and were usually set within a basic frame with at least one woodcut image.

The next largest category of broadsheets can be classed broadly as officialdom – royal edicts, proclamations and local ordinances. We know from comments on printed edicts themselves that considerable efforts were often made to draw attention to new or revised legislation. For significant changes at least, we know that there was often some ceremony and ritual. Trumpets and drums would precede royal and legal officials, and new laws would be proclaimed loudly – especially in the main commercial areas of the city. Almost certainly, in addition to the full text being published in pamphlet form for use by officials and the legal community, summaries of new legislation would also have been printed up in broadsheet copies, posted up and sent out across the

24 William A. Christian Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 211.

25 For instance Pedro Ibáñez de Alarcón’s *Octavas a la concepcion de nuestra señora*, known in two editions (Madrid: Andrés de Parra, 1627) and (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1631).

26 We also have some surviving examples of *Goigs* printed in Girona and Moia.

27 It is likely that more are will found, especially given that the survey of Iberian printing in the second half of the seventeenth century will not be complete for another three years.

28 On the *Goigs*, see Joan Baptista Batlle, *Los goigs a Catalunya: breus consideracions sobre son origen y sa influència en la poesia mística popular* (Barcelona: L’Arxiu, 1924).

kingdom – either with copies sent from Madrid or with an order for it to be reprinted locally. Though such formally commissioned broadsheets must have been churned out relatively frequently and in reasonable numbers, their survival is breathtakingly poor. The dearth of examples is especially weak before the middle of the seventeenth century – perhaps around 13 civil broadsheets are known before 1600 and 29 for the first half of the seventeenth century, while 137 have so far been identified for the second half of the seventeenth century. Just under half of these items are clearly issued by the Crown, with the rest put out by a variety of local authorities. There are also some rare glimpses from the archives of printed broadsheets being produced to assist the work of the authorities. On 28 November 1542, the Barcelonan printer Carles Amorós received 48 sueldos from the Generalitat de Catalunya to print 250 posters relating to ecclesiastical exemptions to certain taxes. On 23 December 1547, he received 18 sueldos to produce 40 posters and 2 coats of arms.²⁹ No copies of these broadsheets survive, but they may have been similar in character to the *Rentas de Castilla y Leon*.³⁰ This exceptional survival is in effect a list of monies owed to the state from the church, with totals clearly indicated at the bottom. Broadsheets and half-broadsides were also employed for stock legal forms, such as that seen in Fig. 3.5 which offered power of attorney.

There are also remarkably few examples of surviving printed Spanish news broadsheets. No examples are known for the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, we have some broadsheets dealing with various festivities. We also know of two sensational news broadsheets, or rather quasi-news broadsheets, both published in Seville in 1624. The first, printed by Juan Serrano de Vargas Urueña, told the story of a fish pulled out of a river in Germany.³¹ At the top was an image of a monstrous man fish, with claws, a crown on its head and crucifix stuck in its mouth. On its (or his) scales were a cannon, some skulls, several rifles, a sword and a halberd. The text came below, in verse in four columns. It was, of course, a satire against Protestantism, with the fish

29 See J.M. Madurell and J. Rubió y Belaguer, *Documentos para la historia de la Imprenta y Librería en Barcelona (1474–1553)* (Barcelona: Gremio de Editores de Libreros y de Maestros Impresores, 1955), p. 823 and p. 863. Cited in Antonio Castillo Gómez, 'Imprimerie et information publique dans la ville hispanique à l'époque baroque', in Ricardo Saez (ed.), *L'imprimé et ses pouvoirs dans les langues romanes* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009), p. 131.

30 *Rentas de Castilla y Leon que goza el rey don Felipe IIII y sus vassallos con el valor de los obispados y encomiendas de que haze merced su magestad* (Madrid: viuda de Alonso Martín de Balboa, 1630).

31 *Verdadero retrato del monstruoso pescado, que se halla en Alemania, en un rio del reyno de Polonia* (Sevilla: Juan Serrano de Vargas Urueña, 1624).

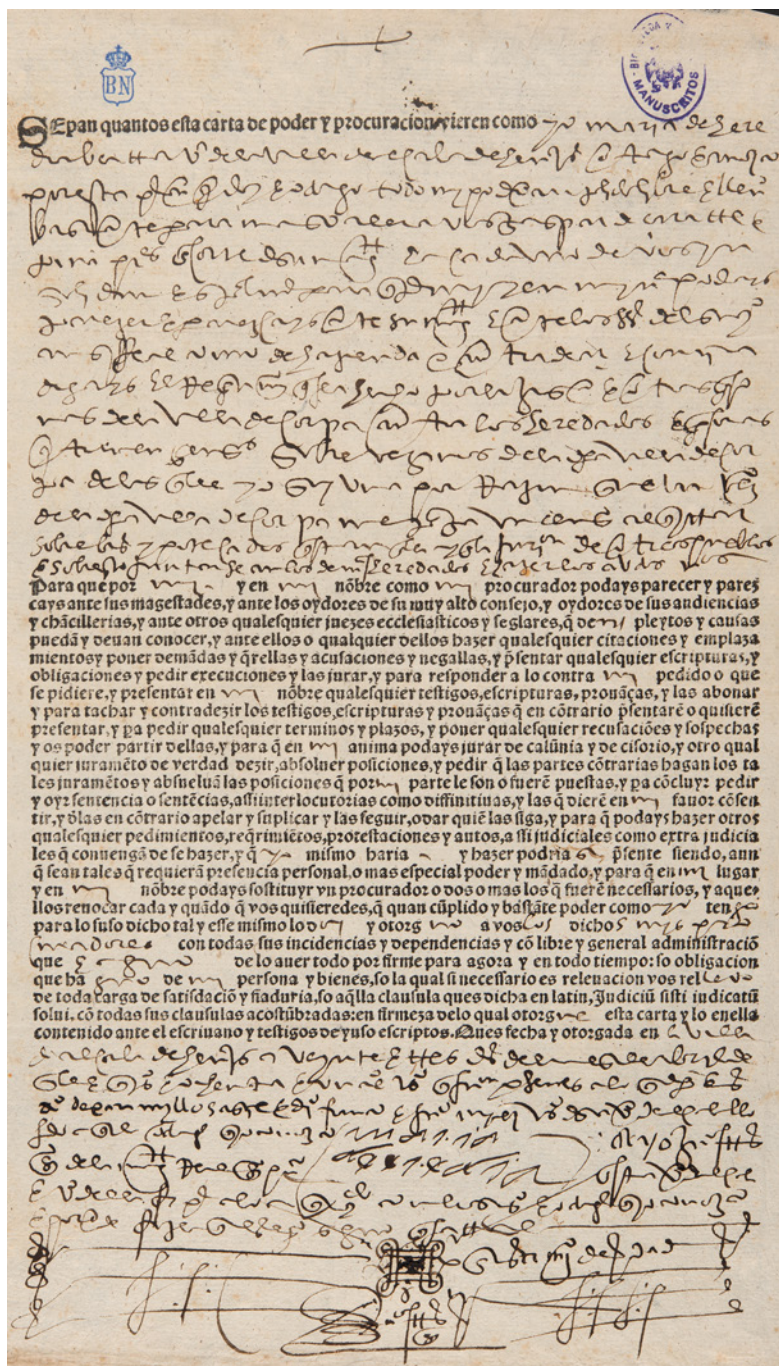


FIGURE 3.5 Power of attorney given by Maria de Heredia to Sarpór de Zarate in 1581.
MADRID, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA MSS. 18674, F. 102.

representing the German Emperor. The second sensational broadsheet, printed by Juan de Cabrera, told of the birth of a child with the devil's features.³² It had twisted feet, only one nostril, and three eyes. This was taken as a portent of the impending destruction of the Ottoman Empire.

However, there are no known news broadsheets as we might have expected them – reporting on recent developments in the country or beyond. That is not to say that they never existed – scattered contemporary references do testify to the fact that they were once produced.³³ In this respect, Fig. 3.6 is a rather exceptional survival. It was printed in 1644, so while it is not exactly reporting fresh information, it does offer a detailed summary of the battle of Tuttlingen which took place on 24 November 1643, and includes a rather fine engraved map. It has the feel of a commemorative poster. The battle took place at a moment when Catalonia was in French hands (it had accepted French rule in 1641). It saw the crushing of the French forces by Imperial and Bavarian forces. With the French army shattered, it was pushed back west over the Rhine.

Almost all the broadsheets that can be classified as literature were verses composed to commemorate specific events.³⁴ They do seem to be of a far higher quality in comparison to other types of broadsheet, with attractive ornamentation and setting. The first surviving examples date from the very end of the sixteenth century, and marked the death of Philip II in 1598. Other examples include verses to mark the deaths of Ferdinand II of Austria in 1637, Élisabeth de France in 1644, Cristóbal Crespí de Valldaura y Brizuela in 1671, Pascual de Aragón y Córdoba in 1677, and Marie Louise de Bourbon in 1689. Fig. 3.7 gives one example of the often visual poetry which followed the death of the Queen Consort, Marie Louise de Bourbon. There are also some examples of verse broadsheets marking notable births, canonisations, coronations and military victories. One broadsheet commemorates the reconstruction of the Plaza Mayor in Madrid.³⁵ There were also *certámenes*, literary competitions which accompanied major celebrations – not least the arrival of a king, members of his court or ecclesiastical dignitaries, tournaments, beatifications or

32 *Prodigioso suceso que en Ostraviza tierra de el turco a sucedido este presente año de 1624* (Sevilla: Juan de Cabrera, [1624]).

33 'Esta mañana ha aparecido en Santa María un cartel diciendo mil cosas sobre lo que pasa', Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, III, p. 121. Entry dated 13 December 1656.

34 A good recent study of such works for the second half of the seventeenth century is Inmaculada Osuna and Víctor Infantes, 'Paredes de versos dibujadas. Fábrica y materia del cartel poético barroco (1650–1700)', *Bulletin hispanique*, 113–1 (2011), pp. 163–238.

35 *A la nueva obra de la Plaza mayor de Madrid, hecha en brevissimo tiempo, en que se veen logrados los primores del Arte, siendo presidente de Castilla el conde de Villa-Vmbrosa*, [S.l.: s.n., 1672?]. Madrid, BNE MSS. 18433 (f.75).



FIGURE 3.6 *Breve relacion de la rota del exercito de Francia y Vymareses por las magestades cessarea y catolica y duque de Baviera* (Madrid: Pedro Tazo, 1644).

MADRID, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA VE/184/60.

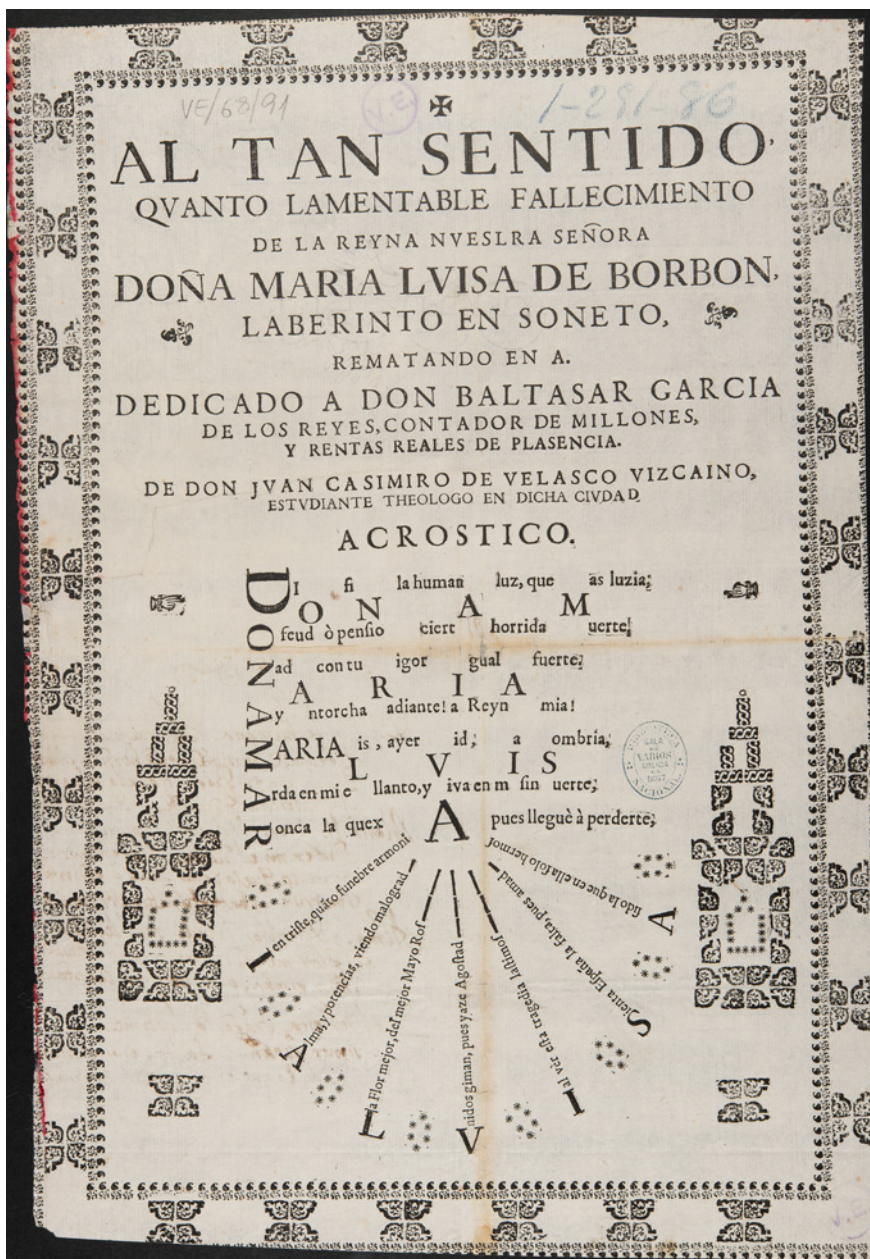


FIGURE 3.7 *Al tan sentido quanto lamentable fallecimiento de la reyna nuestra señora doña Maria Luisa de Borbon* ([Madrid: s.n., 1689]).

MADRID, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA VE/68/91.

canonisations, or the display of relics.³⁶ The posters announcing these competitions would often be put up, accompanied by music – trumpets and drums. It was not dissimilar to what we have seen above for formal official proclamations, with ritualised conventions and theatricality. The poetry submitted would often be posted, presumably in manuscript, on temporary edifices designed to display them.

Spanish broadsheets have left an altogether slight and precarious record. What we know to have survived probably represents a small fraction of what was once produced. Yet these rare survivals can not only tell us more than we might imagine about some contemporary events and trends; they can also permit us some insight into the gamut of publishing activities in which early-modern printers were involved. By far the largest number of broadsheets to have made it through the survival lottery relate to the Church – indulgences, edicts and ordonnances, as well as more devotional works. It is evident, though, that broadsheets were used for a good number of other purposes. We have seen that the Crown, and other civic authorities, certainly embraced the printing press, and exploited the broadsheet form to their advantage in communicating laws and other vital information, and to bulk-print forms to streamline bureaucratic processes. There are some faint traces of broadsheet advertising, of a broadsheet news culture, and of the use of broadsheets within a literary context specifically related to major communal festivities. We know – up to a point – what has survived. However, beyond very fleeting and ambiguous references in a handful of bookseller and printer inventories, we are very far from having any clear understanding of what has been lost. Absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence.

36 On these competitions, see Castillo Gómez, 'Salió també', pp. 1–24.

Fifty Thousand Veronicas. Print Runs of Broadsheets in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

Falk Eisermann

Introduction

The fifteenth century saw a rapid increase in the production and publication of ephemeral documents and of their presentation in public spaces.¹ In addition to many other media, contemporaries frequently encountered texts of various types composed for multiple purposes. These texts were published as placards and pinned to church portals, town hall doors, and cloister gates, and they all had a number of common characteristics: they were inscribed on one side only, they were topical in content, and they aimed at specific forms of public reception. The first printed items of this kind were issued in the immediate wake of Johannes Gutenberg's invention, and subsequently became a characteristic publication form of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: broadsheets.²

In contrast to the tradition of copying by hand, printing offered the opportunity to reproduce documents in any desired number and to repeat this process with comparatively little financial or administrative effort. Print run figures provide insights into the production, distribution and reception of books and

1 This chapter is based on my article 'Auflagenhöhen von Einblattdrucken im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert', in Volker Honemann, etc. (eds.), *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), pp. 143–177. I am extremely grateful to Saskia Limbach of the St Andrews Book History group, for the translation of the original paper, which here is presented in an updated and heavily revised form. Thanks also to Christine Magin and Andrew Pettegree for their attentive proof-reading and their patience.

2 For the sake of terminological uniformity throughout this volume, I apply the term 'broad-sheet' for 'single-leaf printed item' in this chapter, even though 'broadside' is often used in the English literature (the use of these terms is somewhat inconsistent in English-language research). See also the remarks by Flavia Bruni in Chapter 2 of this volume.

broadsheets in the incunabula age and beyond.³ Historians of all disciplines have long been interested in the transition from manuscript to print, focussing in particular on the question of which handwritten documents were available and accessible to the public towards the end of the Middle Ages. However, historians of early printing have paid relatively little attention to this question; the standard bibliography on incunabula scholarship contains only five titles dealing specifically with print runs.⁴ This lack of research indicates not only that source material is scarce but that available sources have been understudied.⁵ Yet, even though we currently have few details about print runs and the production and distribution of printed books and broadsheets of the fifteenth

- 3 For recent overviews see Sabine Griesse and Marcus Ostermann, 'Broad-sides', in Franz J. Arlinghaus, etc. (eds.), *Transforming the Medieval World. Uses of Pragmatic Literacy in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 103–125; Peter Stallybrass, "'Little Jobs': Broad-sides and the Printing Revolution', in Sabrina Alcon Baron, etc. (eds.), *Agent of Change. Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press etc., 2007), pp. 315–341; Volker Honemann, 'Neue Medien für die Stadt. Einblattdrucke, Flugblätter und Flugschriften 1450–1520', in Gerhard Fouquet, etc. (eds.), *Residenzstädte der Vormoderne. Umrisse eines europäischen Phänomens* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2016), pp. 349–370.
- 4 Titles are listed in Severin Corsten etc. (eds.), *Der Buchdruck im 15. Jahrhundert. Eine Bibliographie* (2 vols., Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag, 1988–1993), I. 35. See also Ferdinand Geldner, *Inkunabelkunde. Eine Einführung in die Welt des frühesten Buchdrucks* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1978), pp. 155–157; Leonhard Hoffmann, 'Gutenberg und die Folgen. Zur Entwicklung des Bücherpreises im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, 29 (1996) pp. 5–23, at pp. 15–19; Uwe Neddermeyer, 'Juristische Werke auf dem spätmittelalterlichen Buchmarkt. Marktanteil, Buchhandel, Preise und Auflagen' in Vincenzo Colli (ed.), *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2002), pp. 633–673, and his case study on GW 6688 'Koelhoff's große Fehlkalkulation? Überlegungen zu Auflagenhöhe und Absatzchancen der *Cronica van der hilliger stat van Coellen*', in Georg Mölich, etc. (eds.), *Spätmittelalterliche städtische Geschichtsschreibung in Köln und im Reich. Die Koelhoff'sche Chronik und ihr historisches Umfeld* (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 2001), pp. 123–138. At present, the main point of departure for anyone interested in incunabula print runs has to be Eric White, *Researching Print Runs*, on the CERL website: <https://www.cerl.org/resources/links_to_other_resources/bibliographical_data#researching_print_runs>, comprising a spreadsheet overview of fifteenth-century print runs and an extremely useful introduction. All online resources quoted in this chapter have last been accessed on 4 January 2017.
- 5 Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch. Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte* (2 vols., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), neglects broadsheets and ephemera. For preliminary results, see his 'Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer quantitativen Bestimmung der Buchproduktion im Spätmittelalter', *Gazette du Livre Medieval*, 28 (1996), pp. 23–32. Theo Gerardy, 'Zur Methodik des Datierens von Frühdrucken mit Hilfe des Papiers', in Hans Limburg, etc. (eds.), *Ars impressoria. Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchdrucks. Eine internationale Festgabe für*

and sixteenth centuries, all too often scholars are using figures based on extrapolations, estimations, or plain fantasies.

By and large, recent scholarship agrees on the following assumptions: print runs below 100 copies are supposed to have been unusual in the age of incunabula, as are print runs over 1,000; around the year 1480, editions of 300–500 copies were the average; thereafter the output rose steadily and by 1500 books were increasingly produced in about 1,000 copies.⁶ Some legal texts were printed in large numbers, for example by Baptista de Tortis in Venice, who claims to have published at least one print run of 2,300 copies of Gregory IX's 'Decretales' in 1494.⁷ The largest figure known from the fifteenth century, however, relates to a pamphlet published in 1492 in the course of a theological dispute by the Leipzig law professor Johannes von Breitenbach, of which according to contemporary sources 5,000 copies were printed (and then confiscated and destroyed).⁸ All print run data, however, is pretty useless without close analyses and thorough contextualisation. Why, for example, was an edition of the 'Moralia in Job' by the Paris printers Ulrich Gering and Berthold Remboldt in 1495 published in an alleged print-run of only 300? This question has already been answered; many others have not.⁹ What do we make of the astonishing amount of no fewer than 1,500 copies of a collection of the 'Palinurus' and other writings by (pseudo-)Lucianus on 15 October 1497 as the first book published in Avignon?¹⁰

Severin Corsten zum 65. Geburtstag (Munich: Saur, 1986), pp. 47–64, investigates paper use to establish print run figures.

- 6 Gerd Diche, *Heinrich Steinhöwels 'Esopus' und seine Fortsetzer. Untersuchungen zu einem Bucherfolg der Frühdruckzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), pp. 250ff. Geldner, *Inkunabelkunde*, p. 156, suggests an average print run of 300–400 copies, with Italy producing even larger numbers, but states that 'print runs of over 1,000 copies were still rare in the fifteenth century'.
- 7 GW 11482, mentioned in the edition itself and in its reprint GW 11489; White, *Researching Print Runs*, nos. 174, 178. For Nicolas Jenson's workshop, see Martin Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 183.
- 8 GW 5094; Falk Eisermann, 'The Gutenberg Galaxy's Dark Matter: Lost Incunabula, and Ways to Retrieve Them', in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 31–54, at p. 37f.; but caution is warranted, as these sources 'were all written by the confiscating party, and might have exaggerated in order to present a more dramatic picture of the perceived threat' (p. 38).
- 9 White, *Researching Print Runs*, introduction (no page numbers).
- 10 White, *Researching Print Runs*, nos. 190 and 191; GW 11433 ('Moralia'), M19072 (Lucianus).

Print runs concerning pamphlets and ephemera such as broadsheets have not been systematically recorded.¹¹ As mentioned above, figures for all kinds of printed matter, including ephemera, are often based on feeble estimates and tend to give widely differing, yet mostly relatively high numbers.¹² The problem of print run speculation is not limited to the incunabula age, of course. Print run figures for Luther's and other Reformation pamphlets are also often based on estimates.¹³ Moreover there are few reliable studies even for illustrated sixteenth century broadsheets, despite abundant source material and an endless number of studies dedicated to this popular medium.¹⁴

- 11 But see Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Kölner Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Wamper, 1979), pp. 59–66, and the entry 'Auflagenhöhe bzw. bekannte Exemplaranzahl' in the index of VE15, I. 229f.
- 12 Gisela Ecker, *Einblattdrucke von den Anfängen bis 1555. Untersuchungen zu einer Publikationsform literarischer Texte* (2 vols., Göttingen: Kümmerle, 1981), I. 50; Dieter Wuttke, 'Sebastian Brant und Maximilian I. Eine Studie zu Brants Donnerstein-Flugblatt des Jahres 1492', in Otto Herding etc. (eds.) *Die Humanisten in ihrer politischen und sozialen Umwelt* (Boppard: Boldt, 1976), pp. 141–176.
- 13 Contrary to what Ecker, *Einblattdrucke*, I. 50 fn. 99, claims, hardly any information is available for print runs of Luther pamphlets. The first edition of Luther's *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, published in the summer of 1520, is said to have appeared in 4,000 copies; Bernd Moeller, 'Klerus und Antiklerikalismus in Luthers Schrift *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* von 1520', in Peter A. Dykema, etc. (eds.), *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 353–365, at p. 354. This seems an exceptionally high figure, as stated by Moeller himself in 'Das Berühmtwerden Luthers', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 15 (1988), pp. 65–92: 'Scholars agree that editions were printed in some 1,000 copies' (p. 82). For an overall estimate see Berndt Hamm, 'Die Reformation als Medienereignis', *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*, 11 (1996), pp. 137–166, who claims that from 1520 to 1526 some 11,000 Latin and German pamphlets were produced in the German-speaking lands; this suggests that some 11 million copies were circulating, meaning that every literate person had access to some 20 copies (p. 141). I do not know where these numbers came from, and I suspect the authors of the aforementioned studies did not know either.
- 14 Michael Schilling, *Bildpublizistik der frühen Neuzeit. Aufgaben und Leistungen des illustrierten Flugblatts bis um 1700* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), pp. 24 ff. For the sixteenth century, Schilling refers to reliable figures for calendar broadsheets, of which for example 14,000–16,900 copies were printed in Regensburg. He assumes an average of 1,500 copies per edition. In contrast, Harry Oelke reckons that print runs of 2,000 copies are to be considered as high, *Die Konfessionsbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel illustrierter Flugblätter* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), p. 109 fn. 72, referring to William A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century. Historical and Iconographical Studies* (2 vols., Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1966/1967), I. 15.

And yet there is evidence from primary sources allowing us to trace a considerable number of print runs of broadsheets from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The evidence presented here mostly addresses two topics, namely indulgences and official print. The survey of these two subjects forms the major part of this study; in addition we will take a glance at some other genres such as musical and devotional printing. For both indulgences and official print we have a fair number of available sources, such as invoices, account books and other archival sources, to inform us about print runs (and also about the production of manuscript items), sometimes revealing further significant evidence such as printers' wages and routines, and distribution routes. However, it should be kept in mind that the surviving evidence does not allow for any reconstruction of the overall production from the period in question.¹⁵

Broadsheets for the Indulgence Trade

Long before the dawn of printing with moveable type, ecclesiastical chanceries produced documents in large numbers, sometimes coming close to the later outputs of the printing press. To enforce papal legislation, it was crucial to create numerous handwritten copies, as legal texts needed to be widely dispersed and made publicly available before they could be put into practice. Thus, on 23 August 1355 Pope Innocent VI had one document copied and sent to no fewer than 568 recipients.¹⁶ Even where such precise figures are unknown, registers of outgoing correspondence allow us to reconstruct the dissemination of certain letters. Another example for what must have been a considerable chancery output from Innocent's reign: In December 1352 the pope instructed the archbishop of Reims and his suffragans to forward a papal letter to all patriarchs, archbishops, kings and 'magnates' and to universities all over the (Christian) world.¹⁷ In order to publicise the election of a new pope in the late

15 Despite Neddermeyer, 'Möglichkeiten und Grenzen', p. 26f. About various grotesque attempts to establish print runs from numbers of surviving copies, see Dicke, *Esopus*, p. 250 fn. 93.

16 Pierre Gasnault, *Innocent VI. (1352–1362). Lettres secretes et curiales* 3 (Paris: Boccard, 1968), no. 1700; see also Gasnault, 'La transmission des lettres pontificales au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle', in Werner Paravicini, etc. (eds.), *Histoire Comparée de Administration (IV^e–XVIII^e Siècles). Actes du XIV^e Colloque Historique Franco-Allemand, Tours, 27. 3.-1.4. 1977* (Munich: Artemis, 1980), pp. 81–87, at p. 82 fn. 5. For the larger context, see also Peter Johaneck, 'Methodisches zur Verbreitung und Bekanntmachung von Gesetzen im Spätmittelalter', in the same volume, pp. 88–101.

17 Gasnault, 'La transmission', pp. 86f. fn. 29.

Middle Ages, the clergy also had to rely on the help of every available hand, as the election notes needed to be dispatched in several hundred copies; ecclesiastical dignitaries as well as the Emperor, kings, princes, important cities and certain individuals had to be informed.¹⁸

Encompassing every Christian, the indulgence campaigns of the second half of the fifteenth century required similar, arguably even more intense, communication efforts.¹⁹ Despite a lack of reliable figures, the so-called 30- and 31-line indulgences from 1454/55 have been presumed to be the “first mass-produced printed ephemera in world history”.²⁰ An often cited reference indicates that it was common to produce thousands of indulgences to cater for local needs.²¹ On 2 May 1452 Nikolaus von Kues authorised Heinrich Brack, prior of the Benedictine monastery St. Jakob near Mainz, to disseminate 2,000 indulgences in Frankfurt by the end of the month; it has been suggested that the printing press helped to produce the required forms, but no copy of this alleged 1452

18 Thomas Frenz, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance (1471–1527)* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1986) p. 163 fn. 3 and pp. 160f.

19 For an overview, see Falk Eisermann, ‘The Indulgence as a Media Event. Developments in Communication through Broad-sides in the Fifteenth Century’ in Robert Swanson (ed.), *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 309–330.

20 Severin Corsten and Wolfgang Schmitz, ‘Buchdruck des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts’, in Werner Arnold, etc. (eds.), *Die Erforschung der Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte in Deutschland* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), pp. 93–120, at p. 117. GW 6555, 6556 = VE15 C-14, C-15; estimates range from 5,000–10,000 (Ingrid Heike Ringel, ‘Ein weiteres Exemplar eines 31zeiligen Ablassbriefes von 1455’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1985), pp. 99–104, at p. 104) to 20,000 copies for these broadsheets (Ferdinand Geldner, ‘Probleme um die Mainzer Ablassbriefe von 1454/1455’, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 13 (1973), cols. 595–612, at col. 595 fn. 1). The most recent surveys on the subject are Günter Hägele, ‘Paulinus Chappes Besuch beim Mainzer Erzbischof Dietrich von Erbach und der Druck der 31-zeiligen Ablassbriefe (GW 6556/VE15 C-15)’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (2012), pp. 93–104, and Hägele, ‘Neue Quellen zum Druck der 30-zeiligen Mainzer Ablassbriefe und zum Vertrieb des Zypern-Ablasses im Erzbistum Köln und in den umliegenden Gebieten’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (2013), pp. 54–62. See also the seminal article by Janet Ing, ‘The Mainz Indulgences of 1454/5. A Review of Recent Scholarship’, *British Library Journal*, 9 (1983), pp. 14–31.

21 Albert Kapr, *Johannes Gutenberg. Persönlichkeit und Leistung* (2nd edition, Munich: Beck, 1988), p. 189; Leonhard Hoffmann, ‘Die Gutenbergbibel. Eine Kosten- und Gewinnschätzung des ersten Bibeldrucks auf der Grundlage zeitgenössischer Quellen’, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 39 (1993), pp. 255–319, at p. 304. Source: Walter Karl Zülch, etc. (eds.), *Frankfurter Urkundenbuch zur Frühgeschichte des Buchdrucks. Aus den Akten des Frankfurter Stadtarchivs* (Frankfurt am Main: Baer, 1920), p. 52.

edition has been found.²² Despite the existence of the 30- and 31-line indulgences towards the end of 1454 and in early 1455, handwritten forms continued to be used until the end of this campaign.²³ The survival rate especially of GW 6556, of which 50 vellum copies are currently on record, implies a high print run. Compared to other broadsheets, this is also an exceptionally high survival rate, indicating that the indulgences were cherished by their owners from the very beginning.

Various sources from the years 1473–1480 concerning indulgences for the Berne Minster provide us with the earliest precise figures for indulgences.²⁴ At the beginning of the Berne campaign the bull ‘Pastoris aeterni’ issued by Pope Sixtus IV on 30 March 1473 granted an indulgence supporting the construction of the church, which had begun in 1421. The pope stressed, however, that the indulgence could only be proclaimed after the 1475 jubilee. The bull was printed by Martin Flach in Basel as a broadsheet, accompanied by a papal letter of 28 January 1474 explaining the delay until after the celebration of the jubilee. Only one copy of this edition survives, bearing the handwritten authentication of Johannes Salzmann, a Basel notary.²⁵ For the proclamation of the indulgence, which was to begin around St Michael’s Day, 1476, the city succeeded in recruiting the distinguished theologian and preacher Johannes Heynlin vom Stein. His task was, among others, to proclaim and explain the bull on a daily basis.²⁶ The city council informed Salzmann about its decision

22 Kai-Michael Sprenger, “Volumus tamen, quod expressio fiat ante finem mensis Maii presentis.” Sollte Gutenberg 1452 im Auftrag Nikolaus von Kues’ Ablassbriefe drucken?, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1999), pp. 42–57. Stallybrass, “Little Jobs”, p. 316, is wrong in assigning this figure to the 1454/55 indulgences, and his statement that in “the Holy Roman Empire ... thirteen editions [of indulgences, F.E.] survive for 1453” is also incorrect, of course; not one single printed item from this exact year is known to bibliography at all.

23 Gottfried Zedler, *Die Mainzer Ablassbriefe der Jahre 1454 und 1455* (Mainz: Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1913), pp. 31–38; Brigide Schwarz (eds.), *Regesten der in Niedersachsen und Bremen überlieferten Papsturkunden 1198–1503* (Hannover: Hahn, 1993), no. 1907 (issued on 5 February 1454); Paul Fredericq (ed.), *Codex Documentorum Sacratissimarum Indulgentiarum Neerlandicarum. Verzameling van stukken betreffende de pauselijke aflaten in de Nederlanden (1300–1600)* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1922), pp. 206–208, nos. 133–135 (three copies, issued on 3 April and 4 May 1454); Hägele, ‘Paulinus Chappes Besuch’, pp. 103 ff.

24 Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, Bd. 3: *Geschichte des Ablasses am Ausgange des Mittelalters* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1923), pp. 545–549.

25 GW M42382 = VE15 S-40.

26 Paulus, *Geschichte*, p. 546; Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti, ‘Heynlin, Johannes, de Lapide’, in Kurt Ruh, etc. (eds.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* (2nd edition, 14 vols, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978–2008), III. 1213–1219. For the sermons on the 1476 indulgence see Hans von Greyerz (ed.), ‘Ablasspredigten des Johannes Heynlin aus Stein

on 24 July 1476: "The rulers [the council of Berne] decided to have several bulls printed for which you have taken responsibility. For this, the rulers are much obliged and would like you to authorise the bulls and give them to this messenger so that another 1,000 copies can be printed".²⁷ Heynlin preached in Berne again in 1478 and 1480; on both occasions the council ordered Salzmann to have the related documents printed in Basel.²⁸ On 10 July 1478 the council sent him the following request:

Since the forms of the bull are currently being printed they [the magistrates] now send you a German excerpt and would like you to have it printed in 1,000 copies. They think that the common man will profit greatly from this and would like you to do your very best to send everything that has been printed with the messenger on his return.²⁹

On 7 January 1480 the city sent a letter to the Basel printer Michael Wenssler instructing him to produce 1,500 copies of the indulgence bull and 1,000 copies of a summary. The letter specified details regarding printer's copy, the desired layout of the broadsheet and Salzmann's supervisory tasks:

Since our Holy Father, the pope, was so gracious as to grant us an indulgence we would like to have it printed in a number of copies. Expecting your acceptance of this order, Thüning Fricker, doctor of law and municipal clerk, will send you the bull so that you can produce 1,500 copies as well as 1,000 copies of the German summary. If possible please try to fit them on one sheet of paper, if not, please produce separate sheets. We have also written to Johannes Salzmann and authorised him to negotiate with you. We are going to support any of his actions. Please dedicate your utmost attention to this task as the time draws closer in which we would like to proclaim the indulgence. So do your best to avoid any mistakes.³⁰

(de Lapide) 28. September bis 8. Oktober 1476 in Bern', *Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, 32 (1934), pp. 113–171; Greyerz, 'Studien zur Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Bern am Ende des Mittelalters', *Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, 35 (1940), pp. 177–491, at pp. 281–312.

27 Gustav Tobler (ed.), *Die Berner Chronik des Diebold Schilling 1468–1484* (2 vols., Bern: K.J. Wyss, 1897–1901), II. 99 fn. 5; Adolf Fluri, *Die Beziehungen Berns zu den Buchdruckern in Basel, Zürich und Genf* (Bern: Schweizerische Gutenbergstube, 1913), p. 9.

28 Paulus, *Geschichte*, pp. 547f.

29 Tobler, *Berner Chronik*, II. 193 fn. 1; Fluri, *Beziehungen*, p. 10. The original bull issued on 12 April 1478 survives in the Berne State Archive. No copy of the printed edition is known.

30 Fluri, *Beziehungen*, pp. 10 ff.

On the same day, the council wrote to Salzmann to clarify:

Recently the Holy Father, the pope, granted us a great and mighty indulgence which we would like to proclaim as soon as possible. As we need many copies of the indulgence we sent the document to Michael Wenssler, the printer close to you, and asked him to print it in 1,500 copies. We would like you to supervise Michael so that the bulls will be cleanly printed. We also sent him a German summary which he should print on the same paper if possible. If that is not possible he shall print it on a separate piece of paper in such a way you think is best. We support any of your decisions.³¹

Whereas two editions of Wenssler's German summary have survived, no copies of the printed bull are known; however, the commission must have been executed as ordered, since on 14 March 1480 Berne sent to the nearby town of Schwyz "four authenticated copies of the Roman indulgence as well as many short summaries in German so that the common man who does not know Latin will understand it".³² In the end the printer had decided to put the summary on a separate piece of paper instead of putting it together on one sheet with the bull, as proposed in the letter.³³

Apart from the above-mentioned edition for Berne, Martin Flach also printed broadsheets for a Basel indulgence. For an edition of 2,000 copies the council paid him 33 pounds, six shillings, and eight denars according to an invoice from 1485.³⁴ This invoice may refer to editions of the bull 'Romanorum gesta pontificum', which Innocent VIII had issued in favour of the Hospital Chapel in Basel. Apart from two Latin editions, the text was also published in the vernacular; at the bottom of the broadsheet the notary Johannes Struß reveals himself as translator.³⁵

31 Fluri, *Beziehungen*, p. 11.

32 Tobler, *Berner Chronik*, II. 220 fn. 1; Fluri, *Beziehungen*, p. 13. The summaries are GW 3096, 3097 = VE15 S-120, S-121.

33 It was not unusual to print both bull and summary on the same sheet, e.g. GW M42537 = VE15 S-103, printed with M44518 = VE15 S-142.

34 Karl J. Lüthi, 'Der erste für Bern ausgeführte Druck von 1476 und sein Drucker', *Schweizerisches Gutenbergmuseum* (1930), pp. 151–153, at p. 153; Carl Christoph Bernoulli, 'Die Incunabeln des Basler Staatsarchivs', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 9 (1910), pp. 1–35, at p. 7.

35 GW M12190, M12191 = VE15 1–1, 1–2; the German edition is GW M12195 = VE15 1–3. Two surviving copies also have Struß' signature. For German translations of papal writings in general, see Falk Eisermann, 'Das kein babst teutsch zu schreiben phleg. Päpstliches

In early 1480, the Augsburg printer Johannes Bämle was very busy producing documents for the indulgence of St. George's church in Nördlingen. Thanks to four surviving letters we are able to reconstruct in detail how the production process took place. In a letter to a Nördlingen priest named Wendel, Bämle claimed to have sent 1,100 summaries, 1,600 confessionals and 2,000 absolutions and that the messenger, Utz Werlin, had assisted him in packing the delivery; Wendel himself, says Bämle, had previously taken with him another 309 summaries, 500 confessionals and 350 absolutions. The printer admitted that he was not entirely sure about the exact figures, but if Nördlingen had further demand, they should inform him as soon as possible, because the city of Munich had already asked the printer twice within just eight days to deliver more copies of their indulgence-related publications.³⁶ Bämle asked the Nördlingen council to check the number of copies themselves and boasts that he had delivered "the most legible letters that were ever printed, and which are most comprehensible both to scholars and lay people".³⁷ As specified in a letter of 30 March 1480 to the Nördlingen municipal clerk Ulrich Tengler, Bämle sent a further 3,000 summaries, 6,000 confessionals and more than 1,000 absolutions.³⁸ The printer goes on by detailing the paper use, again mentioning 6,000 confessionals and pointing out that he had sent "the letters and copies" in a chest. Having sent them off, Bämle found another 200 confessionals, which he referred to in a letter to Christoph Glockengießer in Nördlingen on 12 April, in which Bämle also confirmed having received 36 guilders.³⁹ Finally, on 28 April, he wrote to Tengler that he had printed "more than 10,000 sheets", referring to them as *testimonialia*.⁴⁰ Again he confirms the payment of 36 guilders for the "previous 12,000 copies". Some of these documents can be identified. The summary may well be GW M44513, a vernacular epitome of Sixtus' bull 'Salvator noster' issued on 9 February 1480. The bull itself, however, was not published by Bämle but by his Augsburg colleague Hermann Kästlin and also

Schrifttum und Volkssprache im 15. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 134 (2005), pp. 446–476.

36 It seems that due to work overload Bämle passed on this order to Jodokus Pflanzmann and Hermann Kästlin, who, unlike Bämle, indeed published several editions for the Munich indulgence; Pflanzmann: GW 13669, 13670 = VE15 H-54, H-55; Kästlin: GW M42451–M42453, M44443/M44509, M44510 = VE15 S-62 to S-64, S-113, S-114.

37 Helmut Presser, 'Briefe des Augsburger Frühdruckers Hans Bämle aus dem Jahr 1480', *Aus dem Antiquariat* (1978), no.2, pp. A33–A39 (also providing images of the letters).

38 Presser, 'Bämle', p. A37.

39 Presser, 'Bämle', p. A34f.

40 Presser, 'Bämle', pp. A36 and A38. The meaning of *testimonialia* is not entirely clear; according to Presser, these could have been forms to be used by the municipal clerk.

by Georg Lauer in Rome.⁴¹ The absolutions were printed in two almost identical issues, both comprising 19 lines; the indulgence was produced as an edition with 27 lines.⁴²

Another Augsburg printer engaged for the Nördlingen indulgence was Jodokus Pflanzmann. As evident from his correspondence with Tengler, Pflanzmann, who was also a notary, produced more than 20,000 confessional letters, four on each sheet of paper, within a few weeks in 1480.⁴³ In an undated letter Pflanzmann announced a delivery of another 1,000 copies.⁴⁴ In this case the printer presumably refers to the edition of the bull, as Pflanzmann subsequently adds that he had already signed and thus authorised 200 copies.⁴⁵ All in all, the printer and the Nördlingen city council had agreed on the production of 3,000 copies. In his letter Pflanzmann states that he will start producing 20,000 confessionals “statim post Pasca”, that is after 2nd April if the letter originates from 1480.⁴⁶

For the proclamation of a 1489 indulgence in Sweden, the indulgence commissary Antonius Masth also claims to have taken 20,000 copies with him on his journey, all of which were presumably printed in Lübeck.⁴⁷ There is further evidence pointing to at times even higher sales figures for indulgences, which,

41 GW M42466, M42469 = VE15 S-74, S-75.

42 GW 80, 81 = VE15 A-91, A-92 (absolutions); GW 81/10 = VE15 A-44 (indulgence). In 1483 Bämmler printed another indulgence for Nördlingen, GW 82 = VE15 A-45.

43 Helmut Presser, ‘Briefe des Frühdruckers Jodocus Pflanzmann’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1983), pp. 172–176.

44 Presser, ‘Pflanzmann’, p. 175 image 2.

45 Presser, ‘Pflanzmann’, p. 176, refers to these editions as ‘confessional letters’. This cannot be the case since such letters would have been signed by papal legates or their subcommissaries, but not by notaries. Currently no copy of this particular edition is known. However, several copies of a bull printed by Hermann Kästlin bear Pflanzmann’s signature (GW M42566 = VE15 S-74).

46 This high number of copies probably refers to GW 13–16 = VE15 A-3 to A-6, and GW 3767 = VE15 B-32. All these forms were presumably produced in 1480 and used over a certain period of time; they are not indulgence letters proper but simple confirmation forms. Several copies of GW 15 survive printed on one sheet with GW 3767.

47 Bernd Moeller, ‘Die letzten Ablasskampagnen. Der Widerspruch Luthers gegen den Ablass in seinem geschichtlichen Zusammenhang’, in Hartmut Boockmann, etc. (eds.), *Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Politik – Bildung – Naturkunde – Theologie. Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 1983–1987* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), pp. 539–567, at p. 551 fn. 69, referring to the 1489 edition printed by Steffen Arndes (GW M30733 = VE15 P-123 and variants). For Masth, see Paulus, *Geschichte*, p. 215; Tore Nyberg, ‘Papst Innocenz VIII. und Skandinavien’, *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 22 (1984), pp. 89–152, at pp. 129f.

however, do not relate to print runs proper. Some years earlier an indulgence commissary had been able to sell, solely in Düren, 800 letters in a very short amount of time. Selling those letters brought him 200 guilders, on top of another 230 he received as contributions.⁴⁸ In March and April 1488 the sale of indulgences in Frankfurt accumulated more than 600 guilders, indicating that 2,400 forms had been sold.⁴⁹ In the same year 16 indulgence commissaries in Utrecht acknowledged the receipt for more than 2,200 confessionals.⁵⁰ In Halle, the sale of 2,600 letters between March and July 1502 brought a total of 617 guilders.⁵¹ In 1490, in the Styrian town of Vorau the sale of more than 50,000 indulgence letters was registered within only seven months.⁵²

This enormous demand is supported by figures from Spain and Sicily. On 25 August 1485, a servant of the treasurer for the Cruzada indulgence in the diocese of Calahorra (La Rioja), where there was a shortage of such forms, picked up in Zaragoza 10,000 copies of an indulgence “for the living” (*de vivos*, as opposed to indulgences for the dead), provided by the Cruzada’s *tesorero* for Aragón, Valencia and Catalonia.⁵³ Also in Zaragoza, the printer Paul Hurus received 204 shillings for 6,000 copies of an indulgence for the hospital S. Spirito in Sassia in Rome on 4 November 1491.⁵⁴ In September 1493 the Franciscan Francisco de Mayorga placed a large order for indulgences with Meinhard Ungut, a Seville printer with German origins. The Franciscan commissioned a total of 10,000 indulgence letters, and no less than 50,000 *verónicas* on parchment.⁵⁵ Should that latter order refer to single sheets printed as woodcut images of the

48 Severin Corsten, ‘Der Ablass zugunsten der Kathedrale von Saintes. Seine Verkündigung am Niederrhein im Spiegel der Wiegendrucke’, *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 177 (1975), pp. 62–75, at p. 68 fn. 31.

49 *Frankfurter Urkundenbuch*, p. 53. Several copies printed by Peter Schöffler in Mainz are in the Municipal Archive Frankfurt.

50 Fredericq, *Codex*, pp. 344–347, no. 248.

51 Nikolaus Paulus, ‘Raymund Peraudi als Ablasskommissar’, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 21 (1900), pp. 645–682, at p. 676.

52 Moeller, ‘Die letzten Ablasskampagnen’, p. 555. The exact number is 52,936, according to Pius Fank, *Das Chorherrenstift Vorau* (2nd edition, Vorau, 1959), p. 84.

53 Miguel Ángel Pallarés Jiménez, *La imprenta de los incunables de Zaragoza y el comercio internacional del libro a finales del siglo xv* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2008), p. 646f. no. 162. The source does not specify whether these were printed items, which however is extremely likely.

54 Pallarés Jiménez, *Imprenta*, pp. 702f. no. 246 (GW 0008305N, no surviving copies).

55 GW 0009450N; Harry Wohlmuth, ‘Las más tempranas bulas de indulgencias españolas impresas: Nuevos datos sobre la fecha de impresión de la Bula de Guinea y de la introducción de la imprenta en Sevilla’, in *El libro antiguo español. Actas del segundo Coloquio Internacional* (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad, 1992), pp. 493–553, at pp. 500 ff.;

Vera Icon (with or without accompanying text), it would provide another small piece of evidence regarding print runs of xylographic works, by far exceeding traditional estimates.⁵⁶ Yet none of those fifty thousand Veronicas, and also no copies of the 10,000 indulgences seem to have survived. Of a slightly later 'Littera confraternitatis Montis Pietatis Paduani', printed in Venice after 1 June 1494, which had been published in 6,036 copies, at least three copies are on record – "a remarkable survival, which naturally provokes thought on attrition rates and encouragement that new incunables can still come to light" (as indeed they do on a regular basis).⁵⁷

While the account books of the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat record a commission of just 794 indulgences produced for the convent in 1497, in the following year the printer Johannes Luschner in Barcelona received an order for 18,000 copies; this, however, was still not sufficient, and in early 1499 he was told to move his workshop to the monastery in order to print religious books and even more confessionals; the final count stood at 142,950 indulgences for the living and 46,500 for the dead.⁵⁸ In Messina, the Flemish printer Olivino de Bruges recorded an output of over 132,000 *bolle* for 1500 (a Roman jubilee year), 100,000 of which were *bolle dei vivi* (indulgences for the living) all printed for the bishop of Cefalù.⁵⁹ Of this enormous number, not one copy seems to

Francisco Collantes De Terán, 'Un taller aleman de imprenta en Sevilla en el siglo xv', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1931), pp. 145–165, at pp. 152 ff. and 165.

56 Christoph Reske, 'Der Holzschnitt bzw. Holzstock am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (2009), pp. 71–79, esp. pp. 74–76. According to Reske's figures, which are drawn from reliable data on the almost 1,300 surviving copies of the Latin edition of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (GW M40784), the small stereotypical portrait of a pope, which appears 17 times in the Latin edition, has been under the press no less than 21,879 times. Reske also provides a critical discussion of art historical guesstimates about the durability of woodblocks and the possible number of copies that could be taken from individual blocks. For an interesting scientific and statistical approach regarding the durability and deterioration of blocks, see Stephen Blair Hedges, 'A Method for Dating Early Books and Prints Using Image Analysis', *Proceedings of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences*, vol. 462 no. 2076 (8 December 2006), pp. 3555–3573, and the discussion of this article by Christian Rümelin, *Print Quarterly*, 24 (2007), pp. 61f.

57 GW M2524510; quote by Martin C. Davies, in his review of *Bibliothèque nationale de France. Catalogue de incunables (CIBN), Tome 1, Fasc. 3: C-D* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 2006), *The Library*, 7th ser., 9 (2008), pp. 225–227, at p. 227.

58 Konrad Haebler, 'Gedruckte spanische Ablassbriefe der Inkunabelzeit', *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 5 (1901/1902), pp. 1–12, 59–71, and *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 8, (1904/1905), pp. 49–58.

59 Tina Ambrosch-Baroua, *Mehrsprachigkeit im Spiegel des Buchdrucks. Das spanische Italien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (online publication, Cologne: Modern Academic Publishing,

have survived. Moreover, no books from Olivino's printing shop in Messina are known; for incunabula bibliography he thus remains a ghost printer.⁶⁰ In 1504, after his relocation to Palermo, he printed 832 *Salveregine* for the schoolmaster Baldassare Armano da Perugia and another 20,000 *bolle*, broadsheets perhaps, but both print runs are also altogether lost; at least two other items from his Palermo period have survived.⁶¹ Ephemeral printing such as indulgences clearly did not enjoy any safety in numbers: "One in ten thousand copies and one in ten editions is probably too optimistic an estimate for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century indulgences".⁶²

In Xanten on the Lower Rhine, an indulgence was proclaimed on the occasion of a relic exhibition in September 1487, the so-called *Viktorstracht*. The meticulous account book of the Xanten church reveals printing costs and print run in notes such as "for various copies of bulls and summaries printed in Cologne ... for 3,000 copies printed in Cologne ... for more printed copies, which are needed for distribution".⁶³ The chapter had the indulgence bull, issued by Innocent VIII on 24 April 1487, printed in Cologne by Johannes Koelhoff the Elder.⁶⁴ On the basis of the costs an overall output of some 4,900 documents has been calculated: c. 1,000 bulls and summaries, 3,000 indulgences, and c. 900 other printed items.⁶⁵ It is, however, not easy to assign surviving editions to one of these figures. The first entry refers to the bull as well as a summary; as the latter is not part of the bull, the printer must have created two different editions, so that perhaps 500 copies of each were printed.⁶⁶ The figure of 3,000 relates

2015 <<https://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/19095/>>), p. 143 n. 22, referring to Franco D'Angelo, 'Aspetti economici dei primordi della tipografia in Sicilia', *Economia e storia*, 14 (1967), pp. 457–484. Ambrosch-Baroua transcribes the printer's given name as Lorenzo, whereas USTC and EDIT16 record it as Livino, clearly a variant form of Olivino. The Italian term *bolle*, like the Spanish *bula*, means 'confessional letter' or 'indulgence', not '(papal) bull'.

60 One book dated 1500 is ascribed to him tentatively in the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the xvth Century now in the British Museum*, vol. VII (London: British Museum, 1935), p. lxxiii. For ghost printers, see Eisermann, 'The Gutenberg Galaxy's Dark Matter', pp. 40–43.

61 The two surviving items are USTC 863501 and 863502.

62 Stallybrass, "Little Jobs", p. 318.

63 Dieter Scheler, 'Die Xantener Viktorstracht. Wallfahrt, Politik und Kommerz am Niederrhein im 15. Jahrhundert', in Jürgen Petersohn (ed.), *Überlieferung – Frömmigkeit – Bildung als Leitthemen der Geschichtsforschung. Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlaß des 80. Geburtstags von Otto Meyer, Würzburg, 25. Oktober 1986* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1987), pp. 96–113; Guido Rothhoff, 'Ein Kölner Einblattdruck von 1487 für Xanten', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 170 (1968), pp. 264–267.

64 GW M12259 = VE15 1–15.

65 Rothhoff, 'Einblattdruck', p. 266.

66 Schmitz, *Einblattdrucke*, pp. 60f.

to the required confessionals, of which none has survived; the third number refers to an additional run of forms to which the phrase “quia defecimus in distributione” alludes.⁶⁷ These findings are relatively low when compared with the figures from Augsburg, hinting towards a more locally restricted promulgation of the Xanten indulgence, which nevertheless still became a success. A comparative figure may illustrate this: to publicise the Viktorstracht in 1464, some 150 handwritten announcements and advertisements had been disseminated in the surrounding areas.⁶⁸

Figures were not much different on the eve of the Reformation. In 1504 the church of St. Bavo in Haarlem ordered 600 bulls of indulgence.⁶⁹ Ten years later, Konstanz cathedral commissioned 1,000 *mandata* of unknown content and 2,025 confessionals, 225 of which were to be printed on vellum.⁷⁰ The printer entrusted with these editions was presumably Johannes Schöffler, who had moved from Ulm to Konstanz in 1505. The list of expenses includes the cost of 118 skins of parchment.⁷¹ The cathedral officials also employed 18 scribes for the hand-copying of papal documents, and the invoices also include details about transportation and distribution of indulgences, referring to messengers from Lindau and Feldkirch who carried 400–500 confessionals, respectively.⁷²

Examples from England, mainly relating to the printers Richard Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde, have conveniently been summarized in a recent article by Robert Swanson:

In 1502 to 1503 ... the dean and chapter of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, paid Pynson ten shillings for seven hundred copies of a papal bull tied to their recent acquisition of a pardon. In the 1520s, accounts of the Rounceval Guild of Charing Cross mention batches of “briefs” – publicity documents – purchased from Wynkyn de Worde at eight pence per hundred, and later indulgence letters from Richard Copeland at eighteen pence per hundred. In 1533 to 1534, York's Corpus Christi Guild paid for three hundred printed letters, which were presumably linked to its own indulgences or to those of the hospital of St. Thomas, which was overseen

67 Schmitz, *Einblattdrucke*, pp. 61f.

68 Scheler, ‘Xantener Viktorstracht’, p. 109.

69 Fredericq, *Codex*, p. 442 no. 308. The printer was presumably Hugo Janszoon in Leiden.

70 Aloys Schulte, *Die Fugger in Rom 1495–1523. Mit Studien zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Finanzwesens jener Zeit* (2 vols., Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1904), I. 155–160, II (charters). 53–62 no. 36, at II. 58 ff.

71 Schulte, *Fugger*, I. 159, and II. 58.

72 Schulte, *Fugger*, II. 57, 59, 61.

by the guild. The payment – three shillings and eight pence – also covered purchase of an image of St. Thomas. A few years earlier, York City Council had obtained a thousand printed briefs for ten shillings.⁷³

Swanson has also found that in the mid-1520s the officials of Boston's guild of Our Lady "assumed an annual demand for around four thousand letters".⁷⁴

To cater for the needs of pilgrims participating in the Trier relic display (*Heiltumsfahrt*) of 1515, the indulgence commissaries Johann von Metzenhausen and Johannes Eck instructed Kaspar Hochfeder in Metz to print the bull 'Salvator noster', issued by Leo X on 26 January 1515, in three editions: 300 "large" and 300 "small" ones in German or Latin and 800 copies in French (*wel-sch*). The printer also produced 5,139 confessionals.⁷⁵ Several invoices enable us to identify the recipients of these documents; apart from several monasteries, some 1,000 individuals acquired indulgences.⁷⁶ In Seville, "the 20,000 Spanish indulgences that Jacopo Cromberger printed in 1514 and the 16,000 that he printed two years later are recorded only in notarial documents".⁷⁷ In May 1519 the indulgence commissary Johannes Arcimboldi wrote a detailed account listing a number of editions published for the indulgence of Utrecht cathedral. He details 800 indulgences on (special?) parchment, 2,800 *in franceno* (on vellum), the same number of copies on paper, 1,600 vernacular and 500 Latin *stationes*, 400 *declarationes* (presumably summaries), 200 bulls and 300 printed papal coats of arms (*arma papalia*). The impressive total comprises 6,400 indulgences and 3,000 other documents.⁷⁸

Undoubtedly there were other text forms that were produced as broadsheets to accompany indulgences. Two documents from Haarlem shed light on such

73 Robert Swanson, 'Printing for Purgatory: Indulgences and Related Documents in England, 1476 to 1536', *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History*, 14 (2011), pp. 115–143, at p. 125.

74 Swanson, 'Printing for Purgatory', p. 127.

75 Wolfgang Seibrich, 'Die Trierer Heiltumsfahrt im Spätmittelalter', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 47 (1995), pp. 45–125, at p. 101.

76 Seibrich, 'Trierer Heiltumsfahrt', pp. 101 ff.

77 Stallybrass, "'Little Jobs'", p. 317, citing Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville. The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 51.

78 Fredericq, *Codex*, pp. 582–588 no. 391, at p. 582; for Arcimboldi, see Paulus, *Geschichte*, pp. 174 ff. For 'arma papalia' or 'arma apostolica', i.e. woodcuts displaying the papal coat of arms which were posted in churches, see Hans Volz, 'Der St. Peters-Ablaß und das deutsche Druckgewerbe', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1966), pp. 156–172, at p. 162, and Volz, 'Die Liturgie bei der Ablaßverkündung', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 11 (1966), pp. 114–125, at p. 120.

editions. On 16 July 1499 the printer Hugo Janszoon in Leiden produced 300–400 copies of an indulgence index for the Haarlem house of the Hospitaller Knights.⁷⁹ In 1502, 100 printed items of unknown content were commissioned for the aforementioned church of St Bavo's in Haarlem. The number seems small, yet these copies had just one function within the church: they were intended to be posted above the heads of the priests who took confessions.⁸⁰

As a postscript to this section two curious incunabula indulgences may be pointed out whose typographic execution confounds the expected standards for confessionals and reveals a surprising and aberrant print run. Designed as forms, indulgences and related matter normally feature blank spaces reserved for the names of their respective purchasers. Yet in two confessionals printed by Friedrich Creussner in Nuremberg in 1481 and 1482, the purchasers' names were actually not inserted by a scribal hand, but have been printed straight into the 'blank' space. That of course makes these 'forms' unsuitable for use except by the persons whose names were thus added, and hence the print run can by all means not have been higher than one or perhaps two copies (one of the items bears the names of husband and wife).⁸¹ Given the material evidence – both are from the same workshop and printed on vellum – it is likely that they were privately printed for individuals who had perhaps received a handwritten or paper form but desired something more legible, presentable, or durable.

Official Print

Print run information also exists for a number of official broadsheets, commissioned both for ecclesiastical and secular clients. The earliest evidence is from 1480, when Peter Schöffer printed respectively 100 and 104 copies of a two-piece announcement for the Mainz Archbishop Diether von Isenburg. The documents refer to an ongoing conflict between the archbishop and the city of Erfurt concerning the city's imperial status (*Reichsunmittelbarkeit*):

79 GW 11390/10 = VE15 A-77.

80 'Item de Hasback bestelt hondert brieven te printen van onsse offelaat, om de priesters, die biecht hoeren, over hoer hoeft te setten; dat hondert voor vi st(uiver)'; Fredericq, *Codex*, p. 427 no. 298.

81 GW M13224 = VE15 J-45, issued by the Hospitaller Knight Johannes de Cardona for Johannes Adam and his wife Kunigunde, and GW 0954620N (not in VE15), issued by the Nuremberg Franciscan Johann Ulrich Eysenflam; the name(s) of the recipient(s) have however been erased in the only surviving copy of the latter.

"I have printed and delivered 104 long letters", writes Schöffner, "which are to be fly-posted, and 100 long letters of justification, and have [the sheets] all pasted together and prepared them for use". Both documents were also issued together in a pamphlet printed in 45 copies; the printer received 16 guilders for his work.⁸² Another small print run from Schöffner's shop is mentioned in his correspondence; in 1497 when he pursued a lawsuit at the Imperial Chamber Court, trying to solve a twenty-year old business matter, Schöffner twice wrote to court officials promising to print 150 copies of an unspecified and unidentified executorial letter.⁸³

On 3 February 1483 the papal legate Angelo Geraldini informed the pope that he had ordered Heinrich Eggstein in Strasbourg to print 100 copies of Geraldini's announcement of Sixtus' IV crusade bull against Basel, which had been issued on 14 December 1482.⁸⁴ A lost letter addressed to the Basel clergy was printed in only 26 copies.⁸⁵ Low figures are also known for an official letter that the Cologne council sent in 1482 to princes and cities in order to justify its actions during a recent uproar; according to a distribution list, it was sent to 78 external recipients.⁸⁶ Almost 30 years later, on 7 July 1511, the Cologne

82 GW 8340 = VE15 D-8, D-9 (GW summarizing the two items in one entry); pamphlet version: GW 8341; Adolf Schmidt, 'Die Streitschriften zwischen Mainz und Erfurt aus den Jahren 1480 und 1481', *Jahresbericht der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft*, 8 (1909), pp. 33–50, and Schmidt, 'Eine Mainzer Buchdruckerrechnung von 1480', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 29 (1912), pp. 25f. The edition with 104 copies is GW 8340, 1; the size of the sheet is 1107 × 293 mm, with 236 lines of text. The edition printed in 100 copies is a letter meant to support Diether's claim to Erfurt (GW 8340, 11); size of the sheet is 875 × 293 mm, 191 lines. The length of the texts may explain the relatively high costs of printing; both items are certainly at the top of the list of the tallest and textually most substantial fifteenth-century broadsheets.

83 Jakob Strieder, 'Fünf neu aufgefundene Briefe des Mainzer Buchdruckers Peter Schöffner', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1933), pp. 69–74. No copy of this 'Executorialbrief' is known.

84 GW 1948 = VE15 A-507; for the context, see Jürgen Petersohn, *Diplomatische Berichte und Denkschriften des päpstlichen Legaten Angelo Geraldini aus der Zeit seiner Basel-Legation (1482–1483)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1987), esp. pp. 69f., and Petersohn, *Reichsrecht versus Kirchenrecht. Kaiser Friedrich III. im Ringen mit Papst Sixtus IV. um die Strafgewalt über den Basler Konzilspronuntiator Andreas Jamometić 1482–1484. Forschungen und Quellen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2015); Falk Eisermann, 'Bevor die Blätter fliegen lernten. Buchdruck, politische Kommunikation und die 'Medienrevolution' des 15. Jahrhunderts', in Karl-Heinz Spieß (ed.), *Medien der Kommunikation im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003), pp. 302–306.

85 Petersohn, *Diplomatische Berichte*, p. 87.

86 GW M16387 = VE15 K-20; Schmitz, *Einblattdrucke*, p. 64; Robert Giel, *Politische Öffentlichkeit im spätmittelalterlich-frühneuzeitlichen Köln (1450–1550)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998), pp. 106–108.

council commissioned a printer to produce 82 copies of an invitation sent by the Lübeck authorities to a Hanseatic Diet, in order to fulfil its obligation to inform the cities within its part of the Hanseatic League.⁸⁷ In Lyon, the printer Martin Havard received 60 *sols tournois* for 100 paper copies of a broadsheet detailing the prices and weights of bread on 6 July 1497.⁸⁸ In comparison to indulgences these print runs are decidedly modest, but they appear to be quite the rule for communication supposed to stay within the limits of specific communities or communication circles. While indulgences were produced for a potentially unlimited number of recipients, public announcements often addressed smaller and well-defined audiences.⁸⁹ In this respect the introduction of printing did not lead to a significant expansion of readership.⁹⁰

The account books of the diocese of Bamberg (*Hofkammerzahlamtsrechnungen*) contain a number of entries which provide insight into the work of local printers for their bishop. They include receipts for expenditure and on two occasions also reveal the print runs of documents produced by Johannes Pfeyl. In 1497/98 four pounds 18 pence were given to him for 47 royal letters, half a year later he received four guilders for 400 items, namely 200 huge letters on royal paper and 200 missives.⁹¹ Otherwise the account books do not reveal precise figures, only mentioning “several missives” or amounts of required paper, once stating that “one guilder twelve pence” were given to the printer for six “books of paper” to print letters of safe conduct.⁹² There are similar numbers

87 Giel, *Öffentlichkeit*, p. 96.

88 Henri Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI siècle*, vol. 3 (Lyon: Brun, 1897; repr. Paris: de Nobele, 1964), p. 100 ff. Thanks to Jamie Cumby for this reference; for this and other Lyon broadsheets see her contribution in this volume.

89 Adolf Schmidt, ‘Amtliche Drucksachen im 15. Jahrhundert’, *Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine*, 59 (1911), cols. 348–361, at col. 359; Schmitz, *Einblattdrucke*, p. 63 and pp. 166–169.

90 Norbert Richard Wolf, ‘Sprache über Konflikte vs. Sprache in Konflikten. Linguistische Überlegungen zum Medienwandel’, in Kurt Gärtner, etc. (eds.), *Spannungen und Konflikte menschlichen Zusammenlebens in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Bristoler Colloquium 1993* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), pp. 359–370.

91 Ferdinand Geldner, ‘Zur Geschichte des Bamberger Buchdrucks im 15. Jahrhundert. Kleinere Drucke der Sensenschmidt-Petzensteiner-Pfeyl’schen Werkstätte nach den Bamberger Hofkammerzahlamtsrechnungen’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1944/1949), pp. 100–104, at p. 103 nos. 13 and 18; no known copies of either. What did survive is a cover letter dated 25 March 1498 referring to an enclosed printed document, GW 12165 = VE15 H-15.

92 Geldner, ‘Geschichte’, no. 19. According to Geldner, *Inkunabelkunde*, p. 25 a ‘book’ consists of 24 sheets of paper. Letters of conduct consist of only a couple of lines, hence six to eight copies could be produced from one sheet of paper, six books could thus hypothetically

which allow us to reconstruct print production for Basel. In 1483 the city council had Martin Flach produce 370 copies of an imperial decree, at a cost of four florins.⁹³ The entries in the books of weekly expenses, from which this data derives, may relate to GW 10360, but typographical analysis suggests that this broadsheet was printed by Johannes Besicken, who may have worked as a sub-contractor for Flach.⁹⁴ This is an example of an ordinance for which the printing order was not given by the Emperor himself, but by the receiving party.

On the other hand, an exceptional and hitherto unnoticed document from Nuremberg provides precise information that towards the end of 1491 Friedrich III ordered the council to have printed a ban order (*Achtmandat*) against the city of Regensburg, even naming the printer to be charged with the commission, Creussner, furthermore demanding that the documents should be posted up within the city.⁹⁵ On 23 January 1492 the Emperor issued another circular letter concerning the Regensburg controversy, this time a directive for the knighthood of the Kraichgau (in the northwestern part of Baden-Württemberg) to prepare for a military campaign, also printed by Creussner. The only surviving copy in the State Archive Bamberg is filed together with a list of 26 intended recipients and another of 22 individuals who actually received one of the copies that were delivered by an imperial messenger on 15 May. A manuscript note probably by the messenger himself states that one Hans Hoffwart refused to accept the directive, and the messenger had to stick another copy at the gate of another refusenik ("mußt ich den ins tor stecken").⁹⁶

The historical background of the Emperor's 1491/92 printing commissions was the following: In 1486, due to its dire economical situation, Regensburg

produce 850–1,150 copies. The Bamberg invoices support the high demand for such documents (Geldner nos. 1, 2, 5, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24). Only one Bamberg letter of conduct from the fifteenth century has survived in a single copy (GW M51507 = VE15 W-32), several others are included in GW on evidence of the account books (GW 12183, 12184 etc.).

93 Bernoulli, 'Incunabeln', p. 7.

94 VE15 F-76.

95 The information is from an archival document signed by a Nuremberg notary and dated 12 November 1491, see the summary in the database *Archivportal-D* <<http://www.archivportal-d.de/item/HTN3KMPKZDU6R6FVCUKVMOW5KNY6I7KO>>. The broadsheet in question is GW 10371 = VE15 F-87. For the public posting of royal proclamations in England, see Chris R. Kyle, 'Monarch and Marketplace: Proclamation as News in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78 (2015), pp. 771–787. See also Pamela Neville-Sington, 'Press, politics, and religion', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 3: 1400–1557 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 576–607.

96 GW 10373 = VE15 F-89 (see note in VE15 for details).

had given up its status as Imperial City, i.e. as an immediate subject of the Emperor, and had subordinated itself to the Bavarian dukes – an unheard-of event.⁹⁷ Across Germany, the city's defection evoked a severe political crisis. Regensburg's course of action was accompanied by a multi-layered and heated process of public communication. Thanks to a treasure-trove of sources, the constituents and dynamics of this process can be reconstructed; at the heart of the matter, there is, again, a broadsheet which was issued by the city, and backed by the Bavarians, in order to defend and justify their controversial decision.⁹⁸ Among other things the sources reveal the names of those who drafted and copy-edited the announcement, of those who approved it, the timetable and costs of the printing and distribution processes. Soon after the defection had been made public, its devastating repercussions began to be noticed in the city and at the Bavarian court in the summer of 1486. The announcement was then quickly drafted by city officials and printed by Matthäus Roritzer, Regensburg's cathedral architect who also ran a small printing house. From an invoice we know that 600 copies came off the press; these were quickly distributed throughout the Empire, as evident from three surviving messenger reports, which have to be considered important and unusual documents in their own right. Notably, the sources refer to manuscript copies addressed to Friedrich III, Maximilian, and members of the higher nobility.

In 1485 the Munich council scribe Johannes Schaur – later to become a printer himself – ordered 600 invitations to a shooting contest on behalf of the city of Munich.⁹⁹ For this he engaged the Augsburg printer Johannes Schobser who received a little over six guilders for his work; almost the same amount was paid to Schaur himself who had to finish the printed broadsheets by adding addresses and had to carry out other scribal work, including the copying of 16 manuscript invitations for princely recipients.¹⁰⁰ The invitation was published

97 The following is a highly abbreviated summary of Falk Eisermann 'Vil grozer brefe sint angeslagen. Typographie und öffentliche Kommunikation im 15. Jahrhundert' in Nine Miedema, etc. (eds.), *Literatur – Geschichte – Literaturgeschichte. Beiträge zur mediävistischen Literaturwissenschaft. Festschrift für Volker Honemann zum 60. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), pp. 481–502, esp. pp. 486–492, detailing sources and references. The source material is mainly published in Heinz Angermeier, etc. (ed.), *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I., vol. 1: Reichstag zu Frankfurt 1486* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), nos. 597, 599, 601 etc.

98 GW M37248 = VE15 R-10.

99 GW M25577 = VE15 M-165.

100 Geldner, *Inkunabeldrucker*, p. 255. For shooting contests and their printed invitations in general see Marcus Ostermann, 'Vmb kurzweil vnd schiessens willen. Zu den gedruckten Schützenbriefen des 15. Jahrhunderts', in Honemann, *Einblattdrucke*, pp. 397–443.

on 8 November 1485 and distributed by messengers throughout Austria and Northern Germany. About twenty years later, in 1504, the organizers of a shooting contest in Zürich sent out 614 printed invitations. About 600 copies seem to mark the upper limit for this genre; in 1506, just 350 copies were printed for a similar event in Frankfurt.¹⁰¹ Invitations to contests in Würzburg on the other hand were produced on a much smaller scale, according to municipal account books recording a number of commissions for the local printer Georg Reyser during the last two decades of the fifteenth century.¹⁰² Thus, 50 copies of an invitation to a shooting competition on 28 August 1480 were printed on 31 May.¹⁰³ In 1484, the account book notes that the amount paid to the printer for 86 copies of an invitation also includes beer money for the apprentices.¹⁰⁴ 80 copies were issued on 30 June 1489 inviting recipients to a shooting contest on 8 August; accompanying the invitation was an announcement concerning reduced prices for participating, issued on the same day.¹⁰⁵ In 1490, 60 copies of an invitation were printed.¹⁰⁶ Seven years later the printer received a little over one guilder for 50 letters relating to two contests, one with arrows, the

101 Zürich: Ludwig Schmutge, 'Feste feiern wie sie fallen – Das Fest als Lebensrhythmus im Mittelalter', in Paul Hugger, etc. (eds.), *Stadt und Fest. Zu Geschichte und Gegenwart europäischer Festkultur* (Unterägeri/Stuttgart: W & H Verlag, 1987), pp. 61–87, at p. 83; Frankfurt: Emil Sarnow, *Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt am Main. Handschriften, Einbände, Formschnitte und Kupferstiche des 15. bis 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Joseph Baer, 1920), p. 88.

102 Otto Meyer, *Georg Reyser. Der Meister des Würzburger Frühdrucks* (Würzburg: Echter, 1981); Heinrich Endres, 'Zur Druckertätigkeit Georg Reysers in Würzburg', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 46 (1929), pp. 137–139; Leo Günther, *Chronik der kgl. priv. Schützengesellschaft Würzburg. Festschrift zur 500-Jahresfeier im Mai 1932* (Würzburg: Becker, 1932), pp. 34–38 and 41f. The invoices relate to the years after the mentioned year; Günther e.g. assumes that no. 9209 (1479) actually refers to 1480. Endres, on the other hand, assumes the mentioned year is also the production year and comes to the conclusion that Reyser printed more invitations than commonly assumed (p. 138). Since Endres cannot match a single entry to a surviving copy, Günther's argument is more convincing.

103 GW M51823 = VE15 W-71; Ernst Freys (ed.), *Gedruckte Schützenbriefe des 15. Jahrhunderts in getreuer Nachbildung* (Munich: Kuhn, 1912), pl. 8.

104 Karl Otto Müller, 'Eine Einladung an die Stadt Mergentheim zum Würzburger Schützenfest vom Jahre 1484', *Fränkische Chronik* (1926), no. 6, pp. 21 ff. There is no entry in the account book for the invitation to the shooting contest with firearms on 20 July 1486 (GW M51824 = VE15 W-73); Freys (ed.), *Schützenbriefe*, pl. 16.

105 GW M51825 = VE15 W-74 and GW M51826 = VE15 W-75; Freys, *Schützenbriefe*, pl. 23.

106 Endres, 'Druckertätigkeit', p. 139. No known copy.

other with firearms, both to take place on St Lawrence's day 1497.¹⁰⁷ Finally in 1500, a print run of 92 copies is on the record.¹⁰⁸

The print run figures for such invitations were patently determined by the anticipated level of participation. Munich and Zürich quite obviously expected a far larger number, many of whom would travel considerable distances in order to attend, than the organisers of the Würzburg festivities, whose invitations mainly addressed local or at best regional recipients. Even the choice of material for the invitations may reflect representational pretensions. For a major shooting event in Augsburg in late 1508, Erhard Ratdolt produced 400 copies on paper and in addition to that also 150 – perhaps even 450 – vellum copies.¹⁰⁹ These invitations were sent not only to neighbouring cities and territories in South Germany and nearby Switzerland, but as far as Hungary, Poland and the Lower Rhine. The effort paid off, as 536 contestants took part in one event, and 900 in the other, among them the duke of Bavaria, the margrave of Brandenburg and other representatives of the German nobility as well as citizens of Zürich, Frankfurt, Paris, Prague and Ofen. The total costs of the Great Shooting, as it became known, came to some 9,000 guilders, roughly one sixth of all expenses the city council had to face in 1509.¹¹⁰

Ratdolt was a very busy printer who produced a large number of official broadsheets and thus left many administrative traces, of which some relate to print runs. For 420 copies of an Augsburg guard ordinance he received four guilders.¹¹¹ The Augsburg municipal invoices (*Baumeisterrechnungen*) contain the following items: In 1510 the city paid two guilders, four shilling and tuppence for a coin ordinance, in 1512 one guilder for 50 imperial decrees and another 20 guilders for a print run of 100 “Books of Unification” (*Ainungs-büchlein*) of the Swabian League, which cannot be identified.¹¹² The accounts list further editions, though not by Ratdolt, in print runs of 100–300 copies.¹¹³

107 Günther, *Chronik*, p. 41. No known copy.

108 Günther, *Chronik*, p. 42. No known copy.

109 Paul Geissler, ‘Erhard Ratdolt’, in Wolfgang Zorn (ed.), *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*, 9 (1966), pp. 97–153, at p. 137. According to Geissler, Ratdolt had 450 invitations on parchment printed, whereas Hannes Kästner, *Fortunatus – Peregrinator mundi. Welt-erfahrung und Selbsterkenntnis im ersten deutschen Prosaroman der Neuzeit* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1990), p. 244, mentions only 150 parchment copies.

110 Kästner, *Fortunatus*, p. 244.

111 GW 0285910N = VE15 A-520.

112 Geissler, ‘Erhard Ratdolt’, p. 137.

113 Geissler, ‘Erhard Ratdolt’, p. 137, alas providing no precise source references for those figures; Hans-Jörg Künast, ‘Die Augsburger Buchproduktion des 16. Jahrhunderts – Stand der Erfassung im Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16.

An exact print run of a municipal ordinance comparable to the example from Augsburg is known for the Nuremberg quartermaster decree (*Viertelmeisterordnung*) of 1487. It contains regulations for firefighting, guard duties, cleaning of chimneys, prizes and the opening hours of taverns, and was produced by the aforementioned Friedrich Creussner in 400 copies.¹¹⁴ Ratdolt's Augsburg colleague Anton Sorg printed ordinances for the Bavarian Dukes Christoph and Wolfgang, among them an invitation of 10 October 1492 for a regional diet in Freising that was to take place two weeks later, printed in 380 copies in at least five different issues.¹¹⁵ The payment of this particular order created some problems; thus on 11 October Ulrich Elsenbeck, representative of the dukes, wrote a letter to Wolfgang, saying: "Most gracious Lord, I am sending your Grace 380 ordinances. They did not want to give them to me. I had to pay the notary one guilder which I do not have".¹¹⁶ The short span of only two weeks between issuing the document and the date of the event shows that commissions were sometimes processed under severe time pressure. In the present case the deadline was impossible to meet, as the necessary notification period of a fortnight had not been observed; hence on 31 October and 2 November the dukes sent new, urgent invitations for an assembly to be held on 18/19 November, which again was published by Sorg in several issues.¹¹⁷ This time the dukes threatened the recipients: "If you do not come to the assembly, we will complain to the Emperor so that your disobedience will be punished".¹¹⁸

In Ulm, Johannes Reger, who temporarily worked for the Swabian League in 1491/92, received two guilders for 100 copies of the account of a conflict unfolding between the Swabian League and the bishop of Speyer, four guilders for 200 libels (*Glimpfchriften*), three guilders for 100 copies of a royal resolution passed at Koblenz in 1492, five guilders for 100 copies of a statement by

Jahrhunderts (VD16)', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 40 (2015), pp. 65–78, at p. 73 fn. 27, for an account book entry relating to an ordinance of which 300 copies were printed by Johann Schönsperger in 1501; no copy known.

114 GW M27307 = VE15 N-2; Ursula Timann, *Untersuchungen zu Nürnberger Holzschnitt und Briefmalerei in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Hans Guldenmund und Niclas Meldemann* (Münster/Hamburg: Lit-Verlag, 1993), p. 188 ff., with similar data for 1536, 1560 and 1565.

115 GW 6651–6654 = VE15 C-16 to C-20; GW only describes four editions, but GW 6652 exists in two variants.

116 Heinz Lieberich, 'Die Anfänge der Polizeigesetzgebung des Herzogtums Baiern', in Dieter Albrecht etc. (eds.), *Festschrift für Max Spindler zum 75. Geburtstag* (Munich: Beck, 1969), pp. 307–378, at p. 320 fn. 27.

117 GW 6655–6658 = VE15 C-21 to C-25.

118 Phrase taken from the text of GW 6656.

Duke Albrecht and the city of Regensburg as well as the report of the Swabian League and Duke George.¹¹⁹ The first figure probably refers to GW M19440 (VE15 L-99), and the *Glimpfschriften* are presumably ordinances issued by the Swabian League against one of their adversaries.¹²⁰

A considerable number of broadsheets and pamphlets was published under the name of Maximilian I before 1500, and the number is growing steadily as more German archival holdings become available for online searches.¹²¹ However, this large set of editions comprises a relatively small number of texts, many of which were issued in several variants. For some of these royal ordinances, information is available on print runs and modes of distribution. On 28 June 1498, for example, the Freiburg Diet sent out about 1,200 royal letters to all members of the former Swabian League asking them to join a new union or face an imperial ban. This refers to three broadsheet invitations, printed by Friedrich Riederer in Freiburg, for a regional diet at Ulm where the renewal of the Swabian League was to be discussed.¹²²

119 Peter Amelung, *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten 1473–1500* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1979), p. 312; Adolf Schmidt, 'Johann Reger in Ulm der Drucker des Briefs des Bundes in Schwaben', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 25 (1908), pp. 302–307, at p. 305.

120 GW M40956–M40958 = VE15 S-25 to S-27; Marcus Ostermann, 'Mir ist ein sloß verbrenndt worden'. *Einblattdrucke und Flugschriften im Spannungsfeld zwischen politischer Kommunikation und literarischer Verarbeitung am Beispiel einer spätmittelalterlichen Fehde* (unpublished master's thesis, Münster 1996), pp. 84, 96. The other documents refer to pamphlets (the 1492 resolution is GW 122); Ostermann, *Einblattdrucke*, p. 83, and Amelung, *Frühdruck*, pp. 342f. no. 152 ff. It is noteworthy that M40958 was especially produced for the city of Strasbourg, as the city's name is part of the printed text and the text refers to the 'Ammeister', an office that only existed in Strasbourg. Thus the print run must have been quite modest.

121 In 2016, two new editions were found in the State Archive Rhineland at Duisburg (GW M2194050, M2197950). For the discovery of Maximilian's earliest broadsheet, see Falk Eisermann, 'Buchdruck und politische Kommunikation. Ein neuer Fund zur gedruckten Publizistik Maximilians I.', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (2002), pp. 76–83; for an overview see Eisermann, 'Imperial Representation and the Printing Press in Fifteenth-Century Germany', in Margriet Hoogvliet (ed.), *Multimedia Compositions from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), pp. 61–73.

122 GW M22034–M22036 = VE15 M-106 to M-108; Falk Eisermann, "'Darnach wisset Euch zu richten. Maximilians Einblattdrucke vom Freiburger Reichstag', in Hans Schadek (ed.), *Der Kaiser in seiner Stadt. Maximilian I. und der Reichstag zu Freiburg 1498* (Freiburg: Kore, 1998), pp. 198–215, at pp. 201 ff. and 208; see also Heinrich Lutz, *Conrad Peutinger. Beiträge zu einer politischen Biographie* (Augsburg: Verlag Die Brigg, 1958), p. 27; Ernst Bock, *Der Schwäbische Bund und seine Verfassungen (1488–1534). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reichsreform* (Breslau: Marcus, 1927), p. 84 and fn. 160.

Editions were thus produced in as many copies as the client/distributor deemed necessary; they had to match the recorded number of principalities, cities and individuals who had to be invited to particular assemblies or at least had to be informed about recent decisions. As early as 1470, an invitation to a Regensburg Diet was distributed to at least 200 recipients.¹²³ For later editions we can assume 300–400 copies.¹²⁴ Some sources, however, point to lower numbers, and moreover they indicate that manuscript circulars were still an option. On 17 November 1495 Maximilian admonished over 150 estates to collect the so-called Common Penny (*Gemeiner Pfennig*), to which they had agreed in Worms but had subsequently taken no further action. The records contain a list which apart from the addressees of this specific letter provides information on the sometimes testing distribution routes. Six messengers were dispatched to deliver copies, and the sources reveal their payment as well as the wages for five assistant scribes; according to the sources the letter was circulated in manuscript only.¹²⁵ On 28 August 1495, Maximilian had asked the Bamberg Bishop Heinrich Groß von Trockau to negotiate with his Würzburg colleague Lorenz von Bibra and margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg as well as the Franconian knights about the Worms resolutions on the Common Penny. On 22 October, Heinrich and Friedrich issued an invitation to a Diet of Knights (*Rittertag*) at Schweinfurt, which was subsequently printed by Georg Reyser and sent to 219 knightly families, of which 47 resided in the diocese of Bamberg, 109 in the diocese of Würzburg, and 63 in the margraviate.¹²⁶ Another invitation issued by Maximilian on 18 August 1497 was delivered to 162 estates according to a distribution list, in addition to which the archbishop of Mainz had

123 Ronald Neumann, 'Kaiser Friedrich III. und der Einblattdruck', in Willibald Katzinger, etc. (ed.), *Kaiser Friedrich III. Innovationen einer Zeitenwende* (Linz: Stadtmuseum, 1993), pp. 33–38, at p. 35 with fn. 43; the figure refers to handwritten copies.

124 'For the imperial diet in Worms, 1495, a total of 343 estates had to be invited'; Stephan Füssel, 'Dichtung und Politik um 1500. Das 'Haus Österreich' in Selbstdarstellung, Volkslied und panegyrischen Carmina', in Herbert Zeman (ed.), *Die österreichische Literatur. Eine Dokumentation ihrer literarhistorischen Entwicklung*, vol. 2 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1986), pp. 803–831, at p. 816 fn. 50. For the diet itself see Thomas A. Brady, Jr., 'Maximilian I and the Imperial Reform at the Diet of Worms, 1495', in Jan-Dirk Müller and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler (eds.), *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk. Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I.* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), pp. 31–56.

125 Heinz Angermeier (ed.), *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I.*, vol. 5: *Reichstag von Worms 1495* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), pp. 1212–1216 no. 1660, lists ten surviving manuscript copies.

126 GW 12159 (see note) = VE15 H-10.

also sent off a considerable number of copies.¹²⁷ No broadsheet editions of this text are known, and these might also have been handwritten invitations. On 25 August 1496, while staying at Lake Como, Maximilian issued another decree that was printed by Erhard Ratdolt. It appealed for a loan to conduct a military campaign in Italy; seven different issues of this announcement have been discovered so far, one other is dubious. Remarkable is an issue directed to the electors, suggesting that this particular variant was produced in just seven copies.¹²⁸

Distribution lists can also be found in the Saxonian-Thuringian diet records. The manuscript of an announcement issued by the court officials Heinrich vom Ende and Hans von Obernitz in February 1497 includes the comment that “these letters were produced in 126 copies” and sent out according to a prefabricated distribution list.¹²⁹ By contrast over 300 estates, cities and individuals were invited to a 1498 territorial diet in Naumburg, where important issues concerning the mint had to be negotiated.¹³⁰ This list is structured in great detail according to rank in order to guarantee the formal correctness of the invitations, with regard to particular addressees such as secular and religious lords, cities, knights, officials etc. A 1532 announcement by one of the electors, however, was required in only “18 letters in great form” for counts and lords and 35 “in small form”. The client also gave instructions for the text and the desired layout, such as demanding a blank space on top of the sheet so that the recipient’s name could be filled in by hand; the client also reminded the printer that noblemen had to be addressed in the second person plural and with the words “dear follower”, whereas others were simply to be addressed “you” (“*lieber getreuer* an dy vom adel, und andere die haist man *du* durchaus in dem brief”).¹³¹

These figures reflect the requirements of different occasions; princes usually invited a large number of guests to important events, whereas in such cases as regional diets a limited number of estates were asked to take part.¹³² Whether invitations were circulated in print or manuscript, communication between rulers and subjects was structured to a very high degree, and the production

127 Peter Diederichs, *Kaiser Maximilian als politischer Publizist* (Jena: Diederichs, 1932), p. 27; manuscript copies were sent to 13 dukes, 24 bishops, seven priors and provosts, four *Balleien* (regional headquarters of the Teutonic Knights), five landgraves, 44 counts, 40 individuals und 25 cities.

128 GW M22016 = VE15 M-86.

129 Carl August Hugo Burkhardt, *Ernestinische Landtagsakten, vol. 1* (Jena: Fischer, 1902), p. 25. No known copies, but for similar broadsheets see GW 9304–9306 = VE15 E-30 to E-33/10.

130 Burkhardt, *Landtagsakten*, pp. 29–33. No known copy.

131 Burkhardt, *Landtagsakten*, p. 264 and introduction, p. III.

132 Burkhardt, *Landtagsakten*, p. III.

of texts, their distribution and delivery was not left to chance. In this type of official print, invitations, decrees and announcements were published according to exact precalculations; those issuing them did not intend to inform an anonymous public as such. On the other hand, where general resolutions such as the Eternal Land Peace (*Ewiger Landfrieden*) and other laws of the highest importance for the common good were concerned, Maximilian was decidedly eager to ensure the validity and observance of his legislation by employing an extensive information policy. Issued on 7 August 1495 and addressed to all estates and individuals, the *Landfrieden* ordinance was distributed in various broadsheet editions. The only known print run figure for any of those concerns an announcement of the Peace and of Maximilian's order to promulgate it publicly; it was issued by margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg in 200 copies.¹³³ Yet, just as large numbers of copies do not necessarily suggest that the document addressed the entire public, low numbers such as this one do not necessarily indicate that copies were meant for chosen circles of addressees only. Whatever the print run, the many printed placards, posters, fly-posts, letters, circulars, and forms were definitely perceived by the public, and also evoked responses from its members. Many of the 100 copies of the decree published by the Archbishop of Mainz against Erfurt were exhibited publicly; in Frankfurt, merchants from Erfurt tore the placards down and took them away.¹³⁴

To ignore printed announcements of a legal character was anyway not an option, as evident from Henry VII's 'Statutes and Ordinances of War' issued in preparation for a military campaign against France in late 1491 and 1492, "the first extant printed document to bear the royal arms" and furthermore one of the rare cases where printing itself is an important topic of an official statement:

On signing their indentures, early in May 1492, each officer was to be issued with a printed copy of the *Ordenaunces of Warre*, which had been commissioned for this purpose, as its colophon states ... This booklet was to serve as an important model for subsequent government publications.

133 Angermeier (ed.), *Reichstagsakten*, pp. 359–373 no. 334; Eisermann, 'Bevor die Blätter fliegen lernten', pp. 296–302, at p. 300; the broadsheet in question is GW 10381 = VE15 F-104.

134 Schmidt, 'Streitschriften', pp. 34f.; Franz X. Wegele (ed.), *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum Nicolai de Siegen O.S.B.* (Jena: Frommann, 1855), p. 466. For more examples of public responses, including the destruction of publicly displayed printed announcements, see Eisermann 'Vil grozer breffe sint angeslagen'. See also Nicolas Offenstadt, 'Über einige öffentliche Bekanntmachungen, die schlecht verliefen. Die Proklamation als Prüfstein der Realität im Spätmittelalter', in Martin Kintzinger, etc. (eds.), *Gewalt und Widerstand in der politischen Kultur des späten Mittelalters* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 2015), pp. 101–113.

It is the first official work from the press to declare in forthright terms that, thanks to printing, the King's subjects will not be able to claim ignorance of the law: "and to thentent they have no cause to excuse theim of their offences by pretense of ignorance of the saide ordenances, his highnesse hath ovir and above the open proclamation of the saide statutes commaunded and ordeyned by wey of emprynte diverse and many several bokes conteignyng the same statutes to be made and delivered to the capitaignes of his ost charginge them as they wyl avoyde his greate displeasure to cause the same twyues or ones at the lest in every weke hooly to be redde in the presence of theirre retynue".¹³⁵

Since the disastrous conflict between two competing archbishops of 1461/62 (*Mainzer Stiftsfehde*) and the Erfurt controversy, broadsheets were employed in numerous political conflicts to shape public opinion.¹³⁶ The 'Acta Wormatiensa', possibly compiled by Reinhard Noltz, mayor of Worms, document the protracted confrontations between city council and burghers on the one hand and Bishop Johannes von Dalberg and the clergy of Worms on the other. The 'Acta' also provide print run figures for several broadsheet editions issued during this conflict by the Worms magistrate and printed by the well-known Peter Drach in Speyer in mid-1499 and January 1500. They also throw light on their distribution, elucidating the motivations underlying the printing commissions and highlighting the importance the city attributed to the matter. Thus, in 1499

an announcement was issued, 500 copies of which the council had printed in Speyer and it was sent to princes, counts, lords, cities near and afar, and others, each with the correct address, enclosed with copies of the first imperial invitation, the imperial decree, royal confirmation and the recession of Speyer ... The exodus of the clergy created much gossip in the country, and the priests in the taverns spoke very badly about the city council and the burghers ... so that the council was moved to issue

135 Neville-Sington, 'Press, Politics and Religion', p. 578. The 'Ordenaunce' is GW M43530; Dennis E. Rhodes, 'The Statutes and Ordinances of War', *The Library*, 6th ser., 3 (1981), pp. 340–343.

136 Konrad Repgen, 'Antimanifest und Kriegsmanifest. Die Benutzung der neuen Drucktechnik bei der Mainzer Stiftsfehde 1461/63 durch die Erzbischöfe Adolf von Nassau und Diether von Isenburg', in Johannes Helmuth, etc. (eds.), *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Erich Meuthen* (2 vols., Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), II. 781–803; and Repgen, 'Die politischen Einblattdrucke der Mainzer Stiftsfehde in deutscher Sprache (1461/62)', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 46 (1994), pp. 281–321; Eisermann, 'Bevor die Blätter fliegen lernten', pp. 293–296.

another declaration, which was composed by the municipal clerk and sent to the printer in Speyer; 500 copies were printed.¹³⁷

The conflict between clergy and community continued for a couple of years, providing another extraordinary printer-client exchange. On 14 October 1507 Worms again wrote to Drach: "Hereby we sent you a copy of our *absolucion*, please have 400 printed in a distinguished large type"; the printer responded the next day:

As I've written before, I currently don't have an apprentice fit to follow your instructions, but I've seen to it that 400 will be printed, even though typesetting in Latin and German is much more time-consuming, given that one type is higher, the other wider.

Three days after contacting Drach, Worms also commissioned the Oppenheim printer Jakob Köbel to print "400 copies of our *intimacion* with the largest letters that you have in your printing shop, *texture modus*", thus demanding the use of an authoritative-looking type that otherwise was mainly used for liturgical printing.¹³⁸ This whole string of conflict-bred communication from Worms at the turn of the centuries is very remarkable for its many details concerning printing house practices, such as print runs, details of labour practice, the use of display scripts, and interference from clients, none of which is well documented for the earliest decades of printing. There is more evidence for the production of official print in the first half of the sixteenth century, relating to similar conflicts and controversies as well as to issues of municipal and

137 'Tagebuch des Reinhart Noltz, Bürgermeister der Stadt Worms 1493–1509, mit Berücksichtigung der officiellen Acta Wormatiensia 1487–1501', in Heinrich Boos (ed.), *Monumenta Wormatiensia. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1893), pp. 371–543, at pp. 437–439; Heinrich Boos (ed.), *Geschichte der rheinischen Städttekultur von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Stadt Worms*, vol. 4 (Berlin: Stargardt, 1901), pp. 72 and 74; Falk Eisermann, 'Noltz, Reinhard', in Ruh, *Verfasserlexikon*, xiv. 1055–1058. The first figure refers to the broadsheets GW M51806 and M51807 = VE15 W-65 and W-66, which were distributed with GW 10368, a four leaves in-folio pamphlet. Of the announcement issued on 25 January 1500, referring to the exodus of the municipal clergy, no Speyer edition is recorded, but there are two broadsheets printed by Schöffner in Mainz: GW M51808, M51809 = VE15 W-67, W-68.

138 Boos, *Monumenta Wormatiensia*, pp. 527f. fn. 3; Falk Eisermann, 'Leipziger Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts', in Enno Bünz (ed.), *Bücher, Drucker, Bibliotheken in Mitteldeutschland. Neue Forschungen zur Kommunikations- und Mediengeschichte um 1500* (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag, 2006), pp. 373–399, at pp. 383 ff.

territorial administration. In 1514, Dukes Wilhelm IV and Ludwig X of Bavaria-Landshut had 400 decrees along with 55 cover letters for officials printed by Johann Weißenburger in Landshut:

Tuesday after Laetare Sunday, [given to] master Hans the printer for 400 decrees (*Mandaten*) printed on one and a half sheets, for which he charged three pence each, and 55 letters to the officials, which were sent with the decrees, in total, five guilders, three shillings and fifteen pence.¹³⁹

On 16 March 1518 Maximilian sent Konrad Peutinger an imperial ban order directed against treacherous mercenaries, asking him to have 300 copies printed.¹⁴⁰ The bull 'Exsurge domine' by Pope Leo X, threatening Luther with excommunication, is said to have reached a print run of 5,000 to 6,000 copies; however, this overall figure relates to over a dozen different editions.¹⁴¹ The bull appeared, probably due to its length, exclusively as a pamphlet, a preferred

139 Karl Schottenloher, 'Der Frühdruck im Dienste der öffentlichen Verwaltung', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1944/1949), pp. 138–148, at p. 142 (abbreviations expanded by me, F.E.).

140 Erich König (ed.), *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel* (Munich: Beck, 1923), no. 187 pp. 299 ff.; for further information on print runs and distribution, see Diederichs, *Kaiser Maximilian*, pp. 26–28; Eberhard Isenmann, 'Politik und Öffentlichkeit im Zeitalter Friedrichs III. und Maximilians I.', in August Buck, etc. (eds.), *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Wolfenbütteler Kongreß 1979* (3 vols., Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), III, 583–587, at p. 584. Print run data are also available for Maximilian's 'Ehrenpforte' ('Triumphal Arch'), which of course is not a broadsheet proper. According to Johannes Stabius, it was produced between 1519 and 1522 in c. 700 copies; Samuel Steinher, 'Ein Bericht über die Werke Maximilians I.', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 27 (1906), pp. 152–155, esp. p. 153. In 1526 Ferdinand I. instructed Marx Treitzsaurwein to have another 300 'Ehrenpforte' copies printed; Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus. Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I.* (Munich: Fink, 1982), p. 77.

141 Karl Schottenloher, 'Die Druckauflagen der päpstlichen Lutherbulle 'Exsurge Domine'. Ein Beitrag zum Reformationsjubiläum', *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, ns 9 (1917/1918), pp. 197–208, at p. 208; Hans Beschoner, 'Die sogenannte Bannbulle und ihre angebliche Verbrennung durch Luther am 10. Dezember 1520', in *Forschungen aus mitteldeutschen Archiven. Zum 60. Geburtstag von Hellmut Kretzschmar* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1953), pp. 315–327, at p. 320 ff. For an edition, supplements und addenda, see Peter Fabisch, etc. (eds.), *Dokumente zur Causa Lutheri (1517–1521)* (2 vols., Münster: Aschendorff, 1988–1991), II, 338–342; Gisela Möncke, 'Zur Überlieferung der Bullen Exsurge Domine und In coena domini: Zwei vergessene Rostocker Drucke', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1996), pp. 74–79. For the pamphlet version of 'Exsurge domine' we currently know of 19 editions produced in 1520/21, and various later editions.

form for some papal documents since the incunabula period.¹⁴² In the bull Leo x specified that it “was to be posted and published on the doors of St Peter’s, of the papal chancery, and of the cathedrals of Brandenburg, Meißen and Merseburg respectively”.¹⁴³ Thus a number of copies were obviously published as long handwritten broadsheets.¹⁴⁴ Along with an edition of the bull printed by Johann Weissenburger, Bishop Philipp of Freising had the printer produce a broadsheet, the so-called implementation decree, in 300 copies, as mentioned in the 1521 *Freisinger Kastenrechnung* accounts: “Master Hans Weyssenburger, priest of Landshut, [received] for 300 bulls against doctor Luther and 300 decrees to print four Rhenish guilders, and for the messenger to carry 53 denarii, in sum four Rhenish guilders 53 d.”¹⁴⁵

The Berne accounts treated above also provide ample material for the Reformation period. For the first six months of 1524 they contain information on 358 printed copies of a decree, perhaps referring to a Reformation edict of 15 June 1523 addressing the clergy and officials “in our country and regions”. The municipal clerk also recorded a number of handwritten announcements, circulating in 35 and 39 copies respectively, and dealing with various subjects such as eating meat and eggs, the teachings of Luther, or priests cohabiting with women. In 1525 he wrote one single copy of the Reformation articles of 7 April, perhaps as printer’s copy for a planned edition.¹⁴⁶ On 19 November 1527 Berthold Haller, the reformer of Berne, informed Zwingli about the circulation of 100 copies of the theses (*Schlußreden*) of a planned disputation; he asks for them to be distributed in Latin as well “so that they can be sent to Lausanne, Aigle and other places which are *welsch*” (where French is the vernacular).¹⁴⁷ In the summer of 1537, the council of Berne had 300 announcements printed to advertise a disputation in French that was to take place in Lausanne on 1st September, and copies were sent out on 2 August “to post them on church doors”.¹⁴⁸

In 1520 or 1521 Jan Bernszoon in Utrecht produced 300 copies of a now missing ‘Privilegium ducis Gelrie’ for Charles II of Guelders, according to an invoice from Utrecht cathedral.¹⁴⁹ Documents issued in September 1521 suggest an

142 See for example GW M12201, M12242, M12244, M12314 and many more.

143 Schottenloher, ‘Druckauflagen’, p. 202.

144 Schottenloher, ‘Druckauflagen’, p. 202; Frenz, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste*, p. 27 no. U 508, and p. 161 fn. 58.

145 Schottenloher, ‘Druckauflagen’, p. 204 and p. 207 no. 9.

146 Fluri, *Beziehungen*, pp. 23–25.

147 Fluri, *Beziehungen*, p. 29.

148 Fluri, *Beziehungen*, p. 48 (image) and 49.

149 Maria Elizabeth Kronenberg, ‘Contacten van Karel de Gelder met de Druckpers en de Wetenschappelijke Wereld’, *Het Boek, 3de reeks* 37 (1965/66), pp. 1–10, at p. 2. It is not clear

output of 200 copies of unclear content for the principality of Tyrol; production took place in the recently established print shop of the brothers Jörg and Hans Stöckl in the Tyrolean town of Schwaz which was run by Josef Pernsieder: "Josef Pernsieder, printer in Schwaz, for 200 printed documents or books which he produced for the dying following the order of our lord, three guilders." On 2 April 1524 Pernsieder received 18 guilders for numerous printed decrees, his assistant who dispatched them to Schwaz was paid a further threepence.¹⁵⁰ The relationship between price and payment may suggest that the 1524 decree appeared in about 1,000 copies, yet such calculations are not reliable, as factors such as varying prices and length of printed text are difficult to assess. The evidence from Schwaz shows, however, that official commissions, even if they mainly resulted in small publications, could be of vital economic importance for newly established printing houses. Further evidence from Munich supports this claim. After moving from Augsburg to Munich the printer Johannes Schobser specialised in the publication of official print. In 1527 he produced 100 copies of an ordinance regulating the kinds of meat to be sold in Munich.¹⁵¹ Yet he rarely worked for the city, mostly receiving print orders from the Bavarian dukes, 140 in all, most of which for broadsheets.¹⁵²

For Nuremberg we have several receipts and invoices from the council printer Jobst Gutknecht, who produced broadsheets and small publications from 1524 to 1542, especially in 1533, 1537 and 1539.¹⁵³ For these editions, figures differ considerably. In 1533 the print run of papers (*zettl*) and sheets (*pögen*) consistently stood between 150 and 300. Then there were 58 copies of a decree concerning the hunting of quails and partridges, and up to 600 copies of a longer announcement dealing with public misdemeanor such as cursing and drinking.¹⁵⁴ Similarly in 1537, Gutknecht noted that the number of copies for previous commissions had varied widely, from 40 copies of an ordinance regulating the sale of lard to 600 for an ordinance regulating profane speech.¹⁵⁵

if this quote refers to a printed single sheet, but Kronenberg presents other printed broadsheets that Charles had produced in the 1520s.

150 Schottenloher, 'Frühdruck', p. 143.

151 See Schottenloher, 'Frühdruck', p. 143, and his *Der Münchner Buchdrucker Hans Schobser 1500–1530. Mit einem Anhang: Wer ist Johann Locher von München?* (2nd ed., Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1967) p. 95 no. 210.

152 Schottenloher, 'Frühdruck', p. 142.

153 Hans-Otto Keunecke, 'Jobst Gutknecht – der Drucker des Nürnberger Rates', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1987), pp. 146–157.

154 Keunecke, 'Gutknecht', p. 153. In fn. 57, Keunecke mentions an announcement of 27 March 1537 which may refer to the order of 600 copies; it consisted of two sheets that had been glued together.

155 Keunecke, 'Gutknecht', p. 153.

As with indulgences, which were often intended to facilitate the building or rebuilding of churches, the highest number of copies mentioned in the Gutknecht documents relate to construction projects. In 1539 he twice printed 7,000 *zettel* to raise money for building activities on Nuremberg's fortifications, which had begun in 1538. That document was intended for every household in the city, as the protection of the community required exhaustive fund-raising.¹⁵⁶

However, such comprehensive publication activity in urban areas seems to be an exception. As other examples show, the number of copies of civic announcements was closely related to their function. Information was also often passed on with the help of other media, such as oral announcements. In this respect there seems to have been no drastic change from the incunabula period to the first half of the sixteenth century.

From 1522 to 1543 the printer Georg Erlinger worked for the bishop's court in Bamberg: "The protocols of the cathedral chapter provide details about the origin of edicts; the chamber accounts detail print orders including print runs of specific documents and these, about 80 in number, demonstrate the considerable amount of official announcements. All these documents reflect concerns people had at that time – e.g. taxes for measures against the Turks, fortification, numerous letters of safe conduct (for which Erlinger often received one guilder annually for 1,500 copies, later for 1,000)".¹⁵⁷ Apart from that he printed threats of punishment against conspirators, along with many other publications. Thus, in 1525 he printed 300 letters of an announcement concerning the so-called Twentieth Penny tax; two years later 400 copies of a denunciation of a Land Peace violator earned him four guilders. Finally, on 1 October 1537 Erlinger received eight guilders for 1,500 copies of a feud letter (*Fehdebrief*) and the prince bishop's answer.¹⁵⁸

Other Evidence

One of the most important sources for fifteenth-century printing and the contemporaneous booktrade altogether is the ledger ('Diario') of the print shop housed in the Dominican convent San Jacopo di Ripoli in Florence. Apart from a vast amount of data covering the period from November 1476 to February

156 Keunecke, 'Gutknecht', p. 154, esp. fn. 63; Hoffmann, 'Gutenberg und die Folgen', p. 17, refers to 5,000 slips regarding capital tax printed in 1522. This also indicates the number of households in the city.

157 Schottenloher, 'Frühdruck', p. 146.

158 Keunecke, 'Gutknecht', fn. 2–6.

1484, the 'Diario' provides information on no fewer than 33 print runs for editions of the Ripoli press.¹⁵⁹ However, most entries just give keywords such as *orazioni* or *orazione della croce*, and they often contain information on dates of sale without references to publication type or print runs; very many editions mentioned in the 'Diario' have not survived.¹⁶⁰ It is therefore not certain if the ledger includes broadsheets at all. Some examples: In August 1480 the 'Diario' mentions 1,000 copies, another time referring to 150 copies of editions containing 12 prayers each; the latter 150 were commissioned by a *cerretano* named Tomaso.¹⁶¹ On 30 November 1480 the account books mention more than 500 copies of a 'Lamento d'Otranto', an elegy on the destruction of Otranto by the Turkish fleet.¹⁶² On 20 December of the same year Fra Domenico da Pistoia, the convent procurator who kept the 'Diario', sold 1,000 prayers to the Virgin Mary to an unidentified *cerretano*.¹⁶³ One year later, in December 1481, the Ripoli press published "mille sancte margherite in stampa, dove va nelluna uno foglio" on behalf of the street-singer Giovanfrancescho. He seems to have sold the copies quickly, as he ordered another 500 in March 1482, leaving 200 in the print shop because he was unable to pay for them.¹⁶⁴ And so on; a comprehensive analysis of the 'Diario' with regard to all the data that it contains related to ephemera is still due.

There is only scattered evidence about the production, distribution, clientele and print runs of almanacs, alongside indulgences the most common type of incunabula broadsheets.¹⁶⁵ In 1496 Peter Drach sent an invoice for 100

159 Melissa Conway, *The 'Diario' of the Printing Press of San Jacopo di Ripoli 1476–1484. Commentary and Transcription* (Florence: Olschki, 1999); Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Cartolai, Illuminators, and Printers in Fifteenth-Century Italy. The Evidence of the Ripoli Press* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1988). The number of print runs according to White, *Researching Print Runs*, introduction (no page numbers).

160 Rouse, *Cartolai*, nos. II and VIII; also III, V, VI, VIII–X, XII, XIII/LXIX, XVII–XIX etc. The only surviving broadsheet printed by the Ripoli shop is GW M1716120.

161 Conway, *'Diario'*, p. 195; Rouse, *Cartolai*, pp. 37f. fn. 40, describe 'cerretano' as 'peddler, seller of religious objects, street-singer, a rather marginal character who was nevertheless possessed of enough ready cash to commission the printing, for example, of a special prayer to sell on a saint's day'.

162 Conway, *'Diario'*, p. 199; GW M28492, very likely not a broadsheet.

163 Conway, *'Diario'*, p. 200.

164 Conway, *'Diario'*, p. 219 ff.

165 Leonhard Hoffmann, 'Almanache des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts und ihre Käufer', *Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde*, 3rd ser., 8 (1983), pp. 130–143; Richard L. Kremer, 'Incunable Almanacs and Practica as Practical Knowledge Produced in Trading Zones', in Matteo Valeriani (ed.), *The Structures of Practical Knowledge* (Berlin: Springer, 2017), pp. 333–369. Thanks to my friend Rich Kremer for allowing me to read a draft of his article.

almanacs to the Worms accountant Jorg.¹⁶⁶ In 1518, the council of Basel determined that no almanac “should be printed which had not been examined in advance by the medical faculty and the municipal physician. When in the following year the printers Adam Petri, Pamphilus Gengenbach and Nikolaus Lamparter ignored this order they were called to account; as a punishment each of them had to deliver 100 copies of their almanacs to the municipal physician Wonnecker. On this occasion it was determined that in future the physician, when examining an almanac, was to receive 500 copies of the edition”.¹⁶⁷ In 1544 almanacs were produced in fewer copies. On behalf of the council of Nuremberg, the mathematician Johann Schöner – after long disputes about the correct execution of almanacs authorised for Nuremberg – produced an improved version, certainly intended as a kind of blueprint, and had 200 copies made and distributed to the professional group concerned, this being the lay surgeons, also known as barbers.¹⁶⁸ In 1558 the Nuremberg printer Valentin Geißler produced 22,000 almanacs meant to be distributed in seven South German dioceses.¹⁶⁹ This does not imply, however, that there was a constant growth in printed copies. Such almanacs were not accessible to everyone; first and foremost, they were intended for people in specialized medical and hygienic professions. It is possible that censorship regulations or administrative measures in urban health care restricted the unlimited spread of such texts – let alone the strong competition, as testified by hundreds of preserved almanac editions from the fifteenth century.

Musical broadsheets were published in growing numbers since the end of the fifteenth century; however, I only found one instance from Augsburg giving the size of a print run and even this does not necessarily point to a broadsheet, as there is, again, no known copy: “In 1549 the print shop of Narziß Ramminger received orders from the publisher Hans Westermair for the production of musical prints. When questioned by the censor, Ramminger and his journeyman Marx Fischer put on record that they had printed 500 copies of the song about King Antiocho, sold to Westermair for one penny each”.¹⁷⁰ An inventory from Seville, detailing the contents of the warehouse of the Cromberger printing

166 Hoffmann, ‘Almanache’, pp. 139f.; Hoffmann, ‘Gutenberg und die Folgen’, p. 15.

167 Hoffmann, ‘Almanache’, p. 139, and p. 141 for further information on later sixteenth century editions.

168 Hoffmann, ‘Almanache’, p. 140.

169 Hoffmann, ‘Gutenberg und die Folgen’, p. 16; see also the figures mentioned by Schilling, fn. 14 above.

170 Hans-Jörg Künast, ‘Getruckt zu Augspurg’. *Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997), p. 196.

house after the death of its founder Jacopo in 1528, lists “50,500 sheets of ‘coplas’, or rhymes, 21,000 sheets of prayers, and over 10,000 copies of devotional woodcuts; in 1540, among other popular ephemera, it stocked 10,000 ABCs and over 5,000 sheets of ‘coplas’”.¹⁷¹ Some of these will have been broadsheets, such as the 14,750 items reported in another source from the stock of Guillermo Remón at Cuenca.¹⁷²

Conclusion: There is Safety in Numbers

The present chapter asks a lot from readers, given that it contains a large amount of figures, numbers, and other data. This data, however, was not assembled as an end in itself. Rather, the analysis and reconstruction of the source material is intended to persuade scholars that unproven and unprovable (and often also improbable) estimates should be avoided. “It is worth remembering”, Eric White also reminds us, “that a documented print run may not be a representative print run”.¹⁷³ For certain areas, there is simply not enough material to draw a clear picture; for some types of broadsheets absolutely no print run figures can be calculated. Thus, no evidence for broadsheets by well-known authors such as Sebastian Brant, Konrad Celtis, Hans Folz or Jörg Preining survives, and the same is true for broadsheets transmitting songs, prayers and other religious texts, and for literary and didactic ephemera. In any case, extrapolation, unfounded analogies, guesswork, and retro-projection are not recommended scholarly methods.

The GW database currently contains entries for 2,650 broadsheet editions of the fifteenth century, and it will be clear that the findings presented in this chapter cannot claim to represent the entire output. The two major groups of broadsheets for which sufficient evidence and material for plausible analyses is available are indulgences and official print. The chronological distribution indicates that already in the incunabula age some texts were distributed in

171 Clive Griffin, ‘An Unlucky Number of Seville Imprints’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1999), pp. 146–155, at p. 146; the first inventory is published by Griffin, ‘Un curioso inventario de libros de 1528’, in María Luisa López-Vidriero etc., *El libro antiguo español. Actas del primer Coloquio Internacional* (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad etc., 1988), pp. 189–224, esp. p. 216 nos. 153–155; see also Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville*, p. 36.

172 Alexander S. Wilkinson, ‘Bum Fodder and Kindling: Cheap Print in Renaissance Spain’, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies: Hispanic Studies and Researches on Spain, Portugal and Latin America*, 90 (2013), pp. 871–893, at p. 882, referring to Sara T. Nalle, ‘Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile’, *Past and Present*, 125 (1989), pp. 79–94, at p. 82.

173 White, *Researching Print Runs*, introduction (no page numbers).

high print runs, regularly reaching 1,000 and more copies, not including reprints. Yet we cannot apply this observation on a global scale or to specific types of print in general. Moreover, the relatively stable numbers of copies over long periods show that one cannot assume a steady growth of print runs. As speculating on print runs does not allow for new insights, each copy, each text, and especially each genre has to be examined on its own. The results of such specific examinations are not applicable or transferable to other editions, or other types of media.

Apart from the print run figures proper, this survey has brought to light a number of additional details that may be important for the history of printed artefacts and their reception. These concern the financial, material and chronological organisation of printing commissions; a variety of data on wages and prices; details on the people involved, from clients to authors, printers, and audiences; and much more. It is vital to learn from the sources that clients instructed printers on the required number of copies, sometimes also on details of layout and typographical execution. And of course those “little jobs” which Peter Stallybrass so vividly described – providing a stunning amount of data and examples mainly for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – “regularly injected cash into the notoriously undercapitalized book trade”.¹⁷⁴ Such observations allow new insights into the preparation and unfolding of events such as indulgence campaigns and urban shooting contests, for example, and they also provide information regarding the dissemination and public display of royal and other proclamations. Some of the evidence, for example the Cologne warrant of 1482, the Franconian shooting invitations, the Erfurt editions produced by Schöffer in 1480, the lost letters from the Bamberg presses, and Gutknecht’s production in the 1530s, suggests that broadsheets were often used in geographically restricted areas, mostly in the vicinity of the issuing institutions, or were sent or brought more or less directly to known addressees within larger geographical spaces and social frameworks. Yet in none of these cases can we speak of the broadsheet as a mass medium, or sweepingly characterise broadsheets as mass media altogether. Indulgences are different. They were doubtlessly produced in extraordinarily high numbers, and their reception was limited only by the areas allocated by the Curia to individual indulgence commissaries, and of course by certain periods of validity, but within these constraints the many printed products accompanying the indulgence campaigns aimed at all layers of society.

174 Stallybrass, “Little Jobs”, p. 324.

Reconstructing Broadsheet Production in Reformation Wittenberg

Drew Thomas

On the eve of All Saints' Day 1517, Martin Luther posted an invitation to an academic debate on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg. If there is one event that affirms the importance of print in European history, it was the posting of this broadsheet. The *Ninety-Five Theses* spurred an eruption of printing activity that transformed religious identities across Europe. Unfortunately, the original broadsheet edition has not survived.

Broadsheets were valuable work for early modern printers. They could be produced quickly. They were easily inserted on the press while the printer was in the middle of larger jobs. They provided a quick return on investment, assisted cash flow and created investment capital for future projects.¹ Larger jobs, such as Bibles, inevitably took longer before printers saw a return on their investment and in consequence funding such projects was both more complex and carried greater risk.

Although Wittenberg's printing history is usually overshadowed by its immaculate Luther Bibles and Reformation pamphlets, broadsheets played an important role. This importance has been overlooked due to the fact that few broadsheets survive and those that do are scattered among numerous libraries and archives. Broadsheets were fundamental to the advancement of evangelical doctrine and a preferred method for mitigating internal disputes.

This chapter examines the importance of broadsheets both to the local industry and the Reformation movement by analysing Reformation and university broadsheets. It also attempts to document Wittenberg's lost broadsheet history. This can be reconstructed based on surviving archival documents, such as account books detailing payments to printers. The result is not only a glimpse into the ways in which early modern governments adopted print, but also a snapshot of early modern printing practices and the role of broadsheets in the economy of print.

1 See: Goran Proot, 'The Importance of Jobbing Printing: A Framework Agreement between the Ghent Jesuits and the Printer Baudewijn Manilius for the Production of Theatre Programmes (1664)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 21 (2014), pp. 89–112.

Broadsheet Production before the Reformation

Prior to the Protestant Reformation, Wittenberg's print industry was relatively primitive, with only a single commercial press in operation. Wittenberg's proximity to the large printing centre in Leipzig made it difficult to sustain a commercially viable venture in the small university town. The first printing press, arriving in 1502, functioned primarily in the service of the newly created University of Wittenberg.² Most printing during this period was for religious or humanist texts, which aligned with the university's goal of becoming a leading centre of humanist thought. However, new archival research by Thomas Lang has shown that the Elector started to adopt print for official purposes during this time as well, though none of these early items survive.³ Only two broadsheets have survived that were printed in Wittenberg during this period. Both foreshadow important developments that transformed the local industry and the wider European landscape.

The first of the surviving items is a religious broadsheet depicting the celestial ladder of St. Bonaventure ascending from earth to heaven.⁴ Printed by Simprecht Reinhart around 1510, the full sheet woodcut illustration has movable type inserted throughout the image in pictorial scrolls. The Holy Trinity is the focal point, surrounded by symbols of the Gospels, angels, and other holy men and women. There are two Saxon coats of arms in the top corners, those of the Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Saxony. Despite the beauty and sophistication of this image, its importance to Wittenberg print lies largely in the presence of a small device cut into the bottom left leg of the ladder. It is a winged serpent, the signature of someone who would become one of the leading artists of the Northern Renaissance and Protestant Reformation: Lucas Cranach the Elder.

Lucas Cranach was the court painter to Elector Frederick the Wise. Cranach was one of a number of leading German artists lured to Wittenberg by Frederick to work on the great building projects which he designed to improve the cultural prestige of his capital. Dresden, the capital of ducal Saxony, was under the jurisdiction of Frederick's cousin, George. Frederick longed to create

2 Maria Grossman, 'Wittenberg Printing, Early Sixteenth Century', *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, 1 (January 1, 1970), pp. 53–74.

3 Thomas Lang, 'Simprecht Reinhart: Formschneider, Maler, Drucker, Bettmeister – Spuren eines Lebens im Schatten von Lucas Cranach d. Ä.', in Heiner Lück, etc. (eds.), *Das ernestinische Wittenberg: Spuren Cranachs in Schloss und Stadt* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2015), pp. 93–138.

4 *The Celestial Ladder of St. Bonaventure* (Wittenberg: Simprecht Reinhart, [1508–11]). USTC 710946.

an equally beautiful capital city by renovating Wittenberg's castle and castle church, founding the university, and as a patron of the arts. Cranach soon became crucial to the success of this ambitious agenda.

In 1508 Frederick rewarded Cranach for his artistic contributions by presenting him with a coat of arms. This was focused around the image of a winged serpent, which would become iconic on his portraits of famous Lutheran Reformers. In addition to the portraits, Cranach also painted murals in the various ducal residences, decorated gun barrels, and designed tapestries, court dress, coins, and medals. This broadsheet was printed by Reinhart not long after Cranach received his coat of arms. Its presence on the broadsheet shows Cranach's eagerness to show off his new emblem; that he should use it on a broadsheet was also a testament to the importance he attached to the new printing medium. Rather than treating it as a cheap, ephemeral job, he ensured it was associated with his workshop. This was a preview of the prominent role Cranach would play in shaping Wittenberg print and spreading the Reformation message.

Cranach played an important role in the Wittenberg print industry as a publisher.⁵ Although he was only active for three years, 1522–1525, these were some of the most crucial years of Luther's developing movement. Cranach published many of Luther's early works, including the 1522 German translation of the New Testament, for which he provided the woodcut illustrations.⁶ Even after he quit publishing, he continued to play an active role in the printing industry by supplying woodcut title page borders to other local printers. These were influential in the evolving design and style of Wittenberg print.

While this example of an early Cranach broadsheet foreshadows the importance Cranach would play in the future of the Wittenberg printing industry, the other surviving pre-Reformation example – by Martin Luther – foreshadows the impending storm. From its foundation, the University of Wittenberg slowly moved from the old scholastic methodology of learning to the new humanist curriculum. Christoph Scheurl, who was appointed university rector in 1507, introduced many humanist innovations that helped Wittenberg gain status as

5 John L. Flood, 'Lucas Cranach as Publisher', *German Life and Letters*, 48 (1995), pp. 241–262.

6 The first edition of the New Testament is USTC 627911. For more on Cranach's illustrations, see Cäcilia G. Nesselstrauss, 'Die Holzschnitte von Lucas Cranach zur ersten Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments von Luther und die Tradition der deutschen Wiegendrucke', in Peter Feist, etc. (eds.), *Lucas Cranach: Künstler und Gesellschaft* (Wittenberg: Staatliche Lutherhalle, 1973) and Peter Martin, *Martin Luther und die Bilder zur Apokalypse: Die Ikonographie der Illustrationen zur Offenbarung des Johannes in der Lutherbibel 1522–1546* (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig, 1983), pp. 26–37.

a centre of humanist learning.⁷ By 1517 Luther was firmly aligned with Scheurl's modernizing agenda and prepared to challenge the more traditional theology still tenaciously maintained by some faculty members. In September he published a set of theses against scholastic theology.⁸

For many years, it was thought that these theses had not survived. It was only in 1983 that a copy was recovered from the pages of a larger volume at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.⁹ This discovery confirmed that the theses were printed by Johann Rhau-Grunenberg in two columns on a single-sided broadsheet. There were four sections of 25 theses, a format he presumably also used for the lost edition of the *Ninety-Five Theses*. The theses on scholastic theology were offered as an invitation to a debate, but apparently did not stimulate enough interest, as the debate never took place.

Luther not only rejected scholasticism, but also rejected the traditional aim of humanism. Rather than embracing classical antiquity, Luther embraced humanist methodologies and applied them to his interpretation of scripture. Eventually his religious Reformation placed him at odds with many in the humanist community. But the theses against scholastic theology are important because they show the development of Luther's thought and represent his earliest known foray into a format of print he would use again only a few weeks later for another work—the *Ninety-Five Theses*.

Reformation Broadsheets

The publication of Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses* was the beginning of a new era in Wittenberg printing. The small university town would come to play a dominant role in the print production of northern Germany, and a seminal part in the development of the industry throughout the Empire. The original Wittenberg broadsheet edition of this important document has not survived; we know today of only two broadsheet editions printed in Leipzig and Nuremberg, and a quarto pamphlet published in Basel.¹⁰ The surviving broadsheets are known from only one or two copies. The survival rate for academic print of

7 Maria Grossman, *Humanism in Wittenberg, 1485–1517* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), p. 94.

8 Luther, *Ad Subscriptas conclusiones Respondebit Magister Franciscus Guntherus Nordhusensis pro Biblia. Presidente Reuerendo patre Martino Luder Augustinen. Sacrae Theologiae Vuittenburgen. decano loco & tempore statuendis* (Wittenberg: Johann Rhau-Grünenberg, 1517). USTC 710961.

9 *Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel A: 434.11 Theol. 2' (a)*.

10 USTC 751650 (Leipzig), USTC 751649 (Nuremberg) and USTC 639278 (Basel).

this sort was always low, and no-one at this point could have anticipated the momentous consequences of this particular work. Given the fact that Johann Rhau-Grunenberg was the only commercial printer in Wittenberg, had his printing premises either in or near Luther's Augustinian monastery, and had just recently produced a similar document for Luther, he was the likely printer of the now lost first edition.¹¹

Rhau-Grunenberg also published a broadsheet edition of Luther's defence against the accusations of Johannes Eck, who Luther famously debated in the Leipzig Disputation.¹² During the debate, held in the summer of 1519, Eck's rhetorical expertise pushed Luther to criticise papal authority, a step towards his break with Rome. Rhau-Grunenberg also published a quarto version of Luther's response, which was reprinted in Leipzig and Breslau.

As Luther's reform gained more and more adherents, a wide range of new ideas emerged. To clarify his positions, Luther issued several broadsheets that explained his beliefs. Sometimes these confuted the beliefs of catholic opponents, but often they were directed against others on the side of reform. Simon Lemnius was a humanist scholar at the University of Wittenberg, praised for his linguistic skills. However, he earned the ire of Luther after publishing a number of epigrams in 1538 with allusions insulting the reformer and other leading Wittenberg figures.¹³ Moreover, it was dedicated to the catholic Albrecht of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz. For Luther, this was too much to stomach, published on a Wittenberg press.¹⁴ Luther responded with a rebuke of Lemnius, printed as a broadsheet, which he read from the church pulpit and posted on the church doors.¹⁵ By this time, however, Lemnius had fled the city. Another famous dispute, resulting in six different disputations from Luther, was with Johannes Agricola over the importance of the Law and Gospel. It concerned whether Christians and non-Christians were bound to the Mosaic Law. In this case, Luther thought Agricola's view was too extreme. For the disputations, he issued six different sets of theses for discussion.¹⁶ All were originally printed as broadsheets and later reprinted together as a pamphlet.

In addition to printed disputations and denunciations, visual polemics were also widely employed during the Reformation. When it comes to illustrated

11 The lost Wittenberg edition is USTC 710962.

12 USTC 710974.

13 USTC 693984.

14 Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: The Preservation of the Church, 1532–1546* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1999), p. 88.

15 Ibid. For Luther's denunciation, see USTC 710951.

16 USTC 710976, 710978, 710979, 710980, 710981 and 710982.

broadsheets however, Wittenberg played a very minor role. Interestingly, given the role such visual polemic has played in interpretations of the dissemination of the Reformation message, there are only two known surviving examples. The first stems from the beginning of the movement when Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt teamed up with Lucas Cranach to produce the *Chariots to Heaven and Hell*.¹⁷ Karlstadt was chair of the theology department in Wittenberg and participated in the Leipzig Disputation with Luther and Johannes Eck. He was an adamant supporter of the new evangelical movement and was named alongside Luther in *Exsurge Domine*, the papal bull threatening excommunication. His woodcut engraving featured two chariots headed in opposite directions, one entering Heaven and the other – driven by a papal prelate – headed towards Hell. The illustration, interspersed with text-filled pictorial scrolls, was a remarkably bold attack on the papal hierarchy early in the movement. It survives in several examples, including a Latin and a German version. Since the woodcut included space for the insertion of movable type, the Latin text could easily be replaced with the German type. It was printed first in Latin and then reissued in German prior to the Leipzig Disputation in 1519.¹⁸

The other instance of visual polemic is Luther's famous *Abbildung des Papstums* or "Depiction of the Papacy." This was a series of broadsheets with monstrous depictions of the Pope, each accompanied by two, short rhyming couplets written by Luther. It followed his 1545 publication of *Wider das Bapst zu Rom vom Teuffel gestiftt*, a long, polemical treatise satirizing the papal hierarchy.¹⁹ Four editions of the treatise were published that year, as well as many copies of the broadsheets. Cranach carved nine different woodcuts for the series, which resulted in 31 different printings in that year alone.²⁰ The woodcuts proved widely popular and were copied numerous times in the following decades.

In addition to scholarly debate, denunciations, and polemic, broadsheets played an important role in Reformation pedagogy. Parish visitations in the late 1520s revealed that most Christians and rural clergy in Protestant areas were largely ignorant about the major tenets of evangelical theology.²¹ In response

17 Andreas Bodenstein Karlstadt, *Will Gott. Szo würt vortewtsche erklerig Beber wagen* ([Wittenberg: s.n., 1519]). USTC 752666.

18 Only fragments of the Latin edition survive. Three copies of the German edition survive, two in Berlin and one in Hamburg.

19 Hans Lufft published four editions in 1545. For a digital edition, see USTC 706555.

20 USTC 711006–711036.

21 Robert James Bast, *Honor Your Fathers: Catechism and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 38 and 99.

Luther delivered a number of sermons teaching the essentials of faith. He printed a set of wall charts with short explanations in a question and answer format. Broadsheets such as these rarely survive; the school room was an unforgiving environment for print, and single-sheets posted on the wall must have been especially vulnerable to the ravages of time and use. Two however do survive, both printed in Low German by Nickel Schirlentz in 1529.²² These wall charts, like Luther's *Small Catechism* to which they were closely related, were written in a question and answer format.²³ The charts were designed to assist pastors, teachers, and parents in instructing children in the new faith. The *Small Catechism* was so successful that by the middle of the sixteenth century its use was a defining feature of Lutheran communities.²⁴ Wall charts such as these must have been a common feature of the Lutheran schoolroom.

Beginning with the *Ninety-Five Theses*, broadsheets played an important role in defining and disseminating evangelical positions and beliefs. Texts were often printed first as a broadsheet and later, in Wittenberg and elsewhere, as pamphlets. However, on many occasions, broadsheets were not meant to stand alone, but rather accompany other works, rather like the illustrative broadsheets produced for Luther's attack on the papacy.

University Print

Although the earliest print shops in Wittenberg were founded primarily to serve the university, the local industry grew to accommodate the great increase in polemical and theological publications inspired by the Reformation. Despite this general reorientation of the local press, the university continued to play an important role in broadsheet production, especially with respect to theses printed for disputations. Even Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses* were a call for a scholarly debate to be held at the university. It was originally an academic affair.

As part of the mediaeval, scholastic tradition, if a scholar wanted to propose a debate, he would put forth a set of theses to be discussed. With the advent of the printing press, these were often printed, posted for public display, and handed out to attendees. Each thesis would then be considered and debated.

22 USTC 753433 (Universitätsbibliothek der JLU Gießen; Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig) and 753434 (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel).

23 USTC 650492.

24 Michael J. Halvorson, *Heinrich Heshusius and Confessional Polemic in Early Lutheran Orthodoxy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 115.

Afterward, the protocols of the disputation might also be printed and distributed. In 1540 Luther published a set of theses on the divinity and humanity of Christ.²⁵ It was a single-sided landscape broadsheet with 32 theses. This was a response to Caspar Schwenkfeld, who disagreed with Luther over Christ's two natures; the two men had already fallen out during the 1520s over Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The later controversy resulted in Luther orchestrating Schwenkfeld's expulsion from Silesia. Luther later extended the theses from 32 to 64 and wrote a detailed explanation for them.

Several broadsheets survive relating to a specific type of disputation: the *Promotionsdisputation*, debated at the ceremonies leading to the award of a doctorate.²⁶ On these occasions, Luther is often listed as presiding over the disputation: "*praesidente D. Martino Luther.*" This may explain why these particular copies have been preserved.²⁷ One surviving example is a disputation involving Georg Major and John Faber. The broadsheet, printed prior to the event, was a set of theses on the trinity and incarnation.²⁸ Major, who had been the court preacher in Wittenberg, also became rector of the university.

In 1537 Luther presided over the graduation disputation of two students named Palladius and Tilemann. A single-sided broadsheet was printed beforehand with 45 theses printed in two columns.²⁹ In his remarks, Luther discusses the importance of justification.³⁰ Events such as these also allowed the Reformer to address a wider audience than those gathered to hear the students in Wittenberg. In addition to simply presiding over the disputation, Luther was responding to a larger controversy with Conrad Cordatus, a pastor from Niemegk, a small town about thirty-five kilometres north of Wittenberg. Cordatus had made complaints about the doctrinal accuracy of Caspar Cruciger's university lectures on justification. As the lectures were based on Philip Melancthon's notes, he too was implicated. Melancthon had emphasized the importance of repentance in justification. But since repentance was a human

25 USTC 710992.

26 See Saskia Limbach's case study on academic disputations in Basel in Chapter 16. Also, see the catalogue of dissertations at the Leiden University Library in D.D. Breimer, A.A.M. Janssen and J.C.M. Damen (eds.), *Hora Est!: On Dissertations* (Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 2005).

27 For examples, see the *promotionsdisputation* of Petrus Hegemon (Benzing **3523a) or Philippus Motz (Benzing **3195a).

28 USTC 710999.

29 USTC 710975.

30 Olli-Pekka Vainio, *Justification and Participation in Christ: the development of the Lutheran doctrine of justification from Luther to the Formula of Concord (1580)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 43.

action, Cordatus claimed it undermined Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone. Luther had previously addressed the issue in a set of theses, printed as a broadsheet, for the doctoral disputation of Philip Motz.³¹ Cruciger, who was presiding at that disputation, held his ground. After Justus Jonas, the university rector, refused to demand a recantation, Cordatus forwarded his complaint to the Saxon chancellor. This brought it to the attention of Elector John Frederick, who was insistent that doctrinal unity should be preserved within his territory.³² Luther's intervention in the debate at the disputation of Palladius and Tilemann was intended to pour oil on these troubled waters. It was later published as a pamphlet with the earliest surviving copy being a 1553 octavo published in Magdeburg by Melchior Lotter the Younger.³³ This episode demonstrates how small, ceremonial events were used by the reformers to address their larger theological and political concerns.

Luther continued to use the forum of academic disputations throughout his career. They were integral to clarifying his positions and defending himself from academic and theological attacks. It was one of his preferred methods of discussion, which he recognized as one of his strengths.³⁴ Not only did he prefer the disputation process for settling disputes, he also thought it fundamental to a successful training for theologians and ministers of the church.³⁵ More importantly, it shows how Luther, famed for his use of the German vernacular, still valued Latin discourse. Scholars have long praised Luther's use of German, specifically, his 1522 German translation of the New Testament.³⁶ Of the 4,500 editions by Luther published during his lifetime, over 3,600 were in German. Fewer than two out of every ten Luther editions were printed in Latin. Mark Edwards, in his study on Luther and the printing industry, shows how Luther's use of the vernacular helped him appeal to a wider audience and how

31 USTC 711037.

32 Brecht, *Martin Luther*, pp. 148–152.

33 USTC 638746.

34 *D. Martin Luthers Werke Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden 1531–46*, ed. Joachim Karl Friedrich Knaake (Weimar: Hermann Vöhlhaus Nachfolger, 1916) IV, p. 635, lines 19–21 (no. 5046, May 21 to June 11, 1547).

35 See Chapter 2 of Christine Helmer, *The Trinity and Martin Luther: A Study on the Relationship Between Genre, Language and the Trinity in Luther's Works (1523–1546)* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), pp. 41–120.

36 See Hans Volz and Henning Wendland, *Martin Luthers Deutsche Bibel: Entstehung u. Geschichte d. Lutherbibel* (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig, 1978) and Heimo Reinitzer, *Biblia Deutsch: Luthers Bibelübersetzung und ihre Tradition* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1983).

it undermined his catholic opponents' responses.³⁷ However, while Luther preferred German for his printed sermons and polemic, much of the internal doctrinal debates within the clergy were confined to Latin. This was in large part due to the university settings of the disputation, but also because Luther valued the disputation as a means both of encouraging debate, and controlling it within agreed parameters. In this way, broadsheets continued to play a large role in the shaping of protestant doctrine. That said, it is often only a later pamphlet version that survives. When pamphlets were printed detailing the contents of a disputation, the theses were usually reprinted at the beginning or interspersed within the text at the appropriate response. The broadsheets, printed prior to the event and only including the bare text of the theses, were no longer needed. They were difficult to store and likely discarded. Scholars instead collected the pamphlets, especially when the dispute became important in later doctrinal controversies.

Although the *disputatio* was a product of mediaeval, scholastic tradition, it was not abandoned by scholars in the sixteenth century. While it was clearly a tool especially favoured by the early reformers, the disputation remained an essential part of the university regime, in Wittenberg as elsewhere, through to the end of the century and beyond.³⁸

Official Print: Reconstructing Wittenberg's Lost History

While many of the surviving Reformation and university broadsheets were printed in Latin, German was the language of preference for the other major broadsheet patron in Wittenberg: the Elector of Saxony. This too was an area of production susceptible to considerable attrition: but there is no doubt that in its time the publication of broadsheets played a crucial role both in expanding the role of government and underpinning the viability of the printing press. In addition to its university, Wittenberg was important as the seat of the Elector of Saxony— one of the most powerful princes of the Empire. It was at the insistence of the Elector that the first printing press in Wittenberg was established.³⁹ Although it was established to serve both the university and the

37 Mark U. Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

38 In the case of Wittenberg demonstrated by a collection of broadsheets from the 1580s surviving in the Berlin State Library. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Az 18401.

39 Grossman, *Wittenberg Printing*, p. 60.

Elector, most official print has not survived. The history of official print must be reconstructed from surviving archival records and account books.

While the documented early imprints of the Wittenberg press served mostly the needs of the university, new research by Thomas Lang reveals the existence of a separate official printing press housed in the Wittenberg castle operated by Simprecht Reinhart.⁴⁰ Reinhart came to Wittenberg from Strasbourg and started printing in 1509.⁴¹ After 1512, he disappeared until 1525, when he published *Anwysynge yn de hillige goetlicke schrift*.⁴² Lang believes that during this period Reinhart was operating a press within the castle. He discovered archival documents mentioning a press located in the castle from at least 1514. Several surviving bills show that the chancery clerk regularly travelled from Torgau to Wittenberg carrying edicts and other documents to be put to the press.⁴³ Another castle document records the purchase of a lock and key in 1515 for the *druckerey*.⁴⁴ Around this time, invoices are recorded in the electoral account books, documenting the existence of a press located on the third floor of the castle. Furthermore, according to financial records from the castle kitchen, Reinhart became the *Bettmeister* or “bed master” to the Elector in 1516, which placed him in charge of several household duties and allowed him to take up residence within the castle.⁴⁵ He is also listed in this position from the account books of 1525–26. Cranach’s painting workshop on the third floor of the castle was vacated after he purchased his own workshop in the middle of town in 1511. It is clear these rooms became the locations of Reinhart’s press and chambers.

The castle press was maintained exclusively for official business, printing various ordinances and other forms of official communication. Unfortunately none of them survive. Lang assumes Reinhart accepted the *Bettmeister* position because it offered a steady job and a stable income; plausibly it also conferred status and provided the printer with valuable connections with people in high places. He no longer had to worry about the uncertainty associated with being a printer touting for business in the commercial market. The history of Wittenberg’s first printers was not encouraging in this respect: four had come and gone before Rhau-Grunenberg was appointed in 1508. But it was hardly a ringing endorsement of Rhau-Grunenberg’s competence that the Elector

40 Lang, ‘Simprecht Reinhart’, pp. 93–138.

41 Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), p. 1079. Grossman, *Wittenberg Printing*, p. 62.

42 USTC 683904.

43 Lang, ‘Simprecht Reinhart’, pp. 122–23.

44 Ibid., p. 125.

45 Ibid., p. 118.

should choose to establish his own occasional press for official business, rather than trust to Rhau-Grunenberg's expertise. The *Bettmeister* position allowed Reinhart to continue printing, while also earning a stable living. In 1528 alone, he was paid 11 Gulden for printing official letters. This was about the same as the annual income of a journeyman.⁴⁶ He continued in this position until his death around 1536.

After Reinhart's death, Georg Rhau became the printer of official documents. This was a change of strategy on the part of the Electoral Chancery. Rhau was one of the most successful printers in Wittenberg during the Reformation, printing over one thousand editions during his career, more than any other Wittenberg printer. His involvement in official print is evident because surviving account books from the reign of Elector John Frederick detail payments to Rhau for printing official proclamations and then shipping them to the place of issue.⁴⁷ The Electoral court routinely rotated between the various ducal residences in Saxony. Lang notes that when Reinhart was official printer, he printed documents issued in Torgau or Altenburg. When the court was in Weimar, Jena, or Weida, they were printed by Mattes Maler in Erfurt.⁴⁸ However, this division of labour does not seem to have been maintained into the 1530s, as the account books detailing payments to Rhau list him printing documents that were issued in Wittenberg, Torgau and Weimar. Further evidence identifying Rhau as Reinhart's successor is the fact that the castle inventory of 1539 mentions that equipment from Reinhart's press, such as his woodcuts, were borrowed by Rhau.⁴⁹ Many of the woodcuts used on official documents also appear in his later commercial publications, such as the 1548 edition of *Hortulus Animae*.⁵⁰ As the official printer, Rhau printed proclamations, missives, and letters in broadsheet form. Once again, none of these broadsheets have been matched to a surviving copy. But, the survival of the account book provides an opportunity to reconstruct this lost history and offers a glimpse into the workings of an early modern print shop.

The account book currently resides in the Thuringian State Archive in Weimar. After he lost Wittenberg and his Electoral title during the Schmalkaldic War in 1547, John Frederick moved his library and archive to Weimar and Jena, where he founded a new university. The account book lists thirty-three entries

46 Ibid., p. 124.

47 Georg Buchwald, 'Kleine Notizen aus Rechnungsbüchern des Thüringischen Staatsarchiv (Weimar)', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 31 (1934).

48 Lang, 'Simprecht Reinhart', p. 123.

49 Ibid., p. 127.

50 USTC 664284.

between the years 1538 and 1546 detailing payments to Rhau for printing of official documents. This corresponds to sixty-five items of which forty-two are most likely broadsheets. The entries are very detailed with most providing a mixture of the following: the date and city of entry, the amount paid to Rhau, the type of document, the number of copies ordered, and a brief description of the subject matter. Nearly all the items were either missives, official letters directed to specific groups of individuals, or proclamations, whose audience was the entire community.

As an example, we can examine the entry dated 19 November 1541 from Torgau: “2 gulden 3 gr. [groschen] Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for 200 proclamations and 213 missives concerning the penalties to be applied to the guilds and crafts.”⁵¹ Like many in the account book, the edict described here (albeit rather laconically) concerns economic policy. Most of the edicts documented in the account book touch on one of three themes: purely local regulations concerning public welfare, safety, and education; political items with larger, regional concerns; and economic affairs. The local items concerning public welfare include proclamations regulating firearms, as well as the regulation of guilds mentioned above. In April 1541 Rhau printed 500 proclamations that “no one should have to endure foreign beggars.”⁵² These proclamations not only concerned the physical welfare of residents, but also their spiritual wellbeing. At the end of a large order in 1542, the chancery added “a number of extra slips of paper as a reminder to pray.”⁵³ The Elector also issued announcements concerning university scholarship holders. But these were issued in pamphlet form and thus outside the scope of this paper.

Most of the items recorded in the account book concern political affairs. There were a number of proclamations concerning preparations for war and for securing armaments. There were also broadsheets guaranteeing imperial safe conduct, although the account book does not specify for whom. Most are prohibitions or denunciations of various parties, such as the Ottoman Turks or the Jews. In 1541 Rhau printed 700 missives against the Turks and in 1543 printed mandates against the Jews. Items such as these occur frequently in the account book, as do prohibitions against undertaking foreign military service. In 1546 Rhau was paid 6 Gulden 13 ½ groschen for “printing 700 proclamations and 96

51 ‘ij gulden iij gr. Jorg Rauhen dem buchdrucker zu wittenbergk von ij^c ofnen ausschreiben und ij^c xij Missiven die straffen der zunft und handtwerck belangende zu drucken.’ See Buchwald, ‘Kleine Notizen’, p. 211. Extracts from the account book, translated by Saskia Limbach, are included at the end of this chapter. Many thanks to Dr. Limbach for her assistance.

52 [Ausschreiben bezüglich fremde Bettler, 1541] (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541). USTC 711044.

53 [Ermahnung zum Gebet, 1542] (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1542). USTC 710923.

missives, that no one should undertake foreign military service.”⁵⁴ An earlier proclamation and missive specifically prohibited anyone on foot or horseback from joining foreign military service.⁵⁵ John Frederick needed his subjects during this time for his own military conflicts with the catholic Duke Henry v of Brunswick-Lüneberg. An entry dated 29 May 1540 from Torgau listed “10 gulden 10 gr. for the printer Georg Rau in Wittenberg for printing 165 proclamations of my gracious lord and the Landgrave of Hesse against Henry, Duke of Brunswick and 8 Citations also against Duke Henry.”⁵⁶ Items denouncing Henry, banning foreign military service, and making arrangements for the improvement of fortifications appear throughout the account book until 1545.

The high cost of war inevitably required attention to state finances. In March 1542 Rhau printed 200 copies of an edict promulgating new taxes to support the war against the Ottomans.⁵⁷ Two years prior to this there was a proclamation prohibiting the sale of grain outside the territory. Not only would that protect the domestic supply of grain, but it also helped maintain the military supply chain during John Frederick's conflicts with the Duke in Wolfenbüttel. Many of the economic ordinances dealt with the issue of which coins were accepted in the territory. In January 1542 Rhau printed 100 mandates concerning coins, even though he had printed 700 only three months earlier. In June the following year, he printed 800 proclamations and 140 missives identifying coins prohibited within the territory. Coinage was far from standardized at this time in an Empire with hundreds of territories, archbishoprics, principalities, and imperial free cities all minting their own currencies. Exchange rates were constantly fluctuating. It was thus important to clarify and regulate which coins were acceptable within a given territory. Proclamations such as these usually had larger print runs, as they needed to be distributed throughout the territory and beyond. Merchants in neighbouring territories would need the information to conduct business in Saxony.

The audience for such items was reflected in the content; but it was also reflected in the size of the print runs. The average print run for a proclamation was around 400 copies. Letters addressed to specific groups on the other hand were produced in much smaller editions. They averaged a print run about

54 [Ausschreiben, dass niemand in fremde Kriegsdienste gehen darf, 1546] (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1546). USTC 710944; [Missive, dass niemand in fremde Kriegsdienste gehen darf, 1546] (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1546). USTC 710945.

55 USTC 710930 and 710931.

56 USTC 711041 and 711042.

57 [Ausschreiben bezüglich der Türkensteuer, 1542] (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1542). USTC 711048.

half the size of proclamations for a general readership. When a missive was printed to accompany a general proclamation, the print run was even smaller. The prohibitions on foreign military service were often printed in similar print runs with the number of proclamations printed running in the hundreds and the accompanying letters numbering less than 100. Because such official letters were directed to a smaller, usually nobler audience, they were on occasion personalized for different ranks of recipients. In 1542 a proclamation regarding the need to improve the execution of justice was sent out with six different forms of the accompanying covering letter. These were printed with different salutations depending on whether they were directed to the counts, princes, aristocracy, officials, cities or abbots of the cloisters. Bespoke publication such as this would undoubtedly cost more, which is evident by the hefty bill of 21 Gulden for the entire job.

The account book lists prices in terms of three coins: Gulden, groschen, and pfennigs. By 1540 one Gulden in Saxony was equal to approximately 24 groschen and one groschen was equal to about 12 pfennigs.⁵⁸ The presence of the price information invites two main questions: were these items expensive for the Electoral treasury and was Georg Rhau making a profit by printing them? The following three orders demonstrate that as print runs increased, so did the price—but not proportionally.

By way of comparison, getting a book coloured and bound cost about 8 Gulden whereas purchasing a horse suitable for a courier cost around 12 Gulden.⁵⁹ As any reader of sixteenth century documents might expect, the account book entries are not consistent, as some items are missing price information or fail to itemize the individual tasks, grouping multiple editions together into a single

Print run	Price (total pfennig)	Date
667	2 G. 3 gr. 9 pf. (621)	28 Dec 1539
796	6 G. 4 1/2 gr. (1,782)	14 Mar 1545
940	14 G. 4 gr. 11 pf. (4,091)	28 Jun 1543

FIGURE 5.1 Print runs of three representative Saxon edicts.

58 My thanks are due to Thomas Lang at the Leucoria Wittenberg for sharing his knowledge of Saxon currency.

59 The closest available price information comes from 1510. As the account book is thirty years later, prices would most likely have risen with inflation.

job lot. But the information on print runs, very precious for printed documents of this sort, does allow for a comparison based on price per copy. Even if multiple editions were paid for together, a price per copy can still be calculated. On average, looking at all the items that list print runs and price information, the printing of broadsheet ordinances cost the Electoral treasury four to five pfennigs per copy. For each edition, various factors determined price, such as paper quality, whether the edition was a quarter, half or full sheet, or the presence of woodcut illustrations. The average unit cost would have been a bit less than the price of two litres of beer or a dozen eggs. Multiplying that by the average print run of 400 copies, the total price for the printing of each edict is comparable to 800 litres of beer. This is not an insignificant price. It may reflect the necessity to use high quality paper for proclamations, which had after all to represent the Elector and stand the ravages of weather and time exhibited in various public places. But it may also have been a form of deliberate over-payment, to reward the officially-favoured printer for making his press available whenever required. Even with these generous payments, it was probably more cost-effective than maintaining his own press in the Castle.

To determine the profitability of such ventures for Georg Rhau, the official print needs to be placed within the context of the overall activity of his workshop. The account book lists orders for 65 items, of which 55 include print runs. Adding up all the prints runs generates a total of 18,844 copies printed between the years 1538 and 1546. During this same period, Rhau printed an edition of the *Augsburg Confession* with a commentary by Philip Melanchthon.⁶⁰ It was a quarto with 481 leaves, which translates to 121 sheets of paper per copy. Using a conservative print estimate of 800 copies, it would take 96,800 sheets of paper to complete the job. That is nearly five times the amount of paper required for all the official print in the account book for a single, although large, quarto. That edition however was one of Rhau's largest. He normally published much smaller works, averaging only 12.5 sheets of paper per edition.⁶¹ Using the same conservative print estimate of 800 copies per edition, 10,000 sheets of paper would be needed for an average edition. In other words, the paper used for all the ordinances listed in the entire account book roughly equates to the amount of paper that would be needed to print two editions of the sort of books Rhau routinely published in his shop.

60 *Confessio fidei exhibita invictiss. imp. carolo v. caesari aug. in comiciis augustae. Anno. M. D. xxx. Addita est apologia confessionis diligenter recognita.* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1540). USTC 624515.

61 Drew Thomas, 'The Industry of Evangelism: Printing for the Reformation in Martin Luther's Wittenberg' (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, forthcoming).

It must be pointed out that the 18,844 copies listed in the account book do not directly correspond to 18,844 sheets of paper. It was quite common for two copies of a broadsheet to be printed on the same sheet of paper, which would then be cut.⁶² The same is true for the order requesting slips of paper with reminders to pray. A few items in the account book list extra costs for gluing. Some broadsheets, such as coin mandates with lots of woodcut illustrations, required at least two sheets of paper to be glued together. Thus, the 18,844 copies could be represented by fewer sheets if there were multiple copies per sheet or more sheets if gluing was required. Even with this margin of error, in relation to his other work, the items listed in the account book represented only a small percentage of Rhau's total output. The account book, however, does not necessarily represent all official print. There could be other account books that failed to survive, as well as the fact that many of the official broadsheets could also have been printed in Erfurt, depending on where the electoral court was located. Yet the general conclusion still stands: even if the number of commissions listed in the surviving account book was doubled, it would still represent only a small portion of Rhau's press.

That does not mean that he was not making a profit. The proclamation concerning arsonists (*"Ausschreiben bezüglich der Mordbrenner"*) from 29 August 1540 cost 6 Gulden 14.5 groschen for 550 copies.⁶³ The weekly wage for a pressman was less than one Gulden. But this job would not have taken a week to complete; it would have taken less than a day.⁶⁴ The 14.5 groschen by itself would likely cover the daily wages of the pressmen. That leaves 6 Gulden for paper, ink, the compositor, and other expenses. It is difficult to know how much profit Rhau was making due to these variables and more. But these jobs, completed in a day or less, provided much needed liquid capital while resources were tied up in larger projects. And with official print the bill was settled by a single client, as Rhau was not responsible for distributing the publications to their intended audience.

One of the other advantages of jobbing printing for the economics of the print-shop was that because the works were so quickly accomplished, these

62 This is the case for many sixteenth-century broadsheets from ducal Saxony at the *Hauptstaatsarchiv* in Dresden.

63 [*Ausschreiben bezüglich der Mordbrenner, 1540*] (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1540). USTC 711043.

64 A press in Wittenberg operating at full speed could print between 800–925 sheets per day. See Drew Thomas, 'Circumventing Censorship: The Rise and Fall of Reformation Print Cities', in Alexander Wilkinson and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *Conflict and Controversy in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2018).

commissions could be inserted on the press and quickly completed without having to pause larger jobs for very long. We see evidence of this in the best preserved of all printing-house records, the print shop of Christophe Plantin in Antwerp. Plantin printed some of the greatest books of the sixteenth century, but he was also happy to print for the local authorities. When a new job came in, official work clearly had priority. As we see from the itemised wages of those operating the press, their normal tasks were routinely interrupted to print off the necessary copies of an official ordinance.⁶⁵ As this example suggests, printing official proclamations could be quite demanding. Due to the nature of such tasks, the instruction to print an ordinance often came with tight time constraints. At one point, in the preparation for the ultimately disastrous Schmalkadic war, Rhau even equipped himself with a mobile field press, allowing him to follow the Elector into battle, and print off such official work as was necessary while the Elector was in camp.⁶⁶ No doubt it was intended that this should include an announcement of the Protestant princes' triumphant victory. Alas, after the disaster of Mühlberg, both Rhau and his press entered up among the Emperor's captured booty, along with the Elector.

Even away from the battlefield, mistakes could be costly. One account book entry dated April 1541 details an expensive order for 500 proclamations against Duke Henry of Brunswick. It states that six reams of paper were ruined due to poor printing. Since this reference specifically mentions the compositor and printer, these were likely to have been typographical errors. Rhau was paid an extra four Gulden to finish the job on time. The additional funds were to pay his pressmen double wages for working overtime.

There were also several post-printing expenditures listed in the account book, which could also increase the final price of an order. Coin mandates could require four to six sheets of paper to be glued together. In the few items that required gluing in the account book, the cost was usually less than ten percent of the price of the printing work. Nearly a third of the items in the account book list tips given to the printer's assistants; this was sometimes paid in beer rather than coin.⁶⁷ On average, tipping usually accounted for around five percent of the total cost, though on rare occasions, it could be as much as fifteen percent. This resulted in a tip that matched the assistants' daily wage and occasionally, much more. Since most of these jobs took less than a day to complete, they had the opportunity to double their daily wage. If such a practice was confined to official print, then this type of work would have been far more

65 I owe this reference to Arthur der Weduwen.

66 Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther* (New York: Penguin, 2015), p. 271.

67 This was mentioned in the order dated 12 October 1541 in Torgau.

amenable to print shop workers than normal assignments. Even though it represented only a small percentage of Rhau's publishing, the pressmen would probably have favoured such work; beer money could work wonders to speed a job off the press, as the Elector's officials knew well.

The production of broadsheets did not make up a large proportion of the work undertaken by the Wittenberg printing industry during Luther's lifetime. But broadsheets did play an important role in Reformation disputes and Saxon politics. They were not of course part of the normal print trade, in that those who consulted them at university disputations or saw them posted up on the church or town hall door did not normally pay to receive them: the whole job was paid for by the state chancery, in the case of edicts, or the unfortunate student, in the case of dissertations. But if not commercial in this sense, it was still extremely valuable work to printers since they received payment in full either up front or after the job was completed. Thus, the value of these small jobs was much greater than their relative contribution to overall printing activity. They provided printers with the ready cash necessary to pay wages on time, to buy supplies, to reinvest in equipment, or to finance a new project. In a challenging business environment securing commissions for broadsheet publications could provide the necessary liquid capital to keep a business afloat. Printing broadsheets was an attractive assignment for everyone in the print shop from the printer to all his workmen. This was true for Wittenberg, buoyed by the phenomenal demand for Luther's works, just as it was for other centres of print culture and government elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire, and beyond.

Appendix. Payments to Georg Rhau from the Chancery accounts of Electoral Saxony⁶⁸

(translated by Saskia Limbach)

1538. *Torgau* (11 May)

10 gulden 3 gr. 2 [pfennig] to the messenger in Wittenberg who gave two proclamations to Georg Rhau to have them printed, the first on Friday after St Lawrence and the second on the Tuesday after Estomihi [Shrove Tuesday].

68 Based on the transcription by Georg Buchwald, 'Kleine Notizen aus Rechnungsbüchern des Thüringischen Staatsarchivs (Weimar)', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 31 (1934), pp. 209–214.

1538. Wittenberg (10 December)

2 gulden 6 gr. to the printer Georg Rhau for 1 Latin copy of the *Reichskammergericht*.

1539. Weimar (26 August)

4 gulden 13 gr. 8 [pfennig] for the printer Georg Rhau in Wittenberg for the proclamation concerning firearms, including 20 gr. for the messenger who brought it here [and] 3 gr. tip for the printer's assistants.

1539. (22 February)

3 gulden 14 gr. for Georg Rhau in Wittenberg for a number of proclamations that my gracious lord ordered to be printed, including 5 gr. for the assistants.

1539. Torgau (2 July)

3 gulden 1 ½ gr. for the printer Georg Rhau in Wittenberg for printing 482 copies concerning the free francs and the passport for the Jews.

1539. Weimar (28 December)

2 gulden 3 gr. 9 [pfennig] for the printer Georg Rhau in Wittenberg for printing 667 copies concerning armament.

1540. Torgau (29 May)

10 gulden 10 gr. for the printer Georg Rau in Wittenberg for printing 165 proclamations of my gracious lord and the Landgrave of Hesse against Henry, Duke of Brunswick and 8 Citations also against Duke Henry.

1540. Weimar (22 June)

2 gulden 8 gr. for the bookbinder for binding 4 books of my gracious lord and the Landgrave's proclamation, 2 gilded in leather and cut, each 18 gr., and the other 2 bound in leather, each 7 gr.

1540. Torgau (29 August)

6 gulden 14 ½ gr. printer's wage for 550 proclamations concerning arsonists, that Hans Maier, chancery scribe in Wittenberg, ordered to be printed including 12 gr. cartage etc.

1540. Torgau (2 November)

3 gulden 1 gr. Georg Rhau in Wittenberg for the proclamation that prohibits the transport of grain outside the country.

1541. Wittenberg (15 February)

19 gr. printer's wage for 100 copies concerning imperial safe conduct, to Rhau the printer here, including 3 gr. tip for the assistant.

1541. Torgau (9 April)

5 gulden 9 gr. 8 [pfennig] Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for 500 proclamations in the name of both lords, concerning foreign beggars and 150 copies of the same proclamation and 98 missives for the counts, princes and the aristocracy, including 5 gr. tip for the assistants and 1 gulden 5 gr. 6 [pfennig] for a ream of paper for the chancery.

1541. Wittenberg (13 April)

42 gulden 19 ½ gr. Georg Rhau, the printer here, for producing 500 copies of the third proclamation of my gracious lord against Henry, Duke of Brunswick, makes 21 ½ reams, each for 2 gulden.

4 gulden to the same Georg Rhau for tax, as during the hasty printing of this proclamation 6 reams got ruined and he had to comfort his compositors and printers with double wage, so that the documents will be done even sooner.

6 gulden tip for his assistants.

1541. Torgau (28 May)

7 gulden 9 gr. 3 [pfennig] Georg Rhau in Wittenberg for printing 300 copies against the incendiaries, making 75 books, for every sheet 1 [pfennig].

1541. Torgau (12 October)

22 gulden 9 ½ gr. for Hans Maier, chancery scribe, which he gave to the printer in Wittenberg for 2 proclamations concerning coins and the Turks, namely 700 open mandates on coins [,] 700 missives concerning the Turks and 700 accompanying missives concerning the coin mandate, including 19 gr. to paste the coin mandates together[,] 1 gulden for the printer's assistants to spend on drinks [,] 18 gr. for a ream of paper and 15 gr. for 25 copies of Henry's, Duke of Brunswick, apology concerning the incendiaries, which he sent my lord in Lochau.

1541. Torgau (19 November)

2 gulden 3 gr. Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for 200 proclamations and 213 missives concerning the penalties in guilds and crafts.

1542. Torgau (14 January)

12 gr. for 100 mandates concerning coins [which] Hans Maier had printed in Wittenberg.

1542. Torgau (4 March)

20 gulden 1 [pfennig] Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for 500 open letters, namely 200 in the name of my gracious lord the elector and 300 in the name of the young lord, concerning the disbandment of soldiers from Francken, Duringen, Meissen and Voitland, 700 copies concerning the granted installation and missives and slips of paper concerning the disbandment, besides a number of extra slips of paper as a reminder to pray, including 4 gr. 3 [pfennig] for a number of my gracious lord's dialogues sent by Johann Maier and 20 gr. tip for the printer's assistants.

1542. Torgau (8 March)

2 gulden 18 gr. Georg Rhau the printer in Wittenberg for 200 copies of my gracious lord's proclamation concerning the taxes to support the war against the Turks.

1542. Torgau (10 June)

21 gulden 3 gr. Georg Rhau the printer in Wittenberg for 800 proclamations in book form concerning many necessary items to improve justice and 652 missives to the counts, princes, the aristocracy, officials, cities and cloisters.

1542. Wittenberg (6 July)

1 gr. for a messenger [named] Hans Muller, who delivered a letter from Georg Rhau concerning the printing shop and the printing presses to Johann Meyer in Torgau. Actum Thursday after the visitation of Mary.

1542. (19 November)

10 gulden 1 gr. Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for quickly printing letters concerning the preparation [for war], including 7 gr. wage for the messenger from Wittenberg to here – received in Torgau Sunday St Elisabeth's day.

1543. Torgau (11 February)

3 gulden 20 gr. 7 [pfennig] Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for 600 proclamations and 60 missives, prohibiting everyone on foot or on horse to join foreign military service.

1543. Torgau (26 February)

1 gulden 16 gr. Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for 308 proclamations concerning the woods and heathland [in] Lochau, Torgau, Seidau and Leuchtenburg.

1543. Torgau (12 May)

12 gulden 1 [pfennig] Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for 1,400 proclamations 700 accompanying missives and another 100 copies that no-one should join foreign military service, and the mandate against the Jews.

1543. Torgau (28 June)

14 gulden 4 gr. 11 [pfennig] Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for 800 proclamations and 140 missives concerning many forbidden Taler and 3 pfennig groschen – paid in Rheinhartsbrun on Thursday after the feast of John the Baptist.

1543. Torgau (9 October)

5 gulden 2 ½ gr. to the printer in Wittenberg for 800 missives for preparations against the Turks, making 29 books, each printed for 3 ½ gr., including 6 gr. tip for the printer's assistants.

1544. Weimar (20 January)

5 gulden 19 gr. 7 [pfennig] Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for 800 proclamations and 73 missives concerning Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, who will be governor here, while my gracious lord is in Speier, including 1 gulden 3 gr. wage for the messenger to get it here from Wittenberg.

1544. Wittenberg (31 July)

13 gulden 3 gr. Georg Rhau printer here for printing 300 booklets against Julius [von] Pflug, each booklet contains 10 ½ gatherings, ergo 126 books, calculated 2 gr. each book, including 1 gulden gr. tip for the printer's assistants.

1544. Torgau (13 December)

6 gulden 18 gr. Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for printing 300 proclamations concerning tax [*Zehnter Pfennig*], each containing 3 gatherings, including 12 gr. for a bookbinder to paste them together and 7 gr. messenger's wage to get them here from Wittenberg.

1545. Torgau (14 March)

6 gulden 4 ½ gr. Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for 700 proclamations and 96 missives, in which an imperial mandate is printed as well, that no-one should join military service outside the empire.

1545. Torgau (3 March)

18 gulden 14 gr. 6 [pfennig] wage for Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for many proclamations and missives, namely

3 gulden 1 gr. for 200 proclamations of the Holy Roman Emperor concerning the elector in Saxony and other princes involved in the conflict in Wolfenbüttel, this makes 8 books, each book for 4 gr.

200 proclamations from the Holy Roman Emperor to Henry, Duke of Brunswick, this makes also 8 books, each book for 4 gr.

8 gulden 8 gr. 6 [pfennig] again printed in the weeks of Bartholomei, 300 proclamations of the elector concerning the ordinance for scholarship holders of the school in Wittenberg, comprising 2 gatherings which makes 24 books for 4 gr. each book.

500 [copies] concerning the same scholarship holders were printed in book form, each 1 2 gatherings and makes 30 books, each book for 2 gr., 50 missives for the officials, makes 1 book and 4 gr.

60 missives for the city, makes 4 ½ gr., which is 1 book and 5 gatherings, including 12 gr. for the book binder to paste the open letter together, 7 gulden 5 gr. idem printed again, 200 proclamations from the elector in Saxony concerning the ordinance for the scholarship holders, which has 1 2 gatherings which makes 16 books, each book for 4 gr., 8 gr. for the book binder to paste them together

500 ordinances concerning the scholarship holders in book form[,] 2 gatherings makes 40 books, each book for 2 gr.

1546. Torgau (14 February)

5 gulden 13 ½ gr. Georg Rhau printer in Wittenberg for printing 700 proclamations and 96 missives, that no-one should join foreign military service.

Translator's note: In this account book, the word 'book' is in many cases used to refer not only to our modern-day use of the 'book' but also to the unit of paper quantity, one 'book' containing 25 sheets of paper.

PART 3

Official Print



In the Name of God: Governance, Public Order and Theocracy in the Broadsheets of the Stamperia Camerale of Rome

Flavia Bruni

Early modern Rome is hardly comparable to any other city or state of the Western world. In contradistinction to other contemporary sovereigns, the pope ruled the people of Rome as a Renaissance *signore*. He governed the lands of the Pontifical States as the heir of the Roman emperors; and strove to impose his control on the whole of Christendom claiming his authority as the descendant of Saint Peter. The unique traits of the papal monarchy implied the need for a staff of officials in charge of disparate tasks, comprising clerical administration alongside spiritual matters as two sides of the same daily routine. This relentless bureaucracy is mirrored in a flourishing production of ordinances, ranging over a variety of subjects such as taxation and indulgences, road works and canonisations, the organisation of jubilees and efforts to apprehend burglars and murderers. Such documents were printed for dissemination as pamphlets or, more frequently, broadsheets.¹

Collections of early modern broadsheets printed by the Stamperia Camerale of Rome are preserved in several archives and libraries in Rome, namely the State Archive and the libraries Alessandrina, Angelica, Casanatense, Corsiniana, Vallicelliana and that of Storia Moderna e Contemporanea. In the Vatican City, the Vatican Library, the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and the Vatican Secret Archives own massive collections.² Despite

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- 1 See Armando Petrucci, 'Appunti per una premessa', in Zita Zanardi (ed.), *Bononia manifesta. Catalogo dei bandi, editti, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi, stampati nel XVI secolo per Bologna e il suo territorio* (Florence: Olschki, 1996), pp. v–xv, at pp. viii–ix; and the many examples in Ugo Rozzo, *La strage ignorata. I fogli volanti a stampa nell'Italia dei secoli xv e xvi* (Udine: Forum, 2008). I owe many suggestions especially to Falk Eisermann, Daryl Green, Saskia Limbach, Margherita Palumbo and Andrew Pettegree. All online resources were last consulted on 16 March 2016.
 - 2 These collections, with the exception of the Biblioteca di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea and the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, have been surveyed in the catalogue of the editions printed by the cameral printer Antonio Blado and his heirs: Giuseppe Fumagalli and Giacomo Belli (eds.), *Catalogo delle edizioni romane di Antonio Blado*

their quantitative and qualitative importance, these imprints have seldom been the object of study to date.³ This chapter provides an overview of broadsheets printed by the Stamperia Camerale of Rome in the first two centuries of printing, mainly based on the collection of the Biblioteca Casanatense, with which I have become very familiar working first on the digitisation of broadsheets of the Roman Inquisition in 2007 and then again between 2013 and 2015, making a survey of seventeenth-century single-sheets for the USTC project of the University of St Andrews.⁴

At his death in the year 1700, Cardinal Girolamo Casanate left as many as 25,000 volumes to the Dominicans of Santa Maria sopra Minerva to establish a public library in Rome [*"fondare una biblioteca publica in Roma"*].⁵ This was part of a wider plan for the preservation of the Catholic faith against the relaxation of moral standards and the steady progress of heretic beliefs. The library opened on 3 November 1701 to serve the public, according to Casanate's

Asolano ed eredi (1516–1593) possedute dalla Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele di Roma (2 vols., Rome, 1891–1896) and Emerenziana Vaccaro Sofia (ed.), *Catalogo delle edizioni romane di Antonio Blado Asolano ed eredi, 1516–1593, possedute dalle biblioteche Alessandrina, Angelica, Casanatense, Corsiniana e Vallicelliana di Roma, dalla Biblioteca Vaticana, dall'Archivio di Stato di Roma e dall'Archivio segreto vaticano* (vols. 3–4, Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1943–1961).

- 3 See especially my other contribution in this volume. An exception is Manuela Grillo's recent study of the collection of broadsheets of the National Central Library of Rome, *Leggi e bandi di antico regime* (Cargeghe: Editoriale Documenta, 2014). In September 2015 Grillo also organised a conference on broadsheets, *Scrittura e potere: leggi e bandi tra età moderna e contemporanea*, the proceedings of which are forthcoming.
- 4 Those field trips resulted in the description of some 2,000 broadsheets printed in the first half of the seventeenth century, available through the USTC online. USTC references are provided for broadsheets mentioned in this chapter. I am grateful to the director of the library, Rita Fioravanti, and to Margherita Palumbo, formerly responsible for the collection of *Editti e bandi pontifici*, for helping and encouraging this survey. On the digitisation of broadsheets of the Roman Inquisition see <http://www.internetculturale.it/opencms/opencms/it/collezioni/collezione_0001.html>, <<http://scaffalidigitali.casanatense.it/SearchP/%C2%BB%2cbando/%2c1946?pageNum=1>> and Margherita Palumbo, 'Inquisition und Indexkongregation in der Sammlung "Editti e bandi" der Biblioteca Casanatense (16.-18. Jahrhundert)', in Hubert Wolf (ed.), *Inquisitionen und Buchzensur im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), pp. 229–243, at p. 242.
- 5 Angela Adriana Cavarra (ed.), *La Biblioteca Casanatense* (Florence: Nardini, 1993); Vincenzo De Gregorio, *La Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma* (Naples: Ed. scientifiche italiane, 1993), pp. 25–28; Maria Panetta, *La "libreria" di Mattia Casanate* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1988), pp. 11–14. On Girolamo Casanate see Luciano Ceyssens, 'Casanate, Girolamo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 21 (1978), *ad vocem*, also available online: <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/girolamo-casanate_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29>.

last will [“dovendo detta libreria servire al publico”].⁶ The Cardinal even left financial provision to ensure new acquisitions over the forthcoming years as appropriate to the mission of such library.⁷ As a result of this policy, the library named after him holds now a marvellous collection of 400,000 volumes, manuscript or printed, and published throughout Europe. The collection includes a number of forbidden books, amassed to assist the Roman Congregations in fulfilling their duties censoring disapproved texts during the long Counter-Reformation.⁸

Such outstanding holdings are complemented by an equally impressive collection of more than 70,000 edicts and ordinances printed by the Vatican presses from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. These imprints, comprising pamphlets and, to a large extent, broadsheets, are collected in 210 thick volumes and three folders of loose sheets.⁹ From 1701 onwards, the prefects of the Casanatense signed yearly agreements with the cameral printers to receive a copy of each ordinance, edict and single-sheet printed throughout the year. In 1719, chief prefect Giovanni Benedetto Zuanelli paid 300 scudi for the purchase of documents still in stock at the Stamperia Camerale to extend the collection back through the past centuries.¹⁰ This explains why the collection is complete from 1701 onwards and less comprehensive before this date.

Despite its relevance as a goldmine of sources on the history of the Catholic Church, the city of Rome and the Pontifical State, this collection has not attracted a great deal of interest to date. Not much ink has been spilt to promote such resources and explain how these imprints entered the library.¹¹ A large volume published in 1993 to celebrate the library devotes a mere four pages to the collection of *Editti e bandi*, contrasting strongly with the extent of the text

6 Margherita Palumbo, ‘La Casanatense, una biblioteca al servizio della “sana dottrina”’, in *A dieci anni dall’apertura dell’Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: storia e archivi dell’Inquisizione* (Roma, 21–23 febbraio 2008) (Rome: Scienze e Lettere, 2011), pp. 455–479, at pp. 455–456 and 462–464.

7 Palumbo, ‘La Casanatense’, pp. 462–463.

8 The policy of acquisition seems to have been largely targeted on this purpose: some books were “acquired and then accused – or, should we say, acquired to be accused”, in the words of Margherita Palumbo, ‘La Casanatense’, pp. 475–479; quotation at p. 478. On the library holdings see <<http://www.casanatense.it/it/la-biblioteca-casanatense/il-patrimonio/libri>>.

9 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense (hereafter BC), Per.est. 18/1–210. See Palumbo, ‘Inquisition und Indexkongregation’, p. 229, and <<http://www.casanatense.it/it/la-biblioteca-casanatense/il-patrimonio/libri/48-gli-editti-e-i-bandi>>.

10 <<http://www.casanatense.it/it/la-biblioteca-casanatense/il-patrimonio/libri/48-gli-editti-e-i-bandi>> and Palumbo, ‘Inquisition und Indexkongregation’, p. 230.

11 See, for instance, De Gregorio, *La Biblioteca Casanatense*, especially p. 235.

and the quantity of images given over to manuscripts, incunabula, rare books, woodcuts and bindings, all lavishly displayed in the book.¹² In this volume it is also suggested that such a rich collection of ordinances was formerly that of the Master of the Sacred Palace. This is inferred from the fact that the Master of the Sacred Palace belonged to the Dominican order like the friars who took care of Casanate's library after his death, but is actually not supported by any historical evidence.¹³

Only a small portion of the Casanatense collection of ordinances is included in online resources. About 280 sixteenth-century items are listed in the Italian national bibliography *Edit6*. 1,074 items printed between the sixteenth and nineteenth century related to the Roman Inquisition were described and digitised in 2007; the resulting records and digital images are available online through the library website and the Italian collective catalogue *SBN*.¹⁴

The lack of attention given to this wonderful collection persuaded the team at the University of St Andrews to undertake a survey of single-sheets in the framework of extension of the coverage the Universal Short Title Catalogue into the first half of the seventeenth century. Thanks to this work, 2,009 new descriptions of broadsheet for the period 1601–1650 are now available online through the *USTC* website.¹⁵ These new descriptions contribute to a total of 4,507 records for single-sheet items printed in Rome in the first two centuries of printing. Over two thirds of this total was printed in the first half of the seventeenth century (fig. 6.1). What looks like an exponential growth in the production has much to do with issues of conservation and access, as repeatedly addressed in this volume.¹⁶ For the seventeenth century, the descriptions of Casanatense items joined a couple of hundreds records from the Italian collective catalogue *SBN*, the rest being from British and French libraries.¹⁷

12 Antonietta Amicarelli Scalisi, 'Editti e bandi', in Cavarra (ed.), *La Biblioteca Casanatense*, pp. 314–317.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 315.

14 See above, note 4. These given total numbers may partially overlap (for instance, a description may be available on *Edit6* and *SBN* for the sixteenth century; some description for the seventeenth-century items may be available on the *USTC* and *SBN* as well), meaning an even smaller total sum.

15 The *USTC* campaign described the totality of broadsheets for the stated period, but not pamphlets.

16 See also the remarks by Ugo Rozzo on the table proposed by Alberto Guenzi for ordinances printed in sixteenth-century Bologna: the increasing numbers recorded are due to both the growth in production, and more systematic conservation: Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 105.

17 Figures updated to March 2016.

Year range	Number of items
1450–1500	28
1501–1600	1,405
1601–1650	3,074
Total	4,507

FIGURE 6.1 Single-sheet items printed in Rome in the first two centuries of printing (USTC).

The USTC currently registers fewer than 700 single-sheet items overall printed in Italian towns other than Rome in the first half of the seventeenth century. Such an implausibly low number reveal the limits of what have been done so far to promote access to such heritage in Italian archives and libraries. One single large resource can have a huge distorting effect on such statistics as we can see from the work so far completed on the sixteenth century. Within this time frame, the addition to the USTC of some 2,800 records from *Bononia manifesta*, an outstanding catalogue of bulls, edicts, ordinances, proclamations and other rules printed for Bologna and its surroundings, brought this otherwise modest centre of print culture to the top of a list of places of printing for European broadsheets in the sixteenth century.¹⁸

The Ordinances of the Stamperia Camerale

The sixteenth century saw Venice reach its zenith as a printing centre. In the seventeenth century Rome took over the role as capital of printing in Italy. This primacy was not only the result of trends of the market. It was, to a large extent, the consequence of the cultural policy of the Counter-Reformation and the implications of the strengthening of Rome as the head of the Catholic Church. This chapter will focus on ordinances printed in Rome between 1501 and 1650, to highlight a few specific material features for comparison with the contemporary production of broadsheets in other towns and countries.

In the gradual replacement of manuscript ordinances, printed broadsheets evolved on distinctive models and schedules in different areas of Europe.

18 Zita Zanardi (ed.), *Bononia manifesta. Catalogo dei bandi, editi, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi, stampati nel XVI secolo per Bologna e il suo territorio* (Florence: Olschki, 1996). On the incorporation of such records into the USTC see the news on the USTC website: <<http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/news/view/bononia-manifesta-new-records-added-to-ustc>>.

Diversity in the formulation and layout of the text is in the first instance the result of local traditions. In the first decades of printing, printed ordinances meticulously imitated manuscript exemplars. The model of ordinances printed by the Stamperia Camerale was that of the Pontifical Chancery.¹⁹ According to a rough estimation, as many as one third of the Rome broadsheets dealt with religious subjects. Their language was mainly Latin. The remaining two thirds are in Italian, and concern government and justice in the city of Rome and the Pontifical State. These thematic and linguistic proportions are peculiar to Rome as the seat of government of the Roman Catholic Church and finds no equals elsewhere in contemporary production, especially in Protestant countries.²⁰

Over the fifteenth and sixteenth century the layout of the text and paratext of Italian broadsheets evolved in order to facilitate reading and understanding the contents.²¹ In early examples the text was arranged as a thick block with a woodcut initial at the beginning, where a title may or may not appear (fig. 6.2).²²

From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, a large and distinct section at the top was reserved for woodcuts. Coats of arms caught the eye of the public and provided immediate evidence of authority and authenticity; in this, they replicated the function of signatures and seals on manuscripts.²³ Broadsheets printed in Rome usually display from one to three coats of arms before or after the title (if present). The pope thus asserted his highest and temporal authority by symbolically appearing at the top of each broadsheet. The only exception would be during vacancies of the Holy See after

19 See also Chapter 2.

20 Figures based on USTC data available in March 2016.

21 Cf. Petrucci, 'Appunti per una premessa', pp. VIII and XI–XIII. Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris. An Essay in Popular Culture in the 18th Century* (New York: Berg, 1987), at p. 228, noted that "clarity, layout, choice of type, the distribution of black and white, the importance of margins and the part played by illustrations were all decisive elements in affording instant, lively reading not only for the individual but also for the group". See also Chapter 2 and, for broadsheets printed in other European countries, Saskia Limbach, 'Tracing Lost Broadsheet Ordinances Printed in Sixteenth-Century Cologne', in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 489–503, especially pp. 490–491, and Arthur der Weduwen's chapter in this volume.

22 See for instance also two editions cited below, note 28 (ISTC ia00372450; USTC 997914) and note 34 (Editi6 CNCE 43468; USTC 836333). See also Mauro Hausbergher, 'Editoria pubblica a Trento tra XVI e XVIII secolo', in Mauro Hausbergher (ed.), «*Volendo questo illustrissimo Magistrato Consolare*». *Trecento anni di editoria pubblica a Trento* (Trento: Provincia autonoma, Soprintendenza per i beni librari e archivistici, 2005).

23 Cf. Petrucci, 'Appunti per una premessa', pp. X–XI. See also Chapter 2.

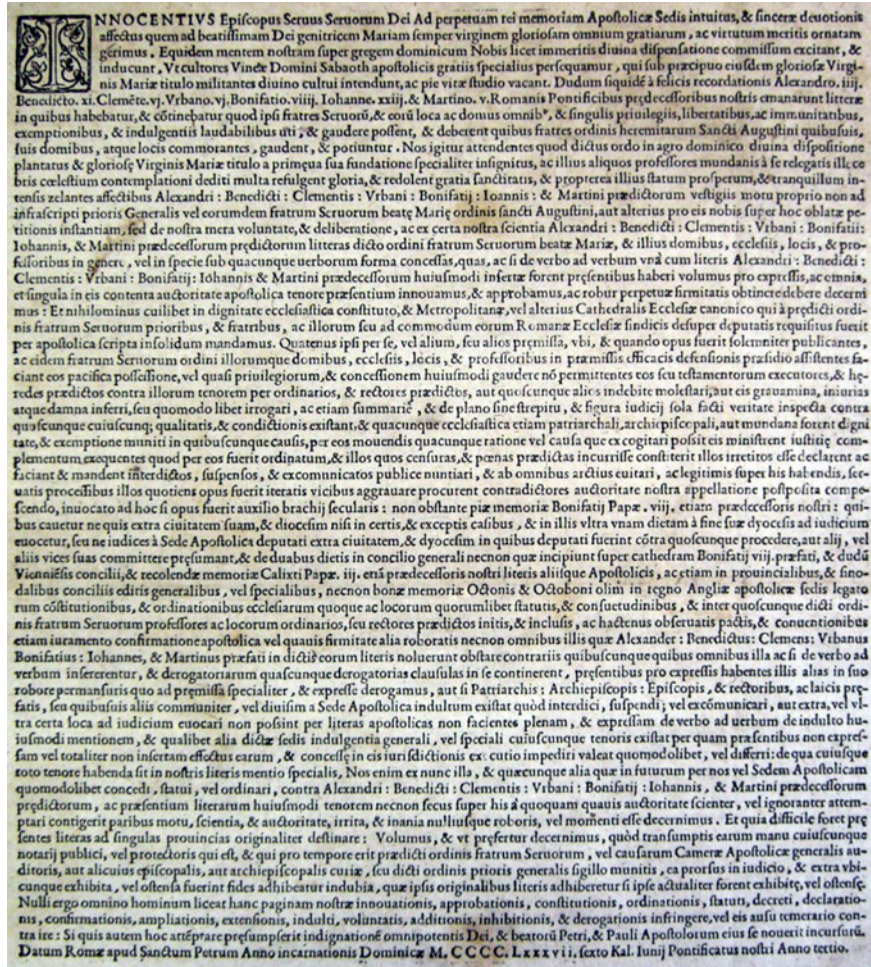


FIGURE 6.2 Servants of Mary, *Innocentius episcopus servus servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam apostolicæ sedis intuitus.*

ROME, ARCHIVIO GENERALE DELL'ORDINE DEI SERVI DI MARIA,
ANNAL.C.3TER.18.

the death of a pope and before the election of a new one. In normal circumstances, the family coat of arms of the reigning pope would usually appear within a shield or a decorated frame, surrounded by two crossed keys and a tiara, and safeguarded by St Peter on the left and St Paul on the right. St Peter, holding the keys, and St Paul, carrying a sword, both stood beside the papal coat of arms, usually in separate woodcuts or sometimes joined in a single image. Some large woodcuts of the two apostles can already be found, along with those of St John Lateran and St Maria Maggiore (ordination representing

the four major basilicas of Rome), on a broadsheet to announce the forthcoming jubilee for the year 1500.²⁴

Cardinals exercised their authority in secular government as much as they did on the consciences of faithful Catholics. The main offices of the Pontifical States were in the hands of cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. Ordinances addressed to the city of Rome were usually identified by the coat of arms of the cardinal responsible for that office. It would appear on the right of that of the pope and surmounted by the galero, the distinctive cardinals' wide-brimmed hat with 15 tassels on each side, sometimes printed in red. The place on the left is usually taken by either the papal keys or a shield surmounted by a crown and enclosing the acronym SPQR referring to the government of Rome. Different coats of arms are sometimes the only variant parts in otherwise identical broadsheets (figs. 6.3 and 6.4).²⁵

An imprint statement started to appear at the bottom of Italian ordinances earlier than in other jurisdictions.²⁶ Information on printer, place and year of printing is not usually provided on German ordinances in the same period.²⁷ Since ordinances were printed on official commission and not for sale on the market, the printer's signature may have been a reflex imitation of the habits in use for books. In later years, the name followed by the title of cameral printer worked as a seal of authority. Eucharius Silber signed a broadsheet printed *in Campo Flore*, in Rome, shortly after 22 December 1499.²⁸ A broadsheet was signed by the printer Giovanni Battista Faelli in Bologna in 1529.²⁹

24 Alexander VI, *Annunciatio sacri Iubilei instantis anni centesimi. Et declaratio quid pro consequenda illius plenissima indulgentia a Christi fidelibus fieri debeat* [Rome: Eucharius Silber, after 22 Dec. 1499] (ISTC ia00372400; USTC 997915). Digital copy available online: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00062243/image_3>. Only known copy at the Dombibliothek Freising, classmark I115.

25 Rome – city, *Dichiaratione del bando altre volte pubblicato che non si possino far soldati nello Stato Ecclesiastico ad istanza d'alcun prencipe* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1615) (USTC 4040373), Rome, BC, Per.est.18/4.380 and 382 (USTC 4047211).

26 Cf. Petrucci, 'Appunti per una premessa', p. XI.

27 I am grateful to Saskia Limbach for this information. For further detail on German broadsheets, see her PhD dissertation 'Government Use of Print in the Holy Roman Empire in the Sixteenth Century' (University of St Andrews, 2017).

28 Alexander VI, *Annunciatio sacri Iubilei instantis anni centesimi. Et declaratio quid pro consequenda illius plenissima indulgentia a Christifidelibus fieri debeat* (Rome: Eucharius Silber, [after 22 Dec. 1499]) (ISTC ia00372450; USTC 997914). Digital copy available online: <<http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz34748266X>>. Only known copy at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart.

29 *Saggi fatti de valute de piu forti monete correnti. Al magnifico senato della citta de Bologna del anno MDXXIX* ([Bologna]: per Giovanbattista di Phaelli, [1529]) (Edit6 CNCE 70278; USTC 815173).



FIGURE 6.3 Rome – city, *Dichiaratione del bando altre volte publicato che non si possino far soldati nello Stato Ecclesiastico ad istanza d'alcun principe* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1615). USTC 4040373, detail.
ROME, BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE, PER.EST.18/4.380.

Antonio Blado included his imprint on books from the start of his business in Rome in 1516.³⁰ Such a statement appeared on single-sheet publications much later than on books, and seems to have been less common on pamphlets. The first sheet signed “Antonium Bladum Asulanum”, not yet “Impressorem Cameralem”, seems to have been printed in 1535.³¹ Blado’s signature as cameral printer did not normally include a date. The first instance I have been able

30 Mirabilia Romae, *In isto opusculo dicitur quomodo Romulus & Remus nati sunt & educati* (Impressum Rome: per Antonium de Bladis de Asula, 1516 die xxi Nouembris) (Edit6 CNCE 23891; USTC 800373).

31 *Nomina, tituli, cognomina; et patriae, reuerendiss. dominorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalium nunc viuentium* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1535) (Edit6 CNCE 24042; USTC 802719). Cf. Sofia, *Catalogo delle edizioni romane*, vol. IV, p. 331, n. 1430. The catalogue does not provide library and classmark for each item and the copy seen by Vaccaro in one of the libraries she surveyed is currently untraceable. Until the 1540s, Blado seems to have signed with just his name or his name followed by “Asulanum” or “Impressorem Cameralem”: see the imprints quoted below, at note 36.



FIGURE 6.4 Rome – city, *Dichiaratione del bando altre volte publicato che non si possino far soldati nello Stato Ecclesiastico ad istanza d'alcun principe* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1615). USTC 4047211, detail.
ROME, BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE, PER.EST.18/4.382.

to trace is that of a broadsheet where the date of printing can be inferred to 1544 with a degree of certainty from the date of publication and registration of the specified edict.³² The signature “Romae, apud Antonium Bladum, Impressorem Cameralem” also appears at the bottom of a sheet published in 1549.³³ The same signature is also featured on another broadsheet whose date

32 Apostolic Camera, *Pauli papae tertii Constitutio de modo sedendi in Camera Apostolica, & de nominatione facienda personarum Camerae in instrumentis* (Rome: Antonio Blado, [1544]) (Editi6 CNCE 24547; USTC 809930). Digital copy available online: <http://editi6.iccu.sbn.it/scripts/iccu_ext.dll?fn=60&i=24547#1>.

33 Apostolic Camera, *Decretum Camerae Apostolicae in fauorem DD. domorum inquilinorum & subinquinorum factum, de non augendo pensione respectu anni Sancti, ac de non expellendo inquilinos & subinquinolos durante locatione, & finita locatione de forma obligationis fiendae per dominos volentes domos pro suo vsu habere, & de subinquilino non gaudente priuilegio inquilini finita locatione sui auctoris* (Rome: Antonio Blado, [1549]) (Editi6 CNCE 24635; USTC 809949). Digital copy available online: <<http://www.internetculturale.it/>>

of printing cannot be inferred with confidence: a notice by pope Innocent VIII dating back to 1486 was printed, or perhaps reprinted, sometime between 1535, the year in which Blado took over the role of cameral printer, and 1545.³⁴ The essential layout of the text suggests, indeed, an earlier date of printing for this broadsheet than for those of 1544 and 1549, making it plausible for the first half of the fifth decade of the century or even the late 1530s. Further research on this and a few more sheets, similarly signed but undated, might provide further details on the chronology of single sheets printed by Blado and the development of his imprint statement.³⁵

The date of printing seems to appear in the 1540s and to become standard only from the late 1580s. Until then, and, in a few cases, even after, single sheets might still bear no date or no printer's statement at all. Even so, the data for this period is thin, inhibiting a more confident judgement.³⁶ As Ugo Rozzo has

opencms/viewResource.jsp?id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it%2FTeca%3A20%3ANT0000%3ABVEE064697&case=&instanceName=mag&descSource=Biblioteca+digitale&descSourceLevel2=MagTeca+-+ICCU>.

- 34 Innocentius VIII, *Litterae contra sumentes vindictam in personam tertij, ac contra brigosos. Et quod a sententijs paceriorum non appelletur* (Rome: Antonio Blado, [not before 1535]) (Editi6 CNCE 43468; USTC 836333). Digital copy available online: <<http://www.internetculturale.it/opencms/opencms/it/viewItemMag.jsp?case=&id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it%2FTeca%3A20%3ANT0000%3ABVEE065044>>. Antonio Blado started to print under commission of the Apostolic Camera in 1530, took over the official role of cameral printer in 1535 and obtained a salary as "Camerae Apostolicae impressor" in 1539: see Valentina Sestini, 'Blado, Antonio', in Rosa Marisa Borraccini, etc. (eds.), *Dizionario degli editori, tipografi, librai itineranti in Italia tra Quattrocento e Seicento* (Pisa and Rome: Fabrizio Serra, 2013), vol. 1, pp. 147–152, at pp. 148–149; and Francesco Barberi, 'Blado, Antonio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1925–), vol. x (1968), *ad vocem*, available online: <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-blado_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>. On the reprint of documents some decades or even centuries later see Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, pp. 156–159.
- 35 Pius II, *Litterae quod antiqua aedificia Urbis, & eius districtus non diruantur* (Rome: Antonio Blado, [not before 1535]) (Editi6 CNCE 41875; USTC 849155); *Tasse et mercedi de' notarii criminali di monsig. Governatore di Roma, auditore della camera, vicario, senatore, et Borgo, secondo la reforma di Pio quarto* (Rome: Antonio Blado, [not before 1535]) (Editi6 CNCE 57205; USTC 852928), cf. Sofia, *Catalogo delle edizioni romane*, vol. IV, p. 623, n. 2922, copy currently untraced.
- 36 See Editi6 CNCE 55650 – USTC 803007 (1542); Editi6 CNCE 55668 – USTC 803096 (1544); Editi6 CNCE 55676 – USTC 803196 (1546); Editi6 CNCE 55713 – USTC 803363 (1549); Editi6 CNCE 55716 – USTC 803448 (1550), for copies currently untraced. Three dated broadsheets editions were printed between 1556 and 1557: Paulus IV, *Bulla iubilei pro pace* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1556) (Editi6 CNCE 43957; USTC 847141), unique copy at the State Archive in Reggio Emilia, digital copy available online: <editi6.iccu.sbn.it/scripts/iccu_ext>

reminded us, the complete loss of a certain sheet can result in a considerable limitation to our knowledge, just as its rediscovery can modify a relevant series of data in a very significant way.³⁷ In this case, new findings could provide evidence of an earlier appearance of the date of printing. I was not able to establish a clear connection between the language (Latin or vernacular) of the document and a preference for the date expressed in Roman or Arabic numerals.

Not every ordinance or edict demanded urgent printing. A variety of dates may be indicated if we compare the date of printing with the date the edict was issued and then promulgated, a sequence that could involve a considerable lapse of time. Days, months or even years could intervene between the issuing of an act by the responsible authority (emanation), its proclamation and entry into force (publication) and eventually its printing for dissemination. We can assume that, from the sixteenth century onwards, the majority of documents were printed at the earliest possible time.³⁸ An edict to confirm to Marco Antonio Scarlatti the privilege to sell ice and snow was issued on 17 December 1647 and also printed in 1647.³⁹ Two documents issued on 20 December 1644, one in Latin and the other in Italian, apparently went to press before the end of the year.⁴⁰ Two edicts dated 31 December 1631 were stated to have been printed in

.dll?fn=60&i=43957#1>; Paulus IV, *Motus proprius contra eos, qui, vt beneficia impetrent, se ipsos pro alijs in examine supponunt, et se alios esse simulant* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1557) (Editi6 CNCE 43977; USTC 847160), only copy known at the National Central Library of Rome, digital copy available online: <<http://www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccviewer/iccviewer.jsp?id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it%2FTeca%3A20%3ANT0000%3ABVEE064486&mode=all&teca=MagTeca+-+ICCU>>; Paulus IV, *Breue ampliationis decreti s.d.n. Pauli papae IIII super reuocatione regressuum & accessuum ad cathedrales ecclesias* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1557) (Editi6 CNCE 43964; USTC 847151), only copy known at the National Central Library of Rome, digital copy available online: <<http://www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccviewer/iccviewer.jsp?id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it%2FTeca%3A20%3ANT0000%3ABVEE064487&mode=all&teca=MagTeca+-+ICCU>>.

37 Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 8.

38 See also Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, pp. 38 and 137.

39 Pontifical States, *Bando. Giovanni Girolamo Lomellino protonotario apostolico, dell'una, e l'altra signatura di nostro signore referendario, e di sua santità, e reverenda Camera Apostolica tesoriere generale* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1647) (USTC 4046660), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.196.

40 Pontifical States, *Editto. Lorenzo Raggi dell'una e l'altra signatura referendario, della santità di nostro signore e sua reverenda Camera Apostolica tesoriere generale* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1644) (USTC 4046480), copies: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.6 and 17; Catholic Church, *Edictum super residentia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, & aliorum beneficia personalem*

the same year, that is, on the very same day.⁴¹ Such a short time lapse between the issuing and printing of ordinances was not unusual, and is documented in other countries as well.⁴²

Documents not requiring immediate attention would sometimes go to the printers after a considerable lapse of time. The privilege to award the doctoral degree in law, exclusively granted to the college of consistorial lawyers, was confirmed in July 1609 but only printed the following year.⁴³ The responses of criminal justice seems to have been particularly slow in some cases. An edict issued on 3 March 1648 offered a reward for the head of the perpetrator of a murder that had occurred on 7 November 1647. In the same year 1647, a reward had been offered for a crime that took place more than a quarter of century earlier, in 1621.⁴⁴

It was not unusual for ordinances to be reprinted after a considerable space of years if the contents were still relevant.⁴⁵ Sometimes exact copies of an edict were printed many decades later. Such broadsheets seem to have been intended to reproduce the material objects rather than just their content. Each copy is identical, in some cases line after line. Despite the misleading imprint statement, material features such as the quality of paper, types and coats of arms clearly suggest a much later, likely eighteenth-century date of printing (figs. 6.5 and 6.6). I was able to find five instances in the Casanatense

residentiam requirentia obtinentium (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1644) (USTC 4046473), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.18.

41 Catholic Church, *Indulgentiae plenariae in forma iubilaei. A sanctissimo domino nostro domino Urbano divina providentia papa VIII ad agendas gratias, & divinam opem implorandam in alma Urbe concessae, & ad universam Italiam, & insulas ei adiacentes extensae* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1631) (USTC 4044559), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/5.507; and Pontifical States, *Editto sopra li giulii d'Avignone* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1631) (USTC 4044520), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/5.508.

42 Saskia Limbach reports a regulation on the salt trade printed by Maternus Cholinus on the very same day as the city council of Cologne's decision: see Limbach, 'Tracing Lost Broadsheet Ordinances', p. 498.

43 Rome – city, *Editto. Pietro Paolo Crescentio protonotario apostolico, dell'una, & l'altra signatura di N. Sig. referendario, e della Camera Apostolica auditore generale. Essendo stato provisto altre volte da' sommi pontefici* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1610) (USTC 4039460), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/4.211.

44 Rome – city, *Editto di taglia, et impunità. Desiderando l'illustrissimo, & reverendissimo monsignor Alessandro Vittrice vescovo d'Alatri* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1648) (USTC 4046738), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.213; Rome – city, *Taglia di scudi cinque mila, & impunità. Desiderando l'illustrissimo e reverendissimo monsignor Alessandro Vittrice vescovo d'Alatri* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1647) (USTC 4046695), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.197.

45 See for instance Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, pp. 156–159.



FIGURE 6.5 Rome – city, *Editto sopra il banco di pescaria* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1648).
USTC 4046742.
ROME, BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE, PER. EST. 18/7.241.

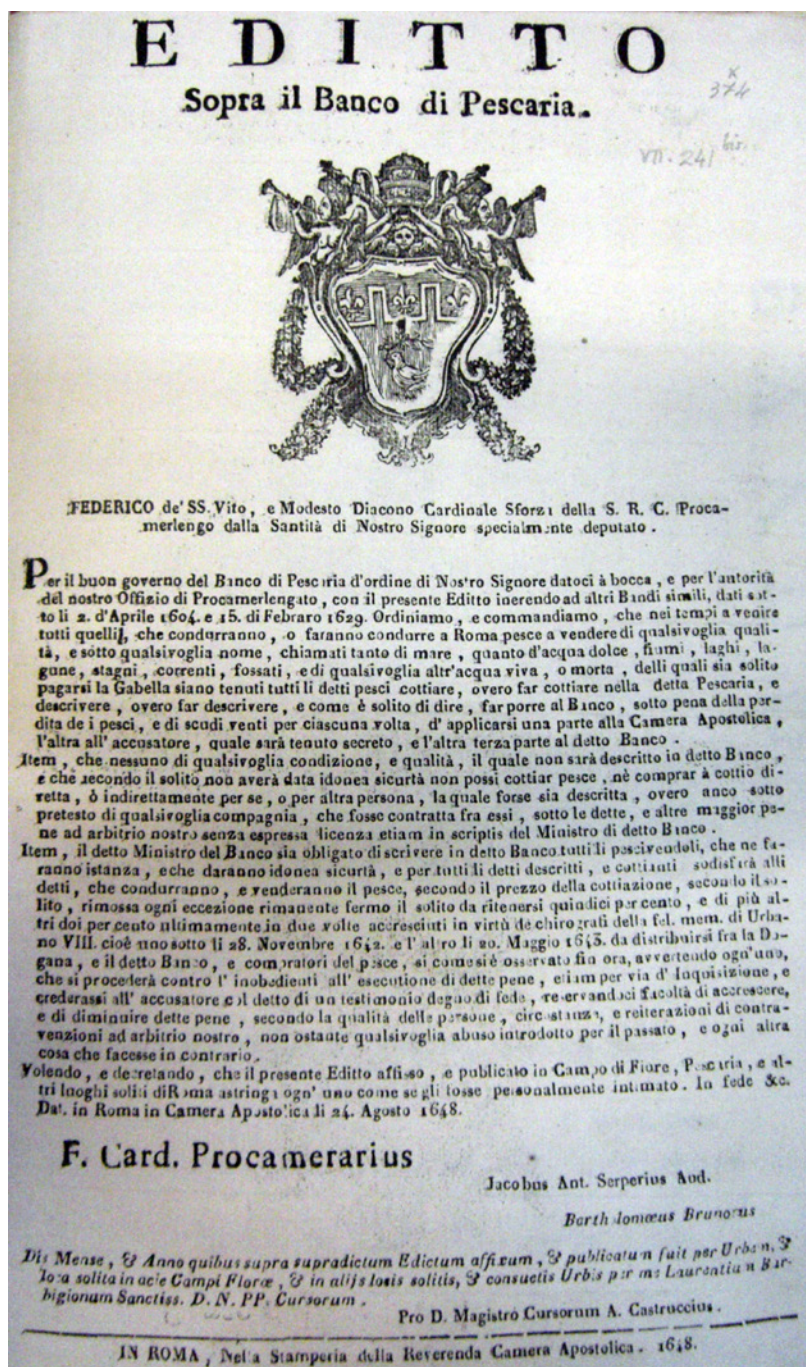


FIGURE 6.6 Rome – city, *Editto sopra il banco di pescaria* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1648 [i.e. 18.?). USTC 4046743.
ROME, BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE, PER.EST.18/7.241BIS.

collection, reproducing ordinances from 1615 to 1648.⁴⁶ The reasons behind such clones are unclear, and so are the circumstances in which they joined the collection. They were bound at a later stage usually close to the originals they are copying, whose classmark they repeat followed by a 'bis'. Further research might lead to new clues on the history of what are at the moment puzzling and enigmatic items.

Contrastingly, some regular patterns emerge from types of edicts reprinted on a periodic basis. Ordinances were usually issued twice a year to set the price of meat for the butchers in Rome, in spring and summer, between March and July.⁴⁷ Such broadsheets were reprinted year after year as an exact copy from a previous exemplar, line after line, with only small adjustments for the prices when needed.⁴⁸ This results in identical descriptions, and even fingerprints, except for the dates.⁴⁹ Such series are goldmine for bibliographers, as they might easily lead to the discovery of lost items. Ordinances notifying payments due to the mounts of piety were progressively numbered, allowing us to infer missing items between discontinuous numbers.⁵⁰

The replication of the precise text on each line through successive issues provides evidence of the use of previous items as drafts for the reprint of

46 Catholic Church, *Decretum quo locorum Ordinarijs regulares a confessionibus audiendis suspendendi ratio praescribitur* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1615) (USTC 4026322), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/4.402bis; Pontifical States, *Confirmatio constitutioni Pii v & eius successorum de non alienandis, & infeudandis civitatibus, terris, & locis sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1645) (USTC 4046521), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.16bis; Rome – city, *Editto sopra il banco di pescaria* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1648) (USTC 4046742), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.241bis; Rome – city, *Editto. Federico di Santi Vito, & Modesto diacono cardinale Sforza della santa Romana Chiesa procamerlengo dalla santità di nostro signore specialmente deputato. Per provvedere alli danni, che s'intende, & possono farsi da diverse persone nel tempo del passo de palombi da gianna* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1649) (USTC 4046828), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.255bis; Rome – city, *Editto. Per tenore del presente editto, & per l'auttorità del nostro offitio si proibisce* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1650) (USTC 4046858), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.310bis.

47 Of 73 broadsheets printed in the first half of the seventeenth century in the Casanatense collection, 20 were issued in March, 16 in April, 12 in June and 24 in July.

48 See also Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 91.

49 See also Chapter 2.

50 On the mounts of piety, charitable institutions of credit, see Natalia Gozzano, 'Il conto di Claude Lorrain presso il Banco di Santo Spirito. Reddito e investimenti di un pittore nella Roma del Seicento', *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, 13 (2005), pp. 277–316, at pp. 281 and 292, notes 21 and 22. On the relevance of serials for inferring lost items see Andrew Pettegree, 'The Legion of the Lost. Recovering the Lost Books of Early Modern Europe', in Bruni & Pettegree, *Lost Books*, pp. 1–27, at pp. 7–8.

Quando l'Illustrissimi Signori Conseruatori della Camera di Roma, conforme alla mente di Nostro Signore prouedere che il prezzo delle robbe da aggrauato da Pizzicaruali, nel vedere delle loro robbe per risoluzione fatta con Monsignor Reuerendissimo Iacomo Senzani, Presidente della Grafia, per il presente publico Bando, comandano a tutti i Pizzicaruali di Roma, che dalla publicatione d'essi prezzi, debbono osservare li prezzi, & Capitoli infra scritti, auuertendo ogni vno che contra li disubedienti si procederà senza remissione con ogni rigore.

P R E Z Z I.

<i>Coli, & altre robbe di Pizzicaruali.</i>	b. 2 q. 3	<i>Deuenderoli, la libra</i>	b. 1 q. 4
<i>Di Porco, & di Rana la libra</i>	b. 4 q. 1	<i>Carni salate.</i>	b. 1 q. 4
<i>Di Conseruatore Langio</i>	b. 5 q. 2	<i>Lingue di porco, il paro</i>	b. 5 q. 4
<i>Di Agnelli</i>	b. 2	<i>Lingue di Bufala, il paro</i>	b. 9 q. 4
<i>Di Bufala</i>	b. 2 q. 1	<i>Summata, la libra</i>	b. 9 q. 4
<i>Di Porco, & di Rana, la libra</i>	b. 14	<i>Assogna vecchia frasca per cocchi, la libra</i>	b. 6 q. 4
<i>Di Agnelli per tutta Carneale la libra</i>	b. 16	<i>Presciutto, la libra</i>	b. 6 q. 4
<i>Di Bufala, & di Rana, la libra</i>	b. 4	<i>Lardo, la libra</i>	b. 5 q. 4
<i>Di Conseruatore, lo paro</i>	b. 7	<i>Strutto, la libra</i>	b. 5 q. 4
<i>Di Bufala, & di Rana, la libra</i>	b. 5	<i>Salciccioni, la libra</i>	b. 5 q. 4
<i>Di Conseruatore, lo paro</i>	b. 5 q. 2	<i>Soppresfite, la libra</i>	b. 5 q. 4
<i>Di Bufala, & di Rana, la libra</i>	b. 5 q. 2	<i>Ventresca, & mentrola, la libra</i>	b. 5 q. 4
<i>Di Conseruatore, lo paro</i>	b. 5 q. 2	<i>Et non possono mischiare il Butiro Romano con altro Butiro, sotto pena di scudi dieci.</i>	b. 5 q. 4
<i>Di Bufala, & di Rana, la libra</i>	b. 5 q. 2	<i>Et le robbe Ripali si lasciano senza prezzo.</i>	b. 5 q. 4
<i>Di Conseruatore, lo paro</i>	b. 5 q. 2		

C A P I T O L I.

Item, che detti Pizzicaruali, nel giorno delle Feste comandate dalla Santa Romana Chiesa, & dal Consiglio di Trento in qua prohibiti dal Reuerendissimo Vicario, non debbiano vendere se non nel modo, & forma dell'ultimo Bando dato, sotto la pena di scudi due, cioè senza metter fuori in mostra, ma solo vender dentro co' il portello aperto.

Item, che debbiano tenere il presente Bando incollato sopra vna tavoletta per ogni Pizzicarualia fuori nella sala, & in mercato, che ogni vno lo possa leggere commodamente sotto la pena d'un scudo.

FIGURE 6.7 Rome – city, *Bando delli pizzicaruali* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1608). USTC 4047099, detail.
ROME, BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE, PER. EST. 18/4.136.

documents.⁵¹ This procedure is further confirmed by marks and amendments on some Casanatense items. Proof correction marks are found on broadsheets relating to the prices of groceries (fig. 6.7), the regulation of the import of salt from outside Rome and measures to impose discipline on students of the Sapienza.⁵²

As mentioned above, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century broadsheets entered the Casanatense as the result of the purchase of the stocks of the Stamperia Camerale in 1719. The presence of proofs for printing and unfinished items is thus easily explained and offers an effective glimpse into the working procedures of the Stamperia Camerale. The quality of printing of

51 See also Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 91.

52 Rome – city, *Bando delli pizzicaruali* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1608) (USTC 4047099), copy Rome, BC, Per. est. 18/4.136; Rome – city, *Bando contro quelli, che portano, o ricevono sale forastiero nelle città, terre, & luoghi mediate, & immediate soggetti alla Santa Sede Apostolica & sopra le frodi del sale della salara di Roma* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1621) (USTC 4047296), copy: Rome, BC, Per. est. 18/4.544; and Rome – city, *Editto da osservarsi tanto dentro, quanto intorno allo Studio, o Sapienza di Roma, da scolari, & altri, che in quello praticano* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1607) (USTC 4047087), copy: Rome, BC, Per. est. 18/4.110.

seventeenth-century broadsheets looks on average uneven, even poor.⁵³ The cardinal's coat of arms on a broadsheet prohibiting the recruitment of soldiers in the Pontifical States is missing the galero, intended to be printed in red ink in a second pass of the press.⁵⁴ Some coats of arms appear to have been scratched away or pasted over.⁵⁵ Two angels are symmetrically kneeling and praying in front of a large space left empty on a broadsheet listing the indulgences granted by pope Paul v to the three congregations of Humility based at the church of San Carlo ai Catinari in Rome (fig. 6.8).⁵⁶

The ephemeral and practical nature of this family of imprints, largely discarded after use rather than collected, is also apparent from issues printed on the back of recycled items. These could be other broadsheets or sheets from a book or pamphlet, originally meant to be folded in folios or quartos. Ordinances for the prices of chestnuts were usually printed on half or even a quarter sheet, often of scrap paper.⁵⁷ Such discarded sheets came as leftovers from a variety of imprints in Latin or the Italian vernacular, including forms. An ordinance on the sale of chestnuts and another for the extension of the jubilee are printed on two sides of the same sheet.⁵⁸ Such remnants and fragments, used as recycled paper or even as binding waste, may prove remarkably valuable, regardless of the quality of printing, as the only evidence of otherwise lost or unknown imprints.⁵⁹

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- 53 The last two characters of the second group of LOC fingerprint could not be taken for the broadsheet Rome, BC, Per.est.18/4.509, Rome – city, *Bando delle maschere* (Rome: Stampperia Camerale, 1620) (USTC 4047283), as they were not properly impressed.
- 54 Pontifical States, *Bando che non si possano far soldati nello Stato Ecclesiastico per servizio d'alcun prencipe* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1616) (USTC 4040612), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/4.424.
- 55 Rome – city, *Editto. Giulio Monterentio protonotario apostolico, dell'alma città di Roma, e suo distretto general governatore, & v. camerlengo. Volendo il molto illustre, & reverendiss. monsig. Giulio Monterentio protonotario apostolico* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1612) (USTC 4039869), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/4.327; Rome – city, *Bando de macellari* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1634) (USTC 4045187), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/6.12.
- 56 Catholic Church, *Sommario dell'indulgenze perpetue concesse dalla santità di nostro signore papa Paolo quinto, alle tre congregazioni dell'Humiltà, erette nella chiesa di S. Carlo di Roma alli Catinari, de' R.R. Padri chierici regolari della Congregazione di S. Paolo Decollato* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1612) (USTC 4039883), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/4.325.
- 57 30 issues in the Casanatense collection for 1601–1650, 3 broadsheets, 2 quarter sheets, and 26 half sheets. 17 of 30 printed on recycled sheets.
- 58 Rome, BC, Per.est.18/7.248r–v, both printed in 1648.
- 59 In my survey of the Casanatense broadsheets I have described both printed sides, even if incomplete. On the recycling or use of single-sheet items as binding waste see Paul Needham, 'The Formats of Incunable Broad-sides', in Christine Haug and Rolf Thiele



FIGURE 6.8 Catholic Church, *Sommario dell'indulgenze perpetue concesse dalla santità di nostro signore papa Paolo quinto, alle tre congregazioni dell'Humiltà, erette nella chiesa di S. Carlo di Roma alli Catinari, de' R.R. Padri chierici regolari della Congregatione di S. Paolo Decollato* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1612). USTC 4039883, detail.
ROME, BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE. PER.EST.18/4.325.

Broadsheets in the Casanatense collection are sorted by date of emanation and bound in large volumes. Its chronological arrangement is not completely reliable though.⁶⁰ A broadsheet on the mounts of piety issued and printer in 1611 is bound at the year 1610;⁶¹ one on the beatification of St Thomas of Villanova

(eds.), *Buch – Bibliothek – Region. Wolfgang Schmitz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), pp. 127–144, at p. 128; and Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, pp. 116–117.

60 See also Palumbo, 'Inquisition und Indexkongregation', p. 229, note 1; and <<http://www.casanatense.it/it/la-biblioteca-casanatense/il-patrimonio/libri/48-gli-editti-e-i-bandi>>.

61 Rome – city, 82. *estrattione* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1611) (USTC 4039658), copy: Rome, BC, Per.est.18/4.229.



Con il Nome d'IDDIO , Adi 14. di Decembre MDCVIII.

Infrafcritti, che hanno da contribuire per fornire d'accommodare la strada delle Fornace che vada d'accommodare in più luoghi la Selciata della falita dentro la Porta di S. Pancratio, nella quale Tassa di Pancratio, tassate a ba. dieci per pezza alli patroni, che habitano in Trasteuere, & a quelli che habitano a quelli che tengono Carrozze, tassati a ba. trentacinque per pezza, qual Tassa ascende alla somma di scudi 151. 46. che resta hauere del suo lauoro prima da lui fatto, come mostra per misura

zze sei ba. fessanta.	p. 6	1 60	72 Siluio Calzolaro in Pefcaria, p. quattro ba. ottanta	p. 4	b. 80	154 Simone del
cinque b. cinquata.	p. 5	1 50	73 Marcantonio Sarto alla Ciambella, p. sette sc. vno ba. quaranta	p. 7	1 b. 40	155 Madonna
quaranta.	p. 7	1 40	74 Sig. Girolamo Mignanello per metà di pezza 30. del Cafaletto con	p. 15	1 b. 25	156 Giulio Bui
i ba. quaranta.	p. 2	1 40	carr. p. quindici sc. cinque ba. venti. cinque	p. 12	2 b. 40	157 Hercule Bi
zze cinquanta scudi	p. 50	17 50	75 Sig. Giulio Bonaventura, p. dodici sc. due ba. quaranta	p. 6	1 b. 20	158 Filippo fo
scudi vno b. fessanta.	p. 8	1 60	76 Gio. Battista Ghisleni, p. sei sc. vno ba. venti	p. 5	1	159 Heredi di
a. fessanta	p. 3	1 60	77 Valentino Bifanti, p. cinque sc. vno	p. 12	4 b. 20	160 Cesare di
tefeuere, pezza sette	p. 7	1 70	78 Lorenzo già Decano di Papa Clemente con carr. p. dodici sc. quar	p. 13	2 b. 60	161 Madonna
te scu. cinque baioc.	p. 17	5 95	tro ba. venti	p. 35	10 b. 75	162 Francesco
ba. fessanta.	p. 18	3 60	79 Heredi di Filippo Fornaro, p. tredici sc. due ba. fessanta	p. 20	7	163 Heredi di
zza, pezza dodici scu	p. 12	4 20	80 Sig. Marchese di Calice per metà di pezza 70. del suo cafaletto con	p. 45	9	164 Signori Gu
llano, ha carrozza, p.	p. 25	8 75	carr. p. settantacinque sc. dieci ba. settantacinque	p. 16	1 b. 60	165 Heredi di
que.	p. 8	1 60	81 Sig. Alessandro de Maffimi con carr. p. venti sc. sette	p. 7	2 b. 45	166 Alfonso Ma
go, p. otto scudi vno	p. 30	10 50	82 Signor Alessandro detto per la Pisana, cioè per metà di pezza 90.	p. 10	3 b. 50	167 Antonio di
carozza, p. trenta sc.	p. 4	1 40	p. quarantacinque sc. noue	p. 14	3 b. 80	168 Chirino not
con carrozza, p. quat	p. 30	10 50	83 Alessandro Ciampoli in Trasteuere, p. sedici sc. vno ba. fessanta	p. 7	1 b. 40	169 Christoffano d
	p. 4	1 40	84 Heredi di Curzio Testa con carr. p. sette sc. due b. quarantacinque	p. 8	2 b. 40	170 Alessandro Si
			85 Heredi di Giouanni Vberti con carr. p. quattordici scudi quattro	p. 10	3 b. 50	171 Francesco
			ba. nouanta	p. 14	3 b. 80	172 Carlo
			86 Sig. Alessandro Poggio con carr. p. dieci sc. tre ba. cinquanta	p. 14	3 b. 80	
			87 Lorenzo Mancinello all' Inglese, p. quattordici sc. due ba. ottanta	p. 7	1 b. 40	
			88 Mad. Caterina Perotti al Giesu, p. quattordici sc. due b. ottanta	p. 8	2 b. 40	
			89 Heredi di Pietro Paolo Farsetto, p. sette sc. vno ba. quaranta	p. 10	3 b. 50	
			90 Heredi di Alessandro Bonelli a Corbi, p. quattro ba. ottanta	p. 10	3 b. 50	
			91 Alessandro Bonelli a Corbi, p. quattro ba. ottanta	p. 10	3 b. 50	

FIGURE 6.9 Rome – city, *Con il nome d'Iddio, adi 14 di decembre 1608. Tassa fatta a gl'infrascritti, che hanno da contribuire per fornire d'accommodare la strada delle Fornace* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1609). USTC 4039215, detail.
ROME, BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE, PER. EST. 18/4.175.

dated 1618 is bound at the year 1608.⁶² Moreover, as seen above, broadsheets were not always printed immediately after emanation. This eventually narrows the ability to trace some items. An accurate description is the only way to prevent such risk.

62 Catholic Church, *Beatificationis b. Thomae a Villanova cognomento Eleemosynarii [!] Ordinis Eremitarum sancti Augustini archiepiscopi Valentini* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1618) (USTC 4040984), copy: Rome, BC, Per. est. 18/4.169.

Broadsheets were a large part of the production of the printing presses in the early modern age. Despite the low rate of survival, there are some wonderful resources for scholars available to explore, such as the Casanatense collection of ordinances printed “in the name of God” (fig. 6.9). Knowledge of such imprints would profit enormously from a careful study to identify their specific features in different European printing domains.

Bread and Fairs: Broadsheet Printing for the Municipality of Lyon, 1497–1570

Jamie Cumby

One of the jewels of the collection of the Gadagne museum in Lyon is a July 1494 manuscript *placard* announcing the rules and privileges of the city's four annual fairs.¹ The preceding June, the *Lettres d'Auxonne* of Charles VIII officially restored the fairs as originally authorized by Louis XI in 1463.² The city paid the king 10,000 livres in exchange, a transaction that offered a clear demonstration of Lyon's growing role as a key lender to the French crown.³ The decorative splendour of the placard reflects the importance of its contents, and the city's sense of triumph at having secured the restoration of the fairs. Each item begins with an illuminated initial, the title appears on a banner supported by lions, and the base of the document depicts angels connecting Lyon's arms with the French royal arms and those of Anne de Bretagne. Obtaining an "irrevocable statute and edict" that confirmed all of its fairs secured Lyon's position as a commercial capital.⁴ It guaranteed a flow of international trade through the city, which would, in turn, add momentum to the growing trend of important banks and firms establishing permanent offices there.⁵ Effectively, the

1 Lyon, Musée Gadagne, Inv. 172.

2 Marc Brésard, *Les foires de Lyon au XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris: Picard, 1914), pp. 66–69; Jacqueline Boucher, *Vivre à Lyon au XVIe siècle* (Lyon: Éditions Lyonnaises d'Art et d'Histoire, 2001), pp. 46–48; Archives Municipales de Lyon (hereafter AML) BB 22.

3 Brésard, *Foires*, pp. 66–69; Boucher, *Vivre à Lyon*, pp. 46–48; AML BB 22; Martin Wolfe, *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 106–109.

4 AML HH 284: 'statut et édit irrévocable'.

5 The first Medici bank branch opened in Lyon in 1466. Wolfe, *Fiscal System*, p. 106; Jacqueline Boucher, 'Les Italiens à Lyon', in Jean Balsamo (ed.), *Passer les Monts: Français en Italie – l'Italie en France (1494–1525)* (Paris: Honore Champion, 1998), p. 39; Roger Doucet, *La Banque Capponi à Lyon en 1556*, (Lyon: Imprimerie nouvelle lyonnaise, 1939); Richard Gascon, *Grand Commerce et Vie Urbaine au XVIe Siècle: Lyon et ses Marchands (environs de 1520 – environs de 1580)* (2 vols., Paris: Mouton, 1971), I 214–216; Yves Krumenacker (ed.), *Lyon 1562: Capitale Protestante: Une histoire religieuse de Lyon à la Renaissance* (Lyon: Éditions Olivétan, 2009), p. 18.

confirmation of the fairs was also a confirmation of Lyon's status as France's commercial and financial centre.

The Gadagne museum poster was part of the publication campaign for the new fair programme, paid for by the city council.⁶ More than just a prestige document, it was a piece of official communication, designed to hang in a public place. Its edges display tell-tale signs that come from being affixed to a wall: a series of nail holes and a defined border where a frame once protected part of the document from wear.⁷ Single-sheet announcements like this one formed an important part of the landscape of early modern cities. Municipal administrators across Europe used *placards* to communicate important information to city inhabitants and visitors, from new laws to political alliances.⁸ The *consulat* in Lyon publically exhibited the details of the fair privileges to act as a point of reference for the Lyonnais and for the foreign merchants upon whom Lyon's economy depended.⁹

The city council also published this and later editions of the Lyon fair privileges as pamphlets. The first of these was an undated, unsigned quarto pamphlet of only four leaves, printed ca. 1498/9.¹⁰ Although the GW attributes it to Mathias Huss, and gives its possible date as 1494, type analysis by Anatole Claudin identifies it as the work of Martin Havard, and suggests it was published some years later, after 1498.¹¹ The next editions came much later, first with a commission for 536 copies, printed by Pierre Fradin in October of 1560, followed by a second by Antoine Gryphius in 1574.¹² The *consulat* needed to reissue successive pamphlets not only because the list of privileges and regulations had expanded, but also because they needed to communicate to a wider audience. These two causes are interrelated; as the fairs grew in importance

6 AML CC 531.

7 AML CC 1022: the *consulat* paid for 'une grant boyte fert blanc, pour mectre le privilege des foyres, pour ce que celle où avoit esté mys ledit privilege avoit esté rompue'.

8 Jean-Pierre Vittu, 'Instruments of Political Information in France', in Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (eds.), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 162; Rosa Salzburg, *The Ephemeral City: Cheap Print and Urban Culture in Renaissance Venice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 63.

9 Brésard, *Foires*; Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, I 238–240; Nadia Matringe, *La Banque en Renaissance: Les Salviati et la place de Lyon au milieu du xvie siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes), pp. 22–25 contains a nice summary of previous writing on the relationship between Lyon's economy and foreign merchants and bankers.

10 Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, I.241(1) Rés.

11 GW M35427; Anatole Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XVe et au XVIe siècle* (4 vols., Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1910–1914), IV 206–207.

12 AML CC 1084, USTC 21621; AML CC 1230, USTC 24483.

and complexity, they attracted an ever-growing number of merchants and tradesmen.¹³

Precise population statistics are difficult to establish, but comparative analysis of city records suggests that the number of Lyonnais quintupled between 1460 and 1540.¹⁴ With Lyon's commercial significance now internationally recognised, a vibrant merchant community could expect healthy trading conditions not just in the designated times of the fair, but throughout the year. The city's population reached between 60,000 and 70,000 inhabitants at its apogee in the 1550s.¹⁵ The changing demographic and commercial landscape put new pressure on city administrators to regulate an ever-increasing number of new citizens and foreign merchants. Print's ability to produce multiple, identical exemplars was well suited for the distribution of information to such a large constituency. Indeed, shortly after 1494, the municipality of Lyon started to use print media for administrative purposes.

Over the course of the sixteenth-century, Lyon's city council made a series of experiments with broadsheet printing. These first forays into the official use of broadsheets were to help the city deal with exceptional circumstances. As I will discuss in this article, broadsheet commissions from the *consulat* corresponded to situations where financial and demographic pressures called for a large-scale response. These cases by no means represent a complete adoption of printed broadsheets for day-to-day affairs. However, they do show how economic and demographic changes in the sixteenth-century made printed broadsheets a part of municipal administration in Lyon. Beginning in 1570, the *consulat* developed a relationship with the printer Michel Jove for at least one commission a year, almost always in relation to fair-time administration.¹⁶ Written documentation was still a crucial part of city government, but the *consulat* began turning towards print as a way of mass-producing announcements for a growing population.

Municipal Communications in Lyon

Official print in France tended to appear in pamphlet form. As Andrew Pettegree highlights in the introduction to this volume, broadsheets were apparently

13 Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, I 341–347; Krumenacker, *Lyon 1562*, pp. 20–31.

14 Krumenacker, *Lyon 1562*, p. 20.

15 Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, I 346.

16 AML CC 1172, CC 1182, CC 1194, CC 1209, CC 1210, CC 1223, CC 1224, CC 1230, CC 1233, CC 1237, CC 1243, CC 1257, CC 1247, 1249, cover Jove's commissions between 1570 to 1576.

an unpopular format for French presses in the sixteenth century.¹⁷ Of the 6,588 printed ordinances and edicts recorded in the USTC, slightly less than 1% of these are single-sheet items.¹⁸ For the most part, printers both in Paris and the provinces issued the full text of royal acts in small, octavo editions, though these also occasionally appeared as longer collections in folio.¹⁹

While this is true for royal ordinances and laws, municipal administrations seem to have adopted slightly different conventions, based on their own needs. Among these, as laid out by Saskia Limbach, was a need to make accommodations for exceptional circumstances.²⁰ This sort of print commission took on a special significance for city governments, when we consider that information was traditionally conveyed verbally and face-to-face.²¹ City councils, like Cologne's or Lyon's, could generally reach their own citizens within the physical space of the city and through their official connections to guild leaders.²² Municipal laws and ordinances did not necessarily need to be issued as pamphlets, because much of the information they communicated did not have to travel outside of the city limits. In 1530 the *consulat* publicized its ordinances to combat the spread of plague not by circulating pamphlets, but by having these ordinances painted on the five gates of the city.²³ Instead, print was employed when circumstances called for it, as when large influxes of foreign merchants came for the fairs. Depending on the situation, printed broadsheets were sometimes the most efficient and useful tools for dealing with the highly localized business of running a city.

Print media did not create new avenues of official communication, but rather were grafted onto an extant system for the dissemination of public information. In some cases, as with the fair privilege announcement, this involved print and manuscript posters. Another popular and effective means of public communication was the use of town criers. This position involved a number of duties, and was not confined to communicating special announcements. The city relied on professional criers for centuries, though their numbers are difficult to trace because criers were exempt from taxation.²⁴

17 Chapter 1, above.

18 Statistics from USTC.

19 Lauren Kim, 'French Royal Acts Printed before 1601. A Bibliographical Study' (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2007), pp. 101–135; Statistics from USTC.

20 Saskia Limbach, 'Government Use of Print in the Holy Roman Empire in the Sixteenth Century' (University of St Andrews, PhD dissertation, 2016), p. 201.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid. pp. 99, 103–110.

23 AML CC 790.

24 AML CC 70: from 1448–1449 'Jean Gojard, couturier, n'est pas non plus impose en sa qualité de crier public'.

Oral publication of official announcements performed the important task of communicating information quickly. Criers were mobile; the *consulat* paid them to read their pronouncements throughout the city. They set out on horseback accompanied by trumpeters, who would sound their instruments to preface the crier's announcement.²⁵ One surviving example of a print ordinance from 1566 ends with the statement that it had been cried "at both ends of the Saône bridge, at the *place du change*, at the herb market, and other intersections and public places of this city of Lyon."²⁶ Crying at these sites would have covered the city's key commercial areas where the fairs took place, which centred on either side of the Saône bridge.²⁷ These were by no means the most populous districts, but they were the wealthiest.²⁸ Criers also announced royal edicts at the city granary, which stood on the cusp of an economically mixed district.²⁹ As this itinerary suggests, Lyon's criers targeted the public life of the commercial city as their key audience.

Oral publication coexisted with visual publication even in the extremely public activity of the criers. By the seventeenth century, criers were meant to post the text of their proclamations at each location on their route, and this practice apparently took shape in the previous century.³⁰ From an administrative perspective, print was well suited to this task, but only at a certain volume. Once the time needed to write out the required number of announcements by hand surpassed the time needed to compose an ordinance for printing, print became cheaper in terms of labour and time.

25 Descriptions of procedure for criers can be found throughout AML, i.e. CC 1270, which includes a rent of three horses for the criers and trumpeters; Vittu, 'Instruments of Political Information', p. 162; Stephen J. Milner, "Fanno bandire, notificare, et expressamente comandare": Town Criers and the Information Economy of Renaissance Florence', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 16 (2013), pp. 108–109; Kim, 'Royal Acts', p. 47.

26 AML 6FI60610, AML 6FI651.

27 Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, I 445.

28 In 1545, the districts on either side of the Saône held 18.5 % of total taxed wealth, and 4.6% of the taxable population. This would have vastly under-estimated the real wealth of these districts, as many of the wealthy engaged in creative accounting or invested in untaxed property or merchandise in order to reduce their tax liability. Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, I 437–440, 444; Jamie Cumby, 'Neither Scholar nor Printer: Luxembourg de Gabiano and the Financial Structure of Merchant Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Lyon', in S. Graheli (ed.), *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

29 Granary location noted in: *Lettres patentes du roy par lesquelles il est defend de porter* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1571), sig. A4v, USTC 3925.

30 Vittu, 'Instruments of Political Information', p. 161; AML 6FI60610, AML 6FI651.

However, printed posters of ordinances could not fully replace the role of the town crier. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after broadsheet printed items became commonplace, the town crier was still a coveted and heavily regulated position. The office itself was hereditary, but could be sold, fetching prices of up to 4,400 livres in the seventeenth century.³¹

The Consulat

The *consulat* was an elected body of 12 *conseillers*, all drawn from the local elite. The body of electors consisted of two representatives from each of the city's major guilds. Conveniently the *conseillers* themselves selected which guild members would serve as electors.³² *Conseillers* served two-year terms, but the city's charter staggered their election in groups of six. This way, half of the city government was made up of junior members and half of senior members at any one time. Prior to the sixteenth century and the elevation of Lyon's commercial status, the elected officials were largely members of the local nobility. However, as the centre of power in the city shifted from the nobility to Lyon's increasingly wealthy bourgeois, this latter group dominated the council.³³

In addition to their close connection with the city's guilds, the *consulat* maintained a public presence, solemnized in the formal election of its members. This election, called the *syndicat*, dated from a thirteenth century convention to designate the city's representatives. The 1320 royal charter that removed governing privileges from the archbishop of Lyon and transferred them to the city's bourgeois officially codified the practice. The *syndicat* happened every year on St Thomas' day, when two representatives from each guild elected six new *conseillers*. The election took place in St Jacques' chapel in the church of St Nizier, located just off of rue Mercière, a principal commercial thoroughfare. A town crier "published" the *syndicat* to the public summoned by the ringing of the church bells, and one of Lyon's leading intellectual figures followed with a commemorative oration. The newly elected members of the council then processed through the city to great fanfare in specially commissioned robes displaying the arms of Lyon.³⁴ By the mid-sixteenth century, the *consulat*

31 AML BB 425 contains a document from August 1666 recording the sale of the office of licensed public crier for the *senechausee* and the *sergent royal*.

32 AML BB 378; Krumenacker, *Lyon 1562*, p. 40.

33 Boucher, *Vivre à Lyon*, pp. 7–8.

34 A few examples: AML CC 859 – payment for a robe with a pair of gold-adorned sleeves bearing the arms of the city; AML CC 1022 – payments for sweets and foodstuffs for a

also paid to have the names of the new *syndicat* written and illuminated, and occasionally to have the doctoral oration printed.³⁵

As the city's primary administrative body, the *consulat* performed a number of functions. The *conseillers* were both Lyon's political link with the rest of the world and the overseers of local concerns.³⁶ The *consulat* was Lyon's intermediary between the city and broader royal and ecclesiastical interests, but the bulk of their work dealt with the spectrum of regulatory duties that fell under the umbrella of *la police*.³⁷ This included maintaining order and safety within and without the city walls. It also extended to matters of public health and infrastructure. One of the most important of these duties was ensuring that citizens had adequate access to food, a source of frequent difficulty as the population often required more grain than the Lyonnais province could provide.³⁸

The data used in this study comes from largely the *consulat*'s expense accounts in series CC at the Lyon Archives Municipales. These are a combination of receipts and notebooks of the city's receiver generals that record the day-to-day costs of running the city. They cover a spectrum of payments, from quotidian administrative needs like the purchase of paper, to important financial projects like collecting donations to repair the Rhône bridge and exceptional expenses like costumes for performances staged during royal entries.³⁹ As a documentary series, it is a practical companion to series BB, which contains the council minutes. The expense records tend to appear in two formats. The most common are account notebooks organized by topic with running tallies of total expenditures. The rest are receipts that follow more or less the same script: the council agreed to pay a designated amount to a specific person for a particular service, sometimes with a confirmation of payment written by the craftsman on the back of the sheet.

This record partially alleviates the problem of non-survival for any single-sheet item paid for with city funds. Broadsheets have an extremely low survival rate when compared to other formats of printed books. Jonathan Green and

feast on St Thomas' day; AML CC 1239 – Arquebusiers accompanying the *conseillers* to St Nizier.

35 1568 – AML CC 1157; 1571 – AML CC 1191; 1574 – AML CC 1239; Doctoral oration: 1571 – AML CC 1192.

36 Timothy Watson, 'Friends at Court: the Correspondence of the Lyon City Council, c. 1525–1575', *French History*, 13 (1999), p. 281.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid. p. 282.

39 Examples: AML CC 547 contains a notebook of paper purchases from 1465 to 1501, AML CC 956 records expenses for bridge repairs undertaken from 1543 to 1544, AML CC 838 includes a mystery play written and performed for the entry of the queen in May of 1533.

Frank McIntyre put the rate of loss for editions of fifteenth-century broadsheets at 60%, but Goran Proot's estimate for pre-1801 printed items raises this figure to 89.99%.⁴⁰ Roger Paas goes so far as to suggest the alarming survival rate of 1% for seventeenth-century political broadsheets from the Holy Roman Empire (though here he is speaking of copies, rather than editions).⁴¹ However, official copies kept by early modern clerks for administrative purposes present a unique opportunity to recover previously "lost" broadsheets, as these archival collections are often uncatalogued.⁴² Using payment records for print commissions mobilises the same logic of turning to archives to find uncatalogued copies, but brings the search for early modern broadsheets a step further. It augments the corpus of surviving administrative broadsheets with items that were paid for, which can reasonably be assumed to have existed.

The records survive in a continuous series for the entire period under study, though some individual contracts have apparently been lost. For example, there is no corresponding payment for a surviving 1566 bread price broadsheet, even though this was almost certainly printed by Michel Jove and paid for by the *consulat*.⁴³ Broadsheets recorded by payment receipts and work orders have a slightly higher chance than other, more standard *consulat* purchases of being lost. More often than not, these appear as separate contracts from the receiver-general's logbook. Not all printing jobs are enumerated separately. For example, the indulgences and forms used by confessors commissioned by the council in 1518 appear in Benoist Rochefort's logbook in a list of expenses for the jubilee in that year.⁴⁴ However, given that most of the *consulat*'s early print commissions were to accommodate exceptional circumstances, it makes sense that the documentation around them reflected this status. It is entirely possible that, like the payment for the 1566 print run, other broadsheet commissions also recorded on unbound leaves are missing.

As a supplement to the *consulat* expenses, I have found five different examples of surviving pre-1570 broadsheets, two in duplicate, printed in Lyon

40 Jonathan Green and Frank McIntyre, 'Lost Incunable Editions: Closing in on an Estimate', in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 61; Goran Proot, 'Survival factors of Seventeenth-Century Hand-Press Published in the Southern Netherlands: The Importance of Sheet Counts, *Sammelbände* and the Role of Institutional Collections', in Bruni and Pettegree, *Lost Books*, p. 183.

41 Saskia Limbach, 'Tracing Lost Broadsheet Ordinances Printed in Sixteenth-Century Cologne', in Bruni and Pettegree, *Lost Books*, p. 493.

42 Limbach, 'Tracing Lost Broadsheet Ordinances', pp. 493, 496.

43 AML FF 14, AML 6F1650.

44 AML CC 665.

and preserved in the Archives Municipales. The process of identifying these proceeded in a somewhat roundabout way. Following the example set by broadsheet hunters before me, I began with a survey of files relating to sixteenth-century public works, police proceedings, public information, and industrial regulations (series DD, FF, GG, and HH). I had been forewarned that previous generations of archivists had removed several printed items from their folders to keep them in the archive's library and at the Bibliothèque Municipale. Having found no single-sheet items in either collection, I remained hopeful that this was because some printed material had simply been overlooked, and not because none existed.

My survey turned up a wealth of printed broadsheets from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but almost no trace of earlier examples. Where finding aids noted the presence of printed material, as in the case of GG and DD, the items in question inevitably came from the later end of their folders' date range. There were only two exceptions: one in a folder of ordinances and rulings relating to butchers and bakers from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and another in a folder of rulings, edicts, and declarations of the city's *haute police* from the late sixteenth century to the French Revolution.⁴⁵ The latter was a 1588 extract from the registers of *parlement*, but was very likely printed outside Lyon.⁴⁶ This left me with a single surviving sixteenth-century Lyonnais broadsheet: a 1566 table of bread prices by weight.

The 1566 broadsheet might have marked the end of my hunt had I not, by chance, come across an image of another Lyonnais broadsheet. Jacqueline Boucher's source collection, *Vivre à Lyon au XVIe Siècle*, includes a broadsheet bread price table as a full-page illustration.⁴⁷ The accompanying citation only gives her source as the Archives Municipales, with no further information about its location within the archive. However, the patience and creative searching of the Lyonnais archivists traced the source to the new *fonds des images*: a component of the archive's digitization project. Comically, my search would have been much shorter had I guessed that the archive's digital collection of posters

45 AML FF 14, FF 54; On the term "haute police" – Hélène l'Heuillet, *Basse politique, haute police: une approche historique et philosophique de la police* (Paris: Fayard, 2001).

46 The broadsheet's woodcut initial does not match anything in use by Jean Pillehotte or Benoist Rigaud, the only printers authorized to publish ordinances and edicts in Lyon at the time. Henri Louis Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise: Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle, publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier* (12 vols., Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964–5), III 182–3 discusses a legal dispute between the two about Pillehotte's privileges to print ordinances and Rigaud's transgression thereof.

47 Jacqueline Boucher, *Vivre à Lyon*, p. 26.

would include sixteenth-century materials. The broadsheet in Boucher's book appears on the archive's website, along with six other copies of sixteenth-century Lyonnais broadsheets.⁴⁸

Posters and Forms

The corpus of broadsheet items printed for Lyon's city council in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, surviving and non-surviving, belongs to two broad groups: forms and posters. The latter served the same function as the 1494 fairs announcement and other *placards*: to visually publicize important information. The former functioned as an administrative tool, and corresponded to the city's evolving bureaucratic needs. In total, the city paid to have ten broadsheets printed between 1497 and 1570. Three of these were forms, and the other seven were posters. Of the documented posters, six had to do with bread regulations.

The outlier among the bread regulations is a 1508 broadsheet edition of a *significavit* from Rome, which only survives in archival references. In canon law, a *significavit* is another term for a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, mandating temporary excommunication as punishment for violating the specific terms of the writ.⁴⁹ Its purpose was to act as a kind of censure or religious chastisement. The excommunicated transgressor would be compelled to correct their behaviour because of excommunication's social and spiritual consequences.⁵⁰ While it is curious that a municipal government would invoke papal rather than royal or parliamentary authority to settle a dispute, excommunication for secular transgressions was in keeping with the application of canon law in France.⁵¹ The *consulat* meant for the document to act as a legally binding punishment

48 http://archives-lyon.fr/archives/sections/fr/archives_en_ligne/la_vie_locale/affiches/.

49 F. Donald Logan, *Communication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England: A Study in Legal Procedure From the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1968), pp. 46–7, Richard B. Hepple, 'The Writ of Significavit', *Juridical Review*, 41 (1929), pp. 230–232.

50 R.H. Helmholz, 'Excommunication as a Legal Sanction: The Attitudes of the Medieval Canonists', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 68 (1982), pp. 202–218; Logan, *Excommunication*, p. 15.

51 Tyler Lange, *Excommunication for Debt in Late Medieval France: The Business of Salvation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 64–65; Maurice Morel, *L'excommunication et le pouvoir civil en France du droit canonique classique au commencement du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Rousseau, 1926).

for “any wrongdoers withholding titles, letters, documents, and other things meant for the city and community of Lyon.”⁵²

Baudrier describes a payment made by the *consulat* on 19 October 1508 of 100 sols tournois to Jacques Huguetan for printing 100 copies.⁵³ Attempts to verify this commission in the appropriate archival records have so far proved fruitless; the only references to the *significavit* in either the council minutes or the council expense accounts both relate to a payment of three écus soleil to obtain the original document.⁵⁴ This is not to say that Baudrier falsified his transcription, but it does create some ambiguity about whether or not Huguetan – or anyone else – actually printed the document. Furthermore, it is difficult to say exactly what the printed *significavit* would have looked like, though some clue comes from a much later source. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, according to a letter from Chancellor Pontchartrain to the archbishop of Besançon, citizens of Burgundy posted up a rash of unauthorized printed *placards* of bulls from Rome called *significavit*.⁵⁵ In this case, a *significavit* functioned like other printed posters as a piece of public communication, though by 1707 posting them was illegal without first obtaining royal or parliamentary permission.⁵⁶

Though it is unclear where the *consulat* meant to post their particular *significavit* broadsheet, the motivations for printing it are less obscure. With so many agents conducting city business outside of Lyon’s walls, maintaining a steady stream of correspondence was a crucial part of running the city.⁵⁷ Rogue postmasters and couriers who withheld mail to obtain bribes could, and

52 AML CC 585: ‘aucuns malfaiteurs qui destienent titres, lettres, documens et autres choses appartenans à la ville et communauté dudit Lyon.’

53 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XI 268.

54 AML BB 28: ‘Passe mandement de trois escuz soleil pour paier le significavit obtenu de Rome par maistre Barthelemi Bellièvre contre ceulx qui destienent tiltres, documentz ou lettres appertenans a ladicte ville’, AML CC 585: ‘a honorable home maistre Barthelemi Bellièvre, de la somme de cinq livres onze solz tournois pour trois escuz soleil que a cousté ung significavit de Rome qu’il a obtenu et fait venir par ordonnance des conseillers, contre aucuns malfaiteurs qui destienent titres, lettres, documens et autres choses appartenans à la ville et communauté dudit Lyon.’

55 ‘Lettre de Louis Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain (chancelier de France) à François-Joseph de Grammont (archevêque de Besançon) datée du 27 août 1710, à Versailles’, in Georges Bernard Depping (ed.), *Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV* (4 vols., Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1851), II 484–487.

56 Ibid.

57 Watson, ‘Friends at Court’, pp. 282–283.

apparently did, seriously disrupt the council's work.⁵⁸ The *consulat* apparently meant the 1508 broadsheet *significavit* to act as a deterrent to these people who withheld documents that rightfully belonged to the city. Interestingly, 1508 was also the year that the *consulat* instituted a specific *messenger ordinaire* to deal with correspondence between Lyon and Paris, becoming one of the first cities to do so.⁵⁹ This was a year in which the *consulat* attempted to improve and protect its lines of communication with the outside world, and mobilizing printed broadsheets was a part of this innovation.

Stocking the city's granary was one of the *consulat's* key responsibilities. Provisioning the city was a source of frequent stress for the council, and *conseillers* frequently needed to travel to surrounding provinces to try and acquire sufficient grain.⁶⁰ City residents also put pressure on the *consulat*, both through formal complaints and acts of civil unrest. The most famous case of unrest is the *Grand Rebeyne*, the 1529 grain riot that overtook the city and ransacked the granary, as well as several monasteries.⁶¹ The *Rebeyne* also took on a textual dimension with a clandestine poster campaign against the existing grain regulations.⁶² The indirect accusations from the anonymous "Le Povre" of the posters, combined with the violence of the *rebeyne*, highlight the political instability that insufficient control over food distribution could create for the city councillors.⁶³ Such accusations and threats continued even after the institution of the *Aumône Générale*, responsible for municipal almsgiving and a key municipal institution in times of dearth. A similar, seditious poster campaign hit the city in 1545, calling for city justice to act against increasing grain prices, or risk retribution.⁶⁴ As a means of controlling access to food, regulating the price of bread was a crucial part of running the city, so much so that it merited the continuous use of new communication technologies.

58 Ibid, pp. 287–288.

59 Ibid, p. 287.

60 Ibid, pp. 282–284.

61 AML BB 46; On the Rebeyne: Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, pp. 8–9, 27–28; M.C and Georges Guigue, 'La grande Rebyene de Lyon, 1529', in *Bibliothèque historique du Lyonnais, mémoires, notes et documents* (6 vols., Lyon: Vite & Perrussel, 1886), I 233–296, 358–83, 417–439; Symphorien Champier, 'L'antiquité de la cité de Lyon, ensemble la rebeine ou rebellion du populaire contre les conseillers de la cité en 1529', in Adrien Bruhl, etc. (eds.), *Histoire du Lyonnais par les textes* (Lyon: Imprimerie Nouvelle Lyonnaise, 1950), p. 69.

62 AML BB 47.

63 Ibid.

64 AML BB 63.

The *consulat's* use of print for bread regulation came in the form of tables displaying the appropriate price to charge for bread, based on its weight and the value of its grain. These broadsheets were not only tools to maintain public order and disseminate the city's laws, but they were also practical. They distilled the city's grain ordinances into a handy, visual format for day-to-day use for bakeries as well as for the *consulat* itself. The *consulat* kept at least one copy on file as a reference tool when distributing the wheat they imported. There is a documented case in October 1539, where the *consulat* referenced the "old poster of the price of bread" to indicate the appropriate sale price of any bread made from the grain they had imported.⁶⁵ After testing the weight and possible yield of the grain, they indicated that any bread produced from it should be sold as if the grain had cost 12 gros per bushel, as indicated on the poster.⁶⁶

The first of these is also the first identifiable instance of the *consulat* paying to have a broadsheet printed. On 6 July 1497, the city councilors approved a payment of sixty sols tournois to Martin Havard for printing 100 broadsheets detailing the price of bread by weight and value of wheat.⁶⁷ On the back of the commission, there is a confirmation of payment received in Havard's own hand dated the 12th of that month.⁶⁸ According to the text of the commission, the *consulat* intended the broadsheet to act as a reference tool for all inhabitants of the city.⁶⁹ By reproducing a standardized bread price table and affixing it in public places, the *conseillers* made clear that no citizen could claim ignorance of the appropriate price of bread.

No known copy of this first broadsheet survives, but Havard printed another bread price table at some point between 1501 and 1507.⁷⁰ The Archives Municipales preserves a single copy of a broadsheet titled *La boulengerie de lion*, with a table of bread prices set in six equal columns below a brief statement explaining the table's use.⁷¹ The text is set in Havard's 2:93G types, with some majuscule letters from a 91G type.⁷² Havard only used the latter face in the

65 AML CC 928: 'fait et dressé sur l'ancien pataffle le prix du pain yssu dudit blé sur le prix comme s'il costoit douze grox le bichet, mesure de Lion.'

66 Ibid.

67 AML CC 534, transcribed in Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, III 100.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid: 'afin que tous les habitans au moyen d'icelle impression puissent tousjours veoir et savoir à quelz priz doit ester ledit pain, en ayant regart à la valeur et vente du blé.'

70 I am indebted to Martina Nickel and Falk Eisermann of the GW for their expertise in dating this edition, and for identifying the visible fragment of its woodcut.

71 AML 6FI653.

72 Martin Havard (Lyon, Offizin 36), Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke, <http://tw.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/of0732>.

sixteenth century; it matches his 1507 edition of *Les Vertus des eaues*.⁷³ Similarly, the paragraph marks match a 1505 edition, but not his fifteenth-century works.⁷⁴

The base has been aggressively trimmed, where there may previously have been an imprint or instructions for posting the sheet. Baudrier knew about this broadsheet, but dismissed it as “not seeming to have come from the presses of this printer.”⁷⁵ Baudrier may have been misled by the woodcut fragment that follows the bread price table. It matches the 1498/9 fair privilege pamphlet, whose complicated history of attribution I discussed above. The visible part of the woodcut shows more wear than the 1498/9 printing, but the match is unambiguous. The complete woodcut shows two lions rampant flanking Lyon’s coat of arms, framed by a flowering vine.⁷⁶ Of Havard’s known oeuvre, this woodcut only appears on these two surviving editions. Because both of these editions are official, municipal printings, it is possible that the woodcut belonged to the *consulat*, and not to Havard himself.

The next two documented cases of bread price tables commissioned by the *consulat* are from 1534 and 1544. In these cases, both commissions were for 100 copies and both went to Pierre de Sainte-Lucie’s workshop.⁷⁷ The first of these commissions represents one of the first mentions of Sainte-Lucie both in the documentary record and as a printer in his own right.⁷⁸ That he should have made this first appearance as a printer trusted by the *consulat* makes more sense when one considers that he inherited his shop and tools from Claude Nourry, who also printed for the city.⁷⁹ This line of inheritance signals the evolution of the *consulat*’s print commissions, as the *conseillers* developed informal relationships with specific master-printers for their communication needs.

For his first commission, Sainte-Lucie received 40 sols tournois to print 100 broadsheets, an interesting detail since it represents a substantial reduction in the fee from the 60 sols Havard received for performing the same task thirty-six

73 Jean Himbres, *Les vertus des eaues & des herbes* (Lyon: Martin Havard, 4/9/1507), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES-TE139-2 (A).

74 Reproduced in Claudin, *l’Imprimerie*, IV 215, from *Fier-à-Bras* (Lyon: Martin Havard, 18/4/1505).

75 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, III 99: ‘Il existe aux archives de la ville de Lyon, une *Ordonnance de la boulangerie* imprimée en caractères gothiques se rapprochant de ceux de Martin Havard. Mais elle ne semble pas sortir des presses de cet imprimeur.’

76 Reproduced in Claudin, *l’Imprimerie*, IV 206.

77 AML CC 849; AML CC 956; Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII 156–157.

78 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII 151.

79 Ibid. pp. 151–153.

years before. The relative inexpensiveness of Sainte-Lucie's labour reflects two major converging trends: the *consulat's* developing mobilization of print and the growth of the print industry in Lyon as a whole. Sainte-Lucie was a relatively inexperienced master-printer, and his later work reveals him to be a second-rate craftsman.⁸⁰ In this case, his connections via Nourry earned him the job, but his own status seems to have given the *consulat* more bargaining power when setting their prices. The deflated printing price could also have been the result of the relative abundance of print shops in Lyon ca. 1530 compared with the turn of the sixteenth century.⁸¹ In addition to affordability of labour, print had become a more common tool for the council itself.

A single copy of one of Sainte-Lucie's bread price tables survives, preserved in the Archives Municipales. Its content is virtually identical to the surviving 1501/7 table: six equal columns ordered by price of bread from two deniers to six deniers, with the price of grain on the vertical axis. However, this broadsheet shows several new formatting conventions. Notably, the table itself is ruled throughout, with a double rule separating the horizontal axis headings from the prices and weights. Also, for the ease of users, each full *gros* increase in the value column has been marked with a pilcrow.⁸² The new broadsheet replaces the previous broadsheet's heading and explanatory paragraph with a single, descriptive heading running across the top of the table. It ends with a note from the *conseillers* on the appropriate use of the broadsheet, flanking its woodcut device. This may not be a new formatting choice, as there could well have been a similar statement present on the missing portion of the previous exemplar.

This particular surviving bread price table presents a number of bibliographic puzzles. Of particular interest for book historians familiar with the *Compagnie des libraires*, is the woodcut device at the base of the sheet. Jeanne-Marie Dureau, author of the only dedicated scholarly work on the *Compagnie*, identifies this mark as the mark used by the organization in its first iteration.⁸³ In her unpublished bibliography of the *Compagnie*, she cites three editions

80 Ibid. pp. 151–152.

81 Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Lyon', in Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Vivet (eds.), *Histoire de L'édition Française* (4 vols., Paris: Promodis, 1983–1986), I 255.

82 See Figure 7.1.

83 Jeanne-Marie Dureau, 'Recherches sur les grandes companies de libraires Lyonnais au XVIe siècle', in Roger Chartier etc. (eds.), *Nouvelles études Lyonnaises* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), p. 63.

that use this particular device, not including the broadsheet.⁸⁴ The mark's corporate pedigree raises a number of questions about its presence on a broadsheet ostensibly funded by the municipality. First, was this broadsheet actually paid for by the city? Second, did the city purchase the woodcut? Did one of the company members donate the woodcut, given that the company had already begun to operate under a new contract and was using new woodcuts for its publications?

Of the numerous possibilities suggested by the use of the woodcut, the last is perhaps the most sound. While Dureau counts the broadsheet as a *Compagnie* imprint in her unpublished catalogue, it represents a drastic break from the cartel's style and professional aims. The first iteration of the *Compagnie* officially dissolved at the end of 1519, which is also when the company members discontinued use of the woodcut.⁸⁵ In addition to typographic evidence, which I will discuss shortly, the impression on the broadsheet shows enough deterioration of the woodcut to confirm that it was printed well after 1519. There is no precedent among *Compagnie* editions for re-using old devices in this way.⁸⁶

The chronology of *Compagnie* shareholders serving on the *consulat* further confirms my hypothesis. Aymon de la Porte, the first *Compagnie* member to be elected to the *consulat*, took office in 1514, 1520, and 1525.⁸⁷ Simon Vincent, also of the *Compagnie*'s first iteration, served in 1523. By 1544, the ostensible date of the broadsheet, Antoine Vincent, heir of Simon, and his fellow *compagnon* Luxembourg de Gabiano were both *conseillers*.⁸⁸ Either party could easily have suggested that the city use the woodcut, which displays Lyon's coat of arms, for the occasional municipal print commission. No evidence of the *consulat* going so far as to purchase the woodcut has yet come to light, but there is far more circumstantial evidence to suggest that the broadsheet was *consulat* rather than *Compagnie*-funded.

In total, the broadsheet uses three typefaces: a Two-line Pica textura for the heading, a *Saint-augustin* bastarda for the table, and a *Gros-romain* roman for the base. Dureau boldly dates this broadsheet to 1537, on the grounds that the roman matches one used by Gaspar and Melchior Trechsel in that same year.⁸⁹

84 Jeanne-Marie Dureau, 'Bibliographie des editions des Compagnies des Libraires Lyonnais' in her *Supplément provisoire à la Bibliographie lyonnaise du Président Baudrier* (Unpublished Typescript), pp. 2–4; USTC 143702; USTC 143761; USTC 144008.

85 Dureau, 'Recherches', p. 6; Archives Départementales du Rhône (ADR) Fonds Charton.

86 Dureau, 'Recherches', pp. 13–14.

87 AML BB 370.

88 *ibid.*

89 Dureau, 'Bibliographie'; Dureau, 'Recherches', p. 7; Jeanne-Marie Dureau, 'C est le iuste poys que doibuent peser les pains dung : de deux : de troys : de cinq : et de dix deniers :

This face updates the *Gros-romain* roman face the brothers used up until ca. 1536, with greater distinction between thick and thin strokes, and neater serifs.⁹⁰ However, the Trechsel brothers only used gothic types when printing under contract to the *Compagnie des libraires*, and then only with the *Compagnie's* rotunda types.

The bastarda types that make up the bulk of the broadsheet text match a face that Claude Nourry first began using ca. 1529, later inherited by Pierre de Sainte-Lucie.⁹¹ The two-line pica textura heading face also appears throughout Sainte-Lucie's work, but the *Gros-romain* roman face continues to create problems. Before the mid-1540s, Sainte-Lucie's only roman types of this size can best be described, at the risk of veering into connoisseurship, as "mediocre from a typographical perspective."⁹² By contrast, the broadsheet's *Gros-romain* is elegantly proportioned and lighter, though both are Jenson-style romans.⁹³ The distinction between the faces is especially clear when comparing the ct ligatures. Whereas Sainte-Lucie's standard, early-career roman has a pinched, cramped ct ligature, with an underdeveloped, almost vestigial t, both letters are proportionally sized with an expanded space between them on the broadsheet. These romans are even less likely to come from Claude Nourry's workshop, since Nourry worked almost exclusively with gothic types.⁹⁴

Tracing the origin of the roman typeface identifies this particular bread price table as the 1544 commission with some certainty. The typeface itself is absent from Vervliet's *Conspectus*, meaning either that Vervliet simply overlooked it, or that he judged it to be the work of a non-French punchcutter. His conservatism with regard to this face makes sense considering that it very likely came from François Juste's typefoundry. Juste ran the largest typefoundry in Lyon, and was also active as a printer in his own right.⁹⁵ Vervliet is unsure

selon la valeur du bichet de froment : mesure de lyon', in *Tresors des Archives*, <http://www.archives-lyon.fr/static/archives/contenu/old/public/tresors/HD/treso24.htm>.

90 USTC 146408.

91 USTC 11060; Lucie as inheritor: Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII 151, 153–154.

92 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII 151: 'mediocres au point de vue typographique'.

93 Vervliet defines Jenson-style romans as having 'bracketed serifs and diagonal stress on the bowled letters; obvious letters to spot are the obliquely barred lower case e, stroked I, lozenge-shaped punctuation marks and obuly seriffed capital M.' Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, *French Renaissance Printing Types: A Conspectus* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2010), p. 55.

94 Baudrier notes only two editions from Nourry's workshop with Roman types: USTC 155756, and USTC 155969, in Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII 74.

95 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, I 244–245, XII 32.

of Juste's status as a punchcutter, but there is still a case to be made.⁹⁶ Regardless of whether or not Juste cut the *Gros-romain* face, it became one of his core roman types around 1536, which is also when it began to appear in the work of other Lyon printers like the Trechsel brothers and Jean Barbou.⁹⁷ Dureau is correct that Gaspar and Melchior Trechsel used this face in 1537, but she fails to acknowledge that Sainte-Lucie also printed with it around 1544.⁹⁸ Sainte-Lucie and Juste were neighbours in the Notre-Dame de Confort area, and occasionally worked together.⁹⁹ Lucie was a late adopter of the Juste *Gros-romain*, but, if the broadsheet is an example from the 1544 commission, it fits perfectly with the rest of his typographic equipment.

The final bread price table is the 1566 Michel Jove broadsheet mentioned above.¹⁰⁰ Compared to the 1544 exemplar, this table is visually much simpler and, crucially, it is signed and dated "A Lyon M.C. LXVI." In fact, it is closer to the 1501/7 broadsheet in composition. The small, explanatory paragraph above the table reappears, the table itself is unruled, and the entire sheet is printed in black ink. However, there is one notable change to the table: the leftmost column that lists the value of the grain used has become two columns: one listing the value in gros, and one listing the value in livres tournois.

The base of the broadsheet recalls the design of the 1544 exemplar, with a woodcut displaying the city's coat of arms flanked on either side by a brief text explaining the table's use. This woodcut is a near match for what Baudrier calls Jove's "fleuron no. 2".¹⁰¹ Fleuron 1 is a more traditional example of the genre: a woodcut arabesque of middling size that appears on works throughout Jove's career.¹⁰² Given the stylistic disconnect between fleurons 1 and 2, and the marked similarity to the woodcut on the 1566 broadsheets, it is reasonable to call the 1566 woodcut "armes de Lyon 1," and to rename "fleuron 2" "armes

96 Vervliet, *Conspectus*, p. 48; Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, v 433; Yvonne de la Perrière, *Supplément provisoire à la "Bibliographie" du président Baudrier* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1967), pp. [85]–[91].

97 Guillaume Berthon, with the assistance of William Kemp, 'L'épître de Marot au dauphin (1536): le virage courtisan de François Juste', *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 2 (2012), pp. 363–373; USTC 147129; Barbou: USTC 157145.

98 USTC 115143; USTC 79957; Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII 184–185.

99 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, v 226, XII 154, 178, 180–181; USTC 35954 is a 1539 shared edition between Thibaud Payen and François Juste printed by Sainte-Lucie, and USTC 24264 is a shared edition between Dominique de Portonariis and Juste, printed by Sainte-Lucie. Notably, both are ordinances.

100 AML FF 14, AML 6F1650.

101 Reproduced in Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, II 133.

102 Reproduced in Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, I 111.

de Lyon 2". Furthermore, "fleuron 2" only appears in 1573, on a pamphlet edition of the city's police ordinances.¹⁰³ Because this pamphlet is one of the few catalogued examples of Jove's work for the city, it is less surprising that earlier versions of the woodcut he used for official city print have not been recorded and described either.

The 1566 table has a companion broadsheet from the same year, which details the city's bread ordinances. Like the table, it is the work of Michel Jove, and uses the same arms of Lyon woodcut.¹⁰⁴ In its form and content, it represents an interesting departure from the tables as an approach to communicating regulations for bread production and sale. It contains the exact text that the crier announcing the ordinances was to read, down to the crier's name and the locations where he read the broadsheet. The first column of text details the regulations that bakers were expected to follow, particularly in terms of weighing and labelling their bread. Interestingly, the second column repeats the same information found in the price tables. Instead of communicating this information with a single visual reference tool, the *consulat* apparently began experimenting with alternative ways of broadcasting these specific ordinances.

This bread ordinance broadsheet may have been printed two at a time on an especially large sheet of paper. Unlike the price table, this ordinance has vertical chain-lines, strongly suggesting a folio imposition. Both surviving examples are from the left half of the original sheet, and are only trimmed along their right sides. Both copies have the same watermark, a set of scales with semi-circular scalepans that appears between the first and second chain lines after the tranche file. This watermark is a design characteristic of paper from north-eastern France, originating in Champagne.¹⁰⁵ However, it does not match any examples in Briquet, The Memory of Paper database, or the Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem, so no data on the original sheet size is available.¹⁰⁶ Further complicating the case, scale watermarks belong almost exclusively to the period between mid-fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, appearing only very rarely after 1555.¹⁰⁷ Based on the size of the surviving examples, the

103 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, II 113; USTC 11261.

104 AML 6FI60610, AML 6FI651.

105 Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (4 vols., Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968), I 179, 181.

106 Ibid.; The Memory of Paper, www.memoryofpaper.eu; Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem, <http://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/>.

107 Briquet, *Les filigranes*, I 178–179.

broadsheet would have had to be printed on a *realle* sheet measuring at least 590 by 439 cm.¹⁰⁸

This is a curious development in the production of Lyonnais broadsheets, which up until that point had all been printed on smaller *reçute* sheets. Printing two posters at a time would have either halved the labour needed to produce the city's requested number of sheets or would have doubled the output of copies. Without a corresponding payment record, it is impossible to say which aim the *consulat* and Jove had in mind. However, this change in the production of municipal broadsheets demonstrates that the city was experimenting with its mechanisms for communication through print.

Forms

The other three broadsheets commissioned by the city council were all forms. These provided receipts or certificates of official transactions for quotidian bureaucratic business. Like printed posters, printed forms were functionally identical to their manuscript counterparts. They typically recorded a sworn statement from an individual that they had paid or would pay a designated amount to a specific body for a designated purpose. The most notable difference was practical. Printed forms needed to leave blank spaces so that agents could personalize each document. Although printed forms also required scribal labour, they helped make the large-scale projects of collecting funds and issuing receipts far more efficient. They were also relatively inexpensive. As Flavia Bruni notes in the second chapter of this volume, a single sheet could produce multiple forms by setting the text on a grid and then cutting out individual forms.¹⁰⁹

The first two of these broadsheet forms, paid for in the same contract, were both ecclesiastical. In this case, the payment record is part of a 1518 account for various expenses to do with the Saint-Esprit chapel at the entrance to the Rhône bridge.¹¹⁰ Pope Leo x had designated a jubilee in that year for visitors to that chapel who donated to its repair and augmentation.¹¹¹ A brief from the cardinal of Sainte-Marie de Porticus, papal legate to France, set the jubilee for the three days of Pentecost.¹¹² Of the total 136 livres 7 sous and 2 deniers spent

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 13.

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter 2 above.

¹¹⁰ AML CC 665.

¹¹¹ H. Leymarie, *Lyon Ancien et Moderne* (2 vols., Lyon: Boitel, 1843), II 428; ADR 10 G 572.

¹¹² AML CC 665.

on the jubilee, four livres and five sous went to Claude Nourry for printing as many indulgences as a single ream of paper would yield, as well as four hundred *Formae absolutionis* for confessors.¹¹³

While the indulgences and forms for confessors were both documents for local church administration, the city council had ample reason to pay for their printing. The repair, fortification, and upkeep of the Rhône bridge dominated city council business throughout the sixteenth century. Though situated away from the city's commercial and administrative centre, the bridge was an important entry point for commercial goods coming in from Italy and the Levant.¹¹⁴ As a part of the bridge itself, the chapel fell under the umbrella of Rhône bridge expenses and concerns. It was physically part of the building, and its spiritual function made it a piece of the city's cultural prestige. Taking an interest in improving the bridge's chapel served a similar function to engaging artists to paint decorative emblems on the bridge.

Furthermore, it would not have made logistical sense to hand-write the indulgences and confessor's forms. Previous popes had taken an interest in the chapel, but Leo X's jubilee was the first of its kind.¹¹⁵ The city needed to prepare to accommodate the influx of pilgrims for the jubilee, and also to record the donations received for the chapel edifice in a systematic manner. Interestingly, the commission included a reference to the poor pressman who stayed up all night to finish the work, suggesting a rush job: "V sols given to his workmen, for the one who had spent the entire night in doing the said printing".¹¹⁶ We can imagine that the councillors, confronted with a sudden surge in pilgrims over the three days of Pentecost, turned to Nourry's workshop to produce enough forms to accommodate their needs.

The next form recorded in the *consulat* expense account was part of a reorganization of the city's taxation system. In June of 1544, the city council paid Denis de Harsy 50 sols for printing 800 receipts for those citizens who had loaned money to the city.¹¹⁷ The loan was intended to fund urgent repairs to

113 AML CC 665: 'a Claude Nourry, dit le Prince, quatre livres cinq solz tournois, pour avoir imprimé lesdits jubilee et indulgences translates de latin en francoys, tant que pouvoit contenir une rame papier, aussi avoir imprimé quatre cens petites lettres dictes Formae absolutionis, pour les confesseurs, y compris V solz donnees a ses serviteurs, pour le vn, qui avoient vacque de nuyt a faire ladite impression.'

114 Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, I 37–38.

115 Leymarie, *Lyon ancien*, II 428; Other jubilee years are 1546, 1636, and 1666: ADR 10 G 572.

116 AML CC 665: 'y compris V solz donnees a ses serviteurs, pour le vn, qui avoient vacque de nuyt a faire ladite impression.'

117 AML CC 959.

city buildings and to fulfil the king's request for a loan for his soldiers. These receipts included blank spaces, where the receiver-general of the city recorded the citizen who gave the loan, and the amount promised in their future reimbursement.¹¹⁸ Excepting its spiritual function, this and later municipal tax forms performed a similarly practical role to the indulgences. They provided certificates of payment or investment for citizens who paid into new programmes.

1544 was a difficult year for the city's finances, thanks to the after-effects of mounting royal pressure on city coffers in Francis I's search for revenue. Lyon had historically enjoyed numerous tax protections; the king traditionally only collected a set of relatively minor taxes.¹¹⁹ These taxes typically yielded low returns, due in part to foreign and domestic merchants' exploitation of loopholes, and because many taxes did not apply during the time of the fair.¹²⁰ However, in 1536 Cardinal François de Tournon devised an innovative new strategy to extract more royal revenue from Lyon. The king would sell the city the rights to his taxes for a fixed price, which the council would theoretically recoup by selling shares of future tax revenue to its citizens.¹²¹ By 1544, the city was still paying off the original 84,732 livres tournois it owed, in addition to new requests for money to fund the king's on-going wars, and had to take out yet more loans.¹²² The receipt Harsy printed is indicative of the council's financial state in the mid-sixteenth century, which reflects cycles of borrowing and debt incurred not only to pay the crown, but to keep the city running.

A single copy of the form survives bound into the expense accounts themselves (Fig. 7.2).¹²³ As a printed document, it is fairly simple: 14 lines of text with a single woodcut initial, and four blank spaces to record the specifics of each donor. The bastarda types match the standard Lyonnais bastarda used in Harsy's workshop in the 1540s.¹²⁴ Perhaps its most interesting feature is the generosity of the margins; the text itself occupies only the top third of the form. Although this typesetting makes somewhat inefficient use of paper, it

118 AML CC 959.

119 Doucet, *Finances*, pp. 7–9.

120 Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, I 36–38, 813; Philip T. Hoffman, 'Taxes and Agrarian Life in Early Modern France: Land Sales, 1550–1730', *The Journal of Economic History*, 46 (1986), pp. 37–55.

121 Doucet, *Finances*, pp. 11–14.

122 The city was still repaying paying these loans in 1562: AML CC 1104, 1032.

123 AML CC 959.

124 USTC 40173.

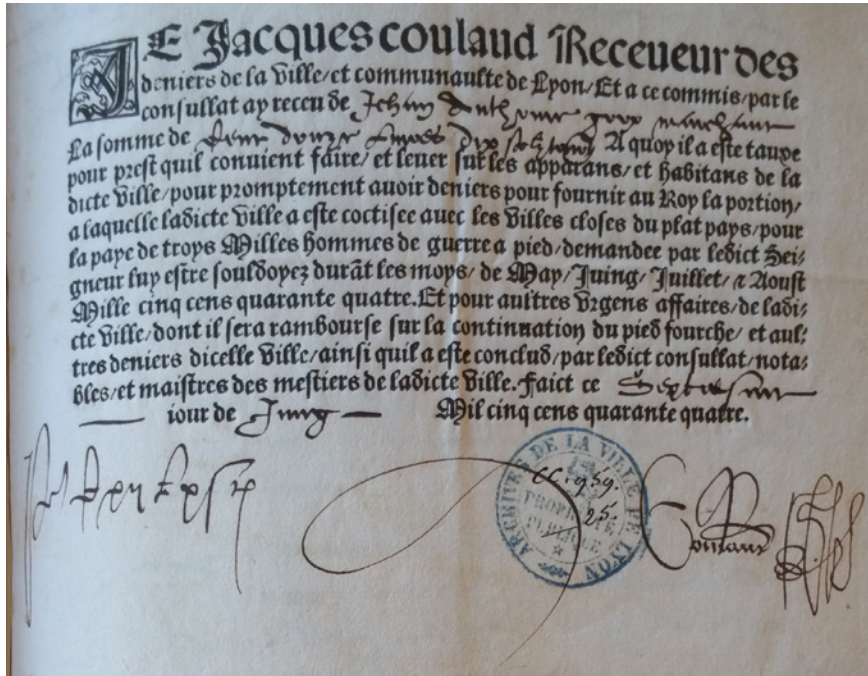


FIGURE 7.2 Receipt for funds loaned to the consulat of the city of Lyon, 1544.
LYON, ARCHIVES MUNICIPALES, CC 959.

mimics the look of handwritten donation receipts found throughout the *consulat's* account books.¹²⁵

While 50 sols for 800 copies seems like a drastic reduction in the printer's fee compared with Nourry's four livres and five sous for fewer forms, the difference between these payments is less when considered in terms of pay per sheet. Harsy printed his forms in folio, based on paper evidence from the surviving exemplar. In addition to having vertical chain lines, the small "B" watermark most closely matches watermark 8022 in Briquet, found on a sheet of paper measuring 290 by 410mm.¹²⁶ As Briquet notes, this type of "B" appears

¹²⁵ AML CC 1049 includes excellent examples from a donation for Rhône bridge repairs. For a broader consideration of the etiquette of paper use see especially now James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England. Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512–1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012).

¹²⁶ Briquet, *Les filigranes*, IV.

frequently in Lyon, and, sheet size varies only slightly for this kind of paper.¹²⁷ The single form measures 202 by 286mm, so only two forms could fit comfortably side-by-side on a single sheet.

It is worth mentioning two odd entries in the *consulat* expense records that suggest two other possible printed tax forms. In 1557 and in 1562, payments to Simon Gros for paper and binding services also included references to printed quittances for the import and food taxes, the *rêve* and *foraine*.¹²⁸ Both documents specify only a lump sum to cover the total purchase, so it is unclear how much the city paid for these printed forms. Both potential broadsheets must be treated as purely conjectural; to date, no known printed book survives with a Simon Gros imprint.¹²⁹ Instead, Gros appears to have been exclusively a bookseller and paper merchant.¹³⁰ If these records do actually indicate broadsheets printed for the *consulat*, Gros may have had them printed in another shop. However, the *consulat*'s standard practice of making contracts directly with printers means that this explanation is not very plausible.

Significantly, Michel Jove's most consistent, regular print commission from the city council was for printed tax forms. Beginning in 1570, and repeating roughly once a year, the *consulat* paid Jove fifteen livres tournois to print receipts for the *rêve* and *foraine*.¹³¹ Jove also printed fair receipts for the *consulat*, but the *rêve* and *foraine* commissions had become part of the city's standard operating budget.¹³² In this way, tax forms represented the future of broadsheet printing for the city of Lyon. Printed *placard* commissions, by contrast, appeared in direct response to specific issues.¹³³ Broadsheet tax forms streamlined city business, and reflected the growing importance of trade taxes for a city that had previously relied on tax exemption to grow. By 1570, the city's bureaucracy had developed to the point that it required a great many tax forms each year to function.

127 Ibid. II 435, Total variance is 28–29 × 38–43cm.

128 AML CC 1052, 1103; On the *rêve* and *foraine* taxes: Doucet, *Finances*, p. 8; Gascon, *Grand Commerce*, I 42.

129 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, I 202; Sybille von Gültlingen (ed.), *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle* (13 vols., Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1992-).

130 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, I 202; AML CC 958, CC 1061, CC 1076, CC 1087, CC 1103.

131 From 1570 to 1576: AML CC 1172, AML CC 1194, AML CC 1210, AML CC 1223, AML CC 1230, AML CC 1237, AML CC 1247.

132 AML CC 1182; AML CC 1233.

133 City militia regulations in 1575: AML CC 1243; Cancelled royal payments in 1576: AML CC 1257.

Conclusion

Print served the city's administrators as a tool to meet the emerging needs of a rapidly expanding urban centre. The broadsheets in which the city councillors invested were responses to the challenges of running a city whose population and economic power had both grown by leaps and bounds. Broadsheets as a format offered a way to mass-produce both visual communications and tools for bureaucracy. Before the *consulat* settled on a preferred city printer and gained a clear sense of what kinds of print commissions they would need, the city's leaders experimented with broadsheet printing. The body of evidence that I have collected and presented in this article represents the best estimation currently available of what that experimental process looked like. From the records of broadsheets paid for and the handful of surviving copies, a chain of continuity begins to form between the early sixteenth century, with its negligible survival rate for ephemeral print, and the relative abundance of extant printed ordinances from the eighteenth century.

Collections of Italian Broadsheets in French Libraries

Shanti Graheli

On 31 July 1608 Pierre de l'Estoile, author of a renowned journal and dedicated collector of printed ephemera, had a stroll through the *Palais* quarter of Paris. This was traditionally one of the busiest areas for bookselling, offering a steady clientele of readers and collectors. L'Estoile was not disappointed. On this occasion he was able to purchase a 'grande feuille in folio' printed in Rome, for the sum of 35 sols. The broadside featured an engraving representing a group of Jesuit martyrs, and it was recorded by l'Estoile as 'une vraie charlatanairie', a fraud, sold under the pretext of being an item of devotion.¹ About a year later l'Estoile recorded in his journal the purchase of another Italian broadsheet, an almanac, this time from Florence.²



These items were purchased at the time as curiosities – even, as expressed by l'Estoile, as *charlataneries*. Pierre Dupuy, keeper of the king's library and son of the famous bibliophile Claude Dupuy, had a similar collector's profile. Just like l'Estoile, Dupuy used to collect various items of interest about the current affairs of his day, including news pamphlets and a few broadsides.³ These early modern libraries indicate that some Italian broadsheets, albeit expensive, were available in sixteenth and seventeenth-century France. However, whereas Italian books were collected and treasured from the sixteenth century, no substantial collection of Italian broadsheets gathered during the French Renaissance has survived through to the modern day.⁴

1 Christian Jouhaud, 'Quelques réflexions sur les placard imprimés et leurs receptions entre Ligue et Fronde', in Frédéric Barbier, Annie Parent-Charon, François Dupuigrenet-Desroussilles, Claude Jolly and Dominique Varry (eds.), *Le livre et l'historien. Etudes offertes en l'honneur du Professeur Henri-Jean Martin* (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 403–414: 404.

2 Ibid., p. 405.

3 These can all be found at the BnF in Paris, Richelieu site, grouped under the sub-pressmark 'Ms. Dupuy'.

4 A few items still survive in the Dupuy collection at Richelieu, but they do not represent a uniform corpus as they were gathered together with a variety of items, including correspondence, newsletters, pamphlets and engravings.

BANDO PER CAVSA DI PESTE.

L Acendo giornalmente gagliardi progressi la peste in molti luoghi della Francia, de Signori Suizzeri, e Grisoni che qui sotto si diranno come chiaramente ne mostrano gl'auii, e bandi di molte Città corrispondenti ne volendo Gl'Illustrissimi Signori Conseruatori della Sanità di Modona, tralasciare, in particolare tanto geloso diligenza alcuna per preferuare col Diuino fauore questa Città è suo Stato da ogni ben minimo sospetto per ciò conformandosi anche con dette Cittài sono venuti in parere di bandire come, con partecipazione di S. A. S. mediante l'Illustris. Sig. Segretario Codebò Bandifcono da questa Città, e suo Stato li luoghi sotto notati con li loro Terriorij, e Giuridittioni, & insieme ogni persona, animali, robbe, merci, danari, lettere, & ogn'altra cosa, che da dette parti venisse, ò fosse portata in qual si voglia modo, tanto per terra, quanto per acqua, ò poco, ò molto hauesse toccato anche per transito detti luoghi, e ciascuno d'essi con fede, e senza, sotto pena della vita, confiscatione de beni, e perdita d'ogni sorte di robbe, danari, merci, animali, barche, carra, carrozze, & altre cose come di sopra, che còtro la forma del presente Bando fossero condotte, ò portate in qual si voglia modo in questa Città, e suo Stato.

Nelle quali pene s'intenderanno incorri Albergatori, Hosti, e Bettoglieri, e tutti quei, che mandaranno, daranno, ò faranno dare ricapito, ò alloggiamento a dette persone, ò robbe come di sopra, ò che haueranno parte benchè minima, in alcuna transgressione del presente Bando; E nell'istesse pene incorreranno Carroccieri, Vetturini, Carriatieri, Mulatieri, Paroni, & ogn'altro, c'hauesse ardire in qual si voglia modo, sotto qual si sia pretesto, ò colore caricare, ò far caricare, condurre, ò far condurre, bestiami, merci, lettere, & ogn'altra sorte di robbe, che venissero da detti luoghi banditi, ò gli hauessero, come di sopra toccati; Applicando le confiscationi, & ogn'altra robba per vn terzo alla Serenissima Ducal Camera per l'altro terzo all'Accusatore, ò inuentore, che farà teputo secreto, & il resto all'Vfficio della Sanità.

Auertendo, che si vserà diligenza, e si starà con vigilanza per punire li transgressori, e che non s'accetterà scusa alcuna, e tutto à chiara notizia di ciascuno.

*Tutti li Cantoni Suizzeri di quà, e di là da monti sino à Belinzona inclusiuamente banditi in genere.
Luoghi infetti di Peste banditi, e ribanditi di nuouo, sono li sottoscritti, cioè.*

Città, e luoghi delli medesimi Signori Suizzeri, e Grisoni, doue la Peste fà maggior progresso, banditi in specie.	Luoghi infetti della Francia.	
Altorf con le Terre di	Regaz, &	Auignone, e tutto il suo Contado ingenera, & in specie.
Borglen,	Serganz,	Detta Città d'Auignone.
Schiatorf,	Valle Lewantina cò le Terre di	Carpentras,
Orsera, &	Biasca,	Oriolo,
Ayrola.	Boito,	Beaur,
Onderualdo con le Terre di	Giornigo,	Montiers, &
Stanz, &	Fait, &	Mefano,
Gogz,	Fies,	Nella Prouenza elingnadoca,
Schiuit con le Terre di	Valle di Bregno cò le Terre di	Nimis,
Stern,	Olimano, &	Mompulieri,
Alfaiel,	Lucbeij,	Beucaire,
Moyatatali,	Belinzona,	Norbona,
Zurigo,	Ossogna, &	Carcaffona,
Soletta,	(resiano.	Digne,
Basilea, &	Città di Sangallo, de SS.	Reillane,
Sciassusa,	Città di Masafelti, Gri-	Aijs,
Clarona,	La Valle Partenz, soni.	Arles,

Vidit And. Cod.

Antonio Petracci Cancell.

Publicata in Modona, il dì 10. & 11. Ottobre 1629.

In Modona, Per Giulian Cassiani Stampator Ducale 1629.

FIGURE 8.1 *Bando per causa di peste* (Modena: Cassiani, 1629).

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE INTERUNIVERSITAIRE DE SANTÉ, 8899 (1).

Instead we have to content ourselves with collections of Italian single-sheet items purchased at a later date and now to be found among the holdings of French libraries. With a few exceptions, these consist almost entirely of broadsheet ordinances. A few individual pieces are scattered across France; for instance, two items are at the Bibliothèque Méjanes in Aix-en-Provence, and two at the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé in Paris (fig. 8.1).⁵ It is not by accident, however, that all the large collections of Italian early modern broadsheets are located in one repository: the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris.

The corpus examined in this study thus essentially consists in the collections of Italian broadsheets in the French National library, although the research for holdings was initially conducted beyond these limits.⁶ A number of issues in particular will be investigated. Why have earlier collections not been found, especially considering that Italian books were widely collected across France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Why, on the other hand, if contemporary collections are lost, have these volumes come to France in modern times; when and where were they purchased?

Bologna, 1616–1710: A Window onto the Past

In physical terms, the most impressive collection of Italian broadsheets now at the BnF is the volume GR FOL- K- 4. This volume gathers a number of placard items printed for the municipality of Bologna; forty-four items in total, from the year 1616 to the early eighteenth century. Most of these are ordinances, although there are a few devotional texts, an indulgence, and an exhortation to pray to the Virgin to save the city from repeated earthquakes.

This item is so large that it can only be requested at the *grands formats* section at the BnF. The volume measures about fifty centimetres in width and well over eighty in height. It was bound in the nineteenth century in parchment and brown marbled paper. The spine is sparingly gold tooled, and carries a label in red leather with the general title 'PLACARDS | DE | BOLOGNE'. Two end-leaves, one at the start and one at the end of the volume, are also nineteenth

5 Paris, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé, 8899 (1), *Bando per causa di peste* (Modena: Cassiani, 1629); 8899 (2), *Grida sopra la custodia della porta della città di Modana* (Modena: Cassiani, 1683).

6 This investigation was conducted as part of the author's doctoral research: Shanti Graheli, 'The Circulation and Collection of Italian Printed Books in France in the Sixteenth-Century' (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2015).

century paper. The size of the volume makes it difficult to anticipate the size of the broadsheets it contains, luring the reader into expecting items printed on imperial paper. This illusion dissolves as soon as one turns the upper end-leaf. The broadsheets were pasted onto larger sheets of paper, presumably from the eighteenth century, without watermark; many of the items actually measure well under half the size of the sheet of paper on which they were pasted.

Excellent conservation practices were employed in creating this folio, especially considering that this was done sometimes in the nineteenth century.⁷ A major issue that one may encounter with single-sheet items pasted onto new sheets is the risk of losing annotations and thus any surviving evidence of how the item was used in the past. In the case of GR FOL- K- 4, all the notes have been carefully preserved for future readers. If annotations are present on the reverse side, a window has carefully been cut into the paper, so that they are still perfectly visible.

None of these items is currently recorded by the SBN or in the collective catalogue of the region Emilia-Romagna.⁸ These are the type of item more likely to be preserved in Italian archives than libraries, and archives are under-represented in any online catalogue. Certainly, if a new survey were to be undertaken of Bolognese broadsheet ordinances, a reconsideration of the Paris volume will be in order. Nevertheless this remains, to the best of our knowledge, a collection of unique documents for seventeenth-century Bologna.

Nothing in this volume indicates a specific French interest in these texts. Indeed, the only marks left by a French purchase are the extra-large binding and the stamps. The volume does, however, preserve features, such as the annotations, and items which would not have survived if they had not been preserved in this form. This includes not only the broadsheets themselves but also a few printed forms. Most common are forms for the cleaning and maintenance of sewers (items number 4, 7, 16 and 22), but there are also others.⁹ The individual needs of specific quarters of the city may require targeted edicts, such as the

7 Items no. 2 and 3 carry the red stamp of the BnF, and a second stamp with the number of acquisition 73,715. M.me Geneviève Guilleminot kindly informed me that this volume was purchased as a collection of works 'd'astronomie et d'hydraulique' from the bookseller M. Bianconi on 13 August 1878.

8 See SBN, as well as the Catalogo del Polo Bolognese del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale: <http://sol.unibo.it/SebinaOpac/Opac>. The same state of disarray in the cataloguing of these items prompted the publication of a bibliography of Bolognese broadsheets for the sixteenth century: Zita Zanardi, *Bononia Manifesta. Catalogo dei bandi, editti, costituzioni e provvedimenti diversi, stampati nel XVI secolo per Bologna e il suo territorio* (Florence: Olschki, 1996).

9 For instance, item number 19 is a form for the authorisation to carry weapons in the city, filled in by a certain Antonio Lanza nelli Lanzaspezzata.

one issued in 1616 to order the inhabitants of “via nova dalla Crocetta” to repair their wells (item number 2).¹⁰ The production and circulation of food needed constant regulation, from the trade in fish, the prices of meat, to the skinning of lambs at Easter (see items number 25, 26 and 1, respectively). The most representative texts in the volume are, perhaps, the many ordinances to ensure that the lively street markets should not impede passage under the arcades in the city centre (items 12, 13, 15, 17). As the reason for assembling this volume was curiosity rather than specific necessity to preserve the legal texts, we also have here devotional texts and items of ecclesiastical nature which might be considered even rarer than the ordinances. Item number 38, for example, is a prayer to the Virgin, asking her to protect the city against earthquakes. In other words, volume GR FOL- K- 4 recreates a vision of seventeenth century Bologna, its sacred processions, the dusty streets, fears for natural events and the day-to-day activities of the city.

Venice, 1577–1638: Evidence Hidden in Plain Sight

The state of cataloguing of Venetian collections has thus far impeded a comprehensive view of the production of broadsheets in the city, for either the sixteenth or the seventeenth century. The EDIT16 only records some sixty broadsheets published in Venice during the sixteenth century; the SBN, records only 56 for the entire period 1500–1650.¹¹ It is obvious that such a large centre, responsible for issuing edicts and ordinances for itself and the surrounding territory, must have had a much larger production of single-sheet items to disseminate publicly useful information. No doubt, the lack of systematic records from the Marciana National Library in Venice in either of the two online surveys has conspired to create such a distorted vision. Other major collections of Venetian broadsheets, preserved at the Museo Correr and the Fondazione Querini Stampalia, have only recently begun to receive the attention they deserve.¹² The general state of the cataloguing of Venetian ephemera means that essentially every broadsheet found is unrecorded in the Italian collective catalogues.

¹⁰ The street is still located in the west part of the city.

¹¹ See EDIT16: <http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/>.

¹² Research on these collections is currently being undertaken by the author. In the last few years, Venetian broadsheets from the Fondazione Querini Stampalia have been digitised and can now be found on Internet Culturale: <http://www.internetculturale.it/in> the collection: ‘Vox Venetica. Bandi della Repubblica di Venezia, Sec. 16–17’.

The volume containing the Bolognese ordinances is ten or twelve times bigger than the typical *recueil factice* of Venetian *parti prese* – that is, the ordinances issued by the Venetian councils; but the size of the unfolded items is often similar. Three out of the four Parisian *recueils* containing Venetian single-sheet items are, indeed, small volumes: nothing suggests that they might actually contain items four or even six times the size of the volume itself. This was not a specifically Parisian binding fashion: the collections at Querini Stampalia appear to include broadside items in exactly the same way. Venetian single-sheet items were often rather small; the instructions for publication, however, still prescribe that they should be pasted on walls in certain locations.

The BnF holds four volumes – three at Tolbiac, one at the Arsenal – containing Venetian single-sheet items.¹³ K- 3312 and K- 3313 are of similar manufacture; they are covered in parchment on boards, from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The end-leaves used in K- 3313, with a typically Parisian grapes watermark, suggest that the volume was assembled in France. Both volumes consist exclusively of Venetian seventeenth century ordinances, mostly in pamphlet form. Only one broadsheet ordinance appears in K- 3312, as opposed to four in K- 3313. Here a handwritten table was bound after item no. 67, in a seventeenth-century Italian hand, including all the items up to that point. One may assume that the following pieces were added at a later stage. A third volume, held at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (4- H- 1610), is the largest French *recueil* of Venetian ordinances with 116 items. Of these, twelve are single-sheet items folded into the volume.

Only one broadsheet is contained in the volume F- 14721, yet this is the most interesting among the Venetian items investigated here. A search by pressmark in the library catalogue will return one hit: a *Statuta provisionesque ducales civitatis Tarvisii*, printed in Venice in 1574.¹⁴ This item is not rare: it survives in over twenty-five copies in Italy alone. At the end of this work, however, there is a second item. Illustrated, trimmed into the same size of the other leaves, and thus easily confused for a plate attached to another text, is a *Modo facilissimo di veder in un'occhiata tutto l'ordine della Elettione del Serenissimo Principe di Venetia*: that is, a 'Most convenient way to see at one glance the order for the election of the Most Serene Prince of Venice. Newly-explained in verse, so that

13 The volume F- 14602 to 14639, containing Venetian items (14602 to 17), does not have any single-sheet item folded in. Similarly, F- 14679, K- 3319 and K-3320 to 3321 bis only contain smaller formats. It is possible that more such items will be discovered when yet uncatalogued collections at the BnF and other French libraries are made available to the public.

14 *Statuta provisionesque ducales civitatis Tarvisii cum additione tertii voluminis constitutum & literarum ducalium* (Venice: [Giacomo Sansovino], 1574). 4°, 2 vols. USTC 861107.

it could be easily learned by heart'.¹⁵ As we said this has not been identified by the BnF, yet it has not passed unnoticed; the library catalogue records the entire *Statuta* as published by Antonio Turrini in 1574.¹⁶ However it was the broadsheet, as stated in the imprint, which had been printed by Antonio Turrini. Active between the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, this Venetian printer engaged mostly with the publication of ephemeral texts and literature of entertainment. To-date, this is the only known copy of this broadsheet, and the only text of this kind surviving from Turrini's output.

Milan, 1519–1618: Officialdom and Foreign Administrations

We expected the case of Milanese broadsheets to be the most interesting in this survey; French interest in the city was long lasting. France ruled Milan for two periods in the early sixteenth century, 1499–1512 and 1515–1521, and the hope of conquest lasted for far longer. An administration requires the production of official print, and possibly this applies even more to a foreign, recently established rulership. A large corpus of broadsheet ordinances survives, for instance, from the Spanish domination of Milan in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.¹⁷ Only one item, however, has thus far been recorded from the French administration, and it is not located in an Italian repository but at the French National Library. This is a text printed by Rocco Da Valle in 1519, containing a currency regulation.¹⁸

-
- 15 *Modo facilissimo di veder in un'occhiata tutto l'ordine della Elettione del Sereniss. Principe di Venetia. Spiegato anco novamente in versi, per piu servire alla memoria.* (Venice: Antonio Turrini, s.d.). The broadsheet contains a portrait of Marcantonio Memmo, the recently deceased doge; as he died in October 1615, this edition was probably printed at the end of that year.
 - 16 This is a typical mistake in bibliographical descriptions. Very similar cases, but for the sixteenth century, are described in Flavia Bruni, 'The Book Inventories of Servite Authors and the Survey of the Roman Congregation of the Index in Counter-Reformation Italy', in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 207–230.
 - 17 Several hundred such items are preserved at the Archivio e Biblioteca Trivulziana in Milan; they cannot be found in the online catalogue, but a succinct description can be found in the old paper catalogue (private conversation with Dr Marina Litrico, former conservator at the Trivulziana, November 2014).
 - 18 *Hauendo inteso el grande abuso del spendere et receuere de le monete* (Milan: Rocco Da Valle, 1519). USTC 870221. Acquisition 49,306.

Its material appearance – poor printing, cheap paper – suggests that more such items could have been printed, and have now disappeared altogether. Only one other ordinance from Milan's French period has survived. This edict from the reign of Louis XII, today located at the Braidense library in Milan, is a *bifolio* in Latin, presumably printed in 1512.¹⁹ The extraordinary low survival rate for items related to the French administration, as opposed to the Spanish, might perhaps indicate intentional destruction, either by the departing French or the incoming Spanish garrison.

Broadsheet ordinances related to the Spanish administration of Milan also survive at the BnF. Two such items are found in a single volume bound in maculated calf, gold tooled on plates and spine containing various *gride* (a term commonly used for ordinances in northern Italian municipalities).²⁰ The first three pieces of the *recueil* are large *Compendio di tutte le gride, et ordini publicati nella città, et stato di Milano*, containing texts issued under successive Spanish governors in Milan: Carlos de Aragon, Duke of Terranova (1583–1592); Juan Fernández de Velasco (1592–1600; 1610–1612) and his deputy Pedro de Padilla (1595); Pedro Enríquez d'Azevedo y Toledo (1600–1610).²¹ All these collections of ordinances were issued by the official printers of the Duchy of Milan, Pandolfo and Marco Tullio Malatesta.

These editions are followed by four smaller items of the same size and manufacture, all issued by the Malatesta press. Items F- 3082 and 3083 are two copies of the same ordinance *Grida generale sopra le Monete dell'Anno 1608* – again, an edict related to currency exchange. The remaining two pieces of the *recueil* are broadsides: *Perche si trovano persone così poco timorate della giustitia...*, to prohibit the use of harquebuses within the Duchy of Milan, and a *Grida generale delle armi*, a call to army duty for eligible citizens.

There is no doubt that all these ordinances – including the ones gathered in the *compendia* – were published in various bibliographic formats and sizes, to serve different functions. This volume itself contains an array of different items: the *compendia*, containing entire collections of ordinances issued by each governor; bifolio versions of a *grida*, with a detailed, comprehensive text; and the broadside items, larger – the *Grida generale delle armi* measures 406 × 514 mm – and intended for public display. Ordinances had little purpose unless they were widely publicised: it was common practice to proclaim them out loud, preceded by the sound of trumpets. A manuscript *Grida contra li pego-rari*, regulating shepherds, contains a detailed description of the prescribed

19 *Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex, ac Mediolani dux etc* [Milan: s.n., 1512]. USTC 842432.

20 F- 3078 to 3084.

21 Items F- 3078, 3079, 3080 respectively.

formula to be adopted in the oral publication of ordinances in northern Italy.²² This item, a sixteenth century manuscript, is bound together with a *Statuta ciuitatis Cremonae*, and is also related to the city of Cremona, not far from Milan.²³ The text of the *grida* announces:

Everybody is warned that we shall proceed against those who shall not obey [...]. Signed by Alessandro Panigarola 1581 Saturday 18 November, and made public by M. Gio. Battista Morone official trumpeter of the city of Cremona from the pulpit of the city [the 'arengherio'] after the sound of the trumpet, when a multitude of people was present.²⁴

The conclusion of the ordinance portrays a very public moment in the city's life. The *arengario*, was a place for gatherings and exchanges, a space for the municipality to meet and deliberate, to hear a speech or, as in this case, an ordinance.²⁵ It was the main square or the main palace in the municipality (sometimes both), and often offered a high place, from which the law was proclaimed.²⁶ Many of the most important examples of *arengarii* are found in northern Italy, where Italian urban culture reached its peak in complexity

22 BnF F- 3109 (2). No printed version survives of this 1581 ordinance; difficulties with shepherds (*pecorari*) must have been a recurrent issue for the municipality, as a 1536 edict also deals with the problems they caused. See USTC 764827.

23 *Statuta ciuitatis Cremonae* (Cremona: Cristoforo Draconi and Pietro Bozzola, 1578), USTC 824522.

24 The original reads: 'Avertendo ognuno che si procedera irremissibilmente contra li inobedienti... Subscripta Alessandro Panigarola 1581 adi sabbato 18 di Novembre, e fatto publicato per messer Gio. Battista morone publico tubatore della citta di Cremona sopra l'Arengherio di detta citta sonato prima la tromba standovi grandissima moltitudine di gente'.

25 The word *arengo* is likely to have entered the Italian language in the early Middle Ages; Bruno Migliorini lists it among words of Ostrogoth origin in his *Storia della lingua italiana* (Milan: Bompiani, 2013), p. 78. The Germanic word 'ring' has also been associated with the origin of *arengo*, a connection that offers a very visual etymology to this word that obviously originated from tribal customs. *Arengo* or *arengario* can designate in Italian an enclosed square where the citizens would meet, but also an architectural construction, usually with an external pulpit from which an orator could make a speech, as described in the article by Ferdinando Reggiori and Francesco Brandileone in *Enciclopedia Treccani* (1929), consulted online at <<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia>> (last accessed 26 April 2017).

26 It could even, at times, have an entertaining function. In Vincenzo Lancetti, *Biografia Cremonese ossia Dizionario storico delle famiglie e persone per qualsivoglia titolo memorabili e chiare spettanti alla città di Cremona dai tempi più remoti fino all'età nostra* (Milan:

of organisation; we thus have the Palazzo dell'Arengario in Monza, the Palazzo della Ragione in Bergamo, or the Palazzo Comunale in Piacenza.²⁷ The use of the word *arengherio*, a Lombard declination of the more standard form *aren-gario*, seems to have been typical of Cremona itself, and it often appears in early descriptions of key moments of the town's life. In the *Statuti de Mercanti della città di Cremona* the notary was given instruction to

go to the main square in the municipality of Cremona, to the *arengherio*, to ascend the *arengherio* of the town of Cremona, and here publicly, and with loud voice, after the sound of trumpet, cry, pronounce, and made public all the afore-mentioned instructions.²⁸

The *arengherio* was not simply a public space in the city; it was defined as an urban space for pivotal moments, a space where actions became history. The local chronicles by Antonio Campi, published in 1645, thus describes an event of the year 1317:

On 16 May the town rose in arms, due to the initiative of Giacopo and Luigi Cavalcabò, Gregorio Sommo and others of the Guelf faction, with whom were also the lords Brusati of Brescia, and all of their followers; once they had entered the main square in Cremona, they killed Egidiolo Piperaro, who had ascended the *arengherio* in an attempt to quieten the turmoil.²⁹

Tipografia di Commercio al Bocchetto, 1820), vol. 2, p. 38, a tradition for local festivities is described in which the town band used to play music from the *arengherio*.

27 See John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250–1400* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), section on 'Civic Buildings' at pp. 59–71.

28 *Statuti de Mercanti della città di Cremona* [Cremona, Cristoforo Draconi, 1592], USTC 842146, sig. E4r: the original reads: '[...] nella piazza maggiore del commune di Cremona, all'arengherio, et sopra l'arengherio del commune di Cremona, et ivi publicamente, et con voce alta, sonata prima la tromba, haver cridato, preconizato, et publicato tutte le soprascritte provisioni'.

29 Antonio Campi, *Cremona città et colonia de' Romani rappresentata in disegno col suo contato* (Milan: Gio. Battista Bidelli, 1645), sig. M2r. The original reads: 'Alli xvi. di Maggio si levò tutta la Città in arme, per opera di Giacopo, et di Luigi Cavalcabò, et di Gregorio Sommo, et altri suoi partegiani della fattione Guelfa, co' quali erano anco i Brusati Signori di Brescia, con tutti i loro seguaci; questi entrati nella Piazza grande di Cremona ammazzarono Egidiolo Piperaro, il quale era asceso sopra l'arengherio per aquetare il tumulto'. Further examples to be found in *Statuta venerandi collegii dominorum notariorum Civitatis Cremonae* (Cremona: Cristoforo Draconi, 1597), USTC 844941, sig. E4r; *Statuta civitatis*

If the ordinance of the *pegorari* in Cremona introduces the reader into the physical world of urban life in early modern Italy and the spaces of power, the very word *grida*, ‘cry’, that defined ordinances in this geographical area, offers a clear reminder of how they were made known to the citizens. This small French collection thus represents a window through which we can view the process of publication and dissemination of officialdom in early modern Lombardy.

Naples, 1647–1648: France, the Champion of Liberty

The last collection of Italian broadsheets relevant to this study is by far the most interesting. Volume RES- K- 121 contains about 170 broadsheets related to the Naples revolution of 1647–1648. The volume is bound in glazed calf, gold tooled on boards and spine. On the second panel is a label in red morocco with a general title in Italian: ‘DOCUMENTI | ORIGINALE | DELLA RIVOLUZIONE | DI MASANIELLO’. The binding is from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The volume contains mostly broadsheets, although there are also some documents printed in quarto. The items have not been trimmed to an equal size when the binding was crafted; therefore the original size of the printed items is still visible.

Now at the Réserve in the BnF, where the most prized items are carefully preserved, this volume was not meant to end up in a French library. On the upper endleaf, in pencil, is a manuscript title: ‘Raccolta di Decreti | dei Viceré | di Napoli’ from the nineteenth century.³⁰ It is followed by a second inscription, by an earlier hand: ‘This is a very rare collection. Do not sell abroad, for whatever sum of money. As a memory to my heirs, Josephus Capycius Tarentinorum Pontifex Year 1778’.³¹ The acquisition serial number 64,475, handwritten inside

Cremonae accuratius quam antea excusa, et cum archetypo collata (Cremona, 1578), USTC 824522, sig. F6r, AA6r, BB5r.

30 At the end of the *recueil* is an index of all content, in Italian; the hand, nineteenth century, is the first that appeared at the start of the volume.

31 The original reads: ‘Rarissima Collezione [lapis] | [ink] Non si dia per qualunque prezzo agli Esteri. | Ricordo ai miei eredi | Josephus Capycius Tarentinorum Pontifex | Anno 1778’. The author of this note is to be identified as Giuseppe Capecelatro (1744–1836). See article by Pietro Stella in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Treccani, 1960–), vol. 18 (1975). Capecelatro was elected bishop of Taranto on 30 March 1778; this annotation was therefore written just after his nomination, perhaps in a fit of patriotism.

the red stamp, appears on the first piece.³² At the end of the *recueil* there is a manuscript table of contents, in a nineteenth-century Italian hand.³³

All the texts included here are related to the Naples Revolution of 1647, led by Masaniello – Tommaso Aniello (1622–1647) – against the Habsburg administration, supported by Cardinal Mazarin and, on his instruction, by Henri II Duke of Guise. As had previously been the case in the history of Franco-Italian relations, meddling with Neapolitan business was justified through the Angevin claim to the throne of Naples; in this case transmitted to the Guise dynasty.³⁴ One should note in particular the way these broadsheet ordinances presented Henry of Guise. The texts start with the heading ‘Henrico di Lorena duca di Guisa, conte d’Eù, pari di Francia, &c. difensore della libertà, duce della Serenissima, e real repubblica di Napoli, e generalissimo delle sue armi’: *difensore della libertà*, defender of liberty. Despite their being official publications, the celebratory intent of these printed items is obvious.

The collection also includes some small publications published to pay homage to the Guise and their aspirations. No. 175 is the most interesting, a sonnet printed on half a sheet, entitled ‘To His Serene Highness the Duke of Guise Henri of Lorraine, Peer of France, [is dedicated] a perfect anagram: You shall give us a free Naples’.³⁵ The original text of the sonnet is a tribute to Henri of Guise, described as the champion of Naples, engaging in a duel with the Spanish king in order to free Naples:

You came, you came great Warrior
Through the sea, armed, to our shores,
To chase, to drive away the unholy, untrustworthy
Ministers, rebels to the Spanish King.
Such high valour fears the haughty Spaniard,
Nor will he ever trust frauds and tricks;
As you challenge him to a mortal combat,

32 Mme. Guilleminot informed me that this serial number corresponds to a purchase made between 29 July and 23 October 1875 from the Librairie Baer in Paris, at the cost of 500 francs.

33 This is the same hand that appeared first on the upper end-leaf.

34 Charles VIII of France (1483–1498) had previously claimed title over Naples through his Angevin inheritance. See Robert J. Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France 1483–1610* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 34–45.

35 Paris, BnF, RES- K- 121 (175). The original reads: ‘All’Altezza Serenissima del Signor Duca di Guisa Enrico di Lorena, Par di Francia. Anagramma purissimo. Dirò, ci renderai Napoli Franca’.

His heart, his hand, his spear, his crest tremble.
 But I shall see your sword, to the right, to the left
 Side, thus bringing death to thousands,
 Never tired, never quenched of such horde.
 Already heavy, loaded with such glories,
 I say, you shall give us a free Naples,
 A Highness grounded, a broken arch.³⁶

One may add that the purchase of this collection might have been equally celebratory. The purchase was made in 1785; the Naples Revolution thus configured itself as the forerunner of the French, with one of the Peers of France described as the defender of freedom.

Italian Broadsheets in French Libraries: An Evaluation

Various volumes of Italian early modern ordinances in French collections, in all formats, have been examined in order to evaluate their importance. They also, incidentally throw valuable light on the scale of the task that awaits any attempt at a full survey of Italian ephemeral publications of the period. Bindings, marks of provenance and other physical features have been analysed in order to understand the path that led them to their current location and the material value with which they were invested. Our survey has revealed that official texts of all bibliographic formats rarely passed across the Alps during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, unlike other typologies of printed works. A large number of Italian ordinances now at the BnF, however, are bound under the coat of arms of Louis XVI (1754–1793).³⁷ Of these the most interesting to the purposes of this study is the *recueil factice* K- 3290, containing

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- 36 The original reads: 'Giungesti pur, giungesti o gran Guerriero | Per mezzo un mare armato a i nostri lidi, | Per fugar, per scacciar quest'empì, infidi | Ministri, anzi Ribelli al Rege Ibero. | Teme un tanto valor l'Ismano altiero, | Ne fia, ch'a frodi, e inganni homai si fidi; | Che mentre a mortal guerra hor tu lo sfidi; | Tremante ha'l Cor, la Man, l'Hasta, el Cimiero. | Vedrò tua spada, e dalla destra, e manca | Parte, a ben mille aprir di morte il varco, | Contro Turbe si rie mai satia, o stanca. | Già che sei di tai glorie onusto, e carco, | Dirò ci renderai Napoli Franca, | Un'Altezza atterrata, e rotto un'arco'. The translation is my own.
- 37 For instance: BnF, F- 2927–2928 (Rome; contains USTC 845558 and 845559); F- 2920 (Ancona, seventeenth century); F- 2898 (Urbino, seventeenth century); F- 14702 to 14706 (Treviso, Cesena, Venezia and Verona; all seventeenth century except for USTC 763913).

'things of interest about Venice'.³⁸ This volume contains eight items, from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, mostly of Venetian production.³⁹

The greatest wave of interest in Italian literature, with a crucial impulse given by the French monarchy, undoubtedly occurred in the sixteenth century and was never again matched in intensity. Italian culture lost its position of pre-eminence in the French consciousness, a role it occupied for most of the sixteenth century. A general curiosity for 'all things Italian', however, did not entirely disappear, and it remained part of French culture throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Typical manifestations were volumes such as the collection of Venetian materials cited above. From the most visible shelves in the great French libraries, Italian culture was now moved to the *cabinet de curiosités*. Various factors contributed, however, to maintain its importance, first of all the continuous stream of French erudite tourism to the Italian peninsula.⁴⁰ Numerous travel guides were produced for French travellers, who were thus able to experience the 'authentic' side of Italy. Tourism also stimulated a flourishing business in souvenirs and keepsakes. Medals, coins and other curiosities were available for sale everywhere in the peninsula.⁴¹ Knowledgeable tourists were especially eager to purchase books, and many were available, old and new. Some of the greatest French collections of Italian sixteenth-century items were assembled during the Grand Tour; the *fonds* Boullier in Roanne is a case in point.⁴²

38 A general title, in Latin, is tooled in gold on the spine: 'OPVSCVLA | DE REBVS | VENETIS'.

39 1. *De Magistratibus* (Paris: Vascosan, 1543), USTC 140837; 2. *Vittoria Navale* (Venice: Ziletti, 1584), USTC 812288; 3. *Elogia et carmina serenissimo Venetorum collegio* (Brescia: Ricciardi, 1646); 4. *Il Leon Coronato alla maestà della Republica Veneta* (Venice: Sarzina, 1632); 5. *Relationi della Republica di Venetia* (Venice: Pinelli, 1628); 6. *Litterae Apostolicae in forma brevis concessae* (s.l., s.n., 1542), USTC 763195 (this is the third copy known); 7. *Parte presa nel Excel. magior consilio. A di 29 marzo 1535* ([Venice]: s.n., [1535]). Unique copy; 8. *De iurisdictione serenissimae Reipublicae Venetae in Mare Adriaticum Epistola* (Eleutheropoli: s.n., 1619).

40 See Gilles Bertrand, *Le Grand Tour revisité. Pour une archéologie du tourisme: le voyage des Français en Italie (milieu XVIIIe siècle – début XIXe siècle)* (Rome: Ecole Française, 2008).

41 Bertrand, *Le Grand Tour*, p. 49.

42 Catalogues of the Italian holdings bequeathed by Auguste Boullier to the Municipal Library in Roanne have been published by Marie Viallon: *Catalogue du Fonds italien XVIIe siècle Auguste Boullier de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Roanne* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université, 1994); Viallon, *Catalogue du Fonds italien XVIIe siècle Auguste Boullier de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Roanne* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université, 1995); Viallon, *Catalogue du Fonds italien XVIIIe siècle Auguste Boullier de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Roanne* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université, 1997).

This collection was assembled by the bibliophile Auguste Boullier and donated to the Municipal Library of his hometown in his last will (1889).⁴³ Boullier's particular interest was Venice. Everything about the Serene City attracted his attention: items from the traditional cultural canon, such as the Latin classics and Italian comedies, great authors such as Boccaccio and Machiavelli, personalities of the Italian Renaissance like Pietro Aretino (Boullier's collection of his works is particularly vast) and Lodovico Dolce.⁴⁴ But the rarest, possibly the most fascinating texts in this library are all items of day-to-day consumption: books of tariffs, rules for the election of the Doge of Venice, tourist guides, celebratory publications and news items.⁴⁵ These items do not contain broadsheets specifically, but they are part of the same typology of collection and serve to explain why Italian broadsheets containing functional texts became collectible.

Indeed, other great libraries of the time reveal similar collecting habits and survival patterns. Housed at his namesake library in Aix-en-Provence, the collection of Jean-Baptiste-Marie Piquet, Marquis of Méjanès was mostly assembled through purchases in Geneva, Grenoble and Paris.⁴⁶ Various rare items have been preserved intact in this repository, including a number of chivalric novels and news pamphlets, many of them the only surviving copies.⁴⁷ An *editto* addressed to preachers was the only known copy when inspected in Aix-en-Provence in 2013; a second copy has now been identified at the BnF.⁴⁸

The two Italian broadsides preserved in Aix, cited at the start of this study, are also extremely rare items. The first, a papal bull issued in 1561 and printed by Antonio Blado (Fig. 8.2), is known in a pamphlet version printed the same

43 Viallon, *Catalogue du Fonds italien XVIe siècle*, p. 7.

44 Specifically Venetian items have been described in two exhibition catalogues: Marie Viallon (ed.), *Les Manuscrits Vénitiens du Fonds Boullier* (Roanne: Bibliothèque Municipale, s.d.) and *Estampes vénitiennes du Fonds Boullier* (Roanne: Bibliothèque Municipale, 1990).

45 Some of these are, indeed, the only known copy of an edition: see for instance USTC 870159, USTC 870160 or USTC 870162, all described from the unique copy in Roanne.

46 The collection was donated to the region of Provence at Méjanès' death in 1786. For a taste of the library's holdings see the volume *Un cabinet d'amateur à la fin du XVIIIe siècle: Le Marquis de Méjanès Bibliophile* (Aix-en-Provence: Cité du Livre, 2006).

47 The chivalric novels are USTC 870010, 870011 and 870012. Uniquely-preserved news items are USTC 870006 and 870015–870021. All the items cited in the second group are preserved in volume D.2757.

48 USTC 870002: Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, Pièces Rec. D. 8 (152); Paris, BnF, E- 4720 (1590 16 Juin).

year, which survives in various copies.⁴⁹ The broadsheet version preserved among the papers of the Marquis de Méjanès, however, appears to be unique in the world. The second broadside is an extraordinarily rare devotional text, a prayer to St Francis of Assisi. This edition, printed by Vincenzo Sabbio in Brescia in 1596, is the only broadside known from this printer for that year (Fig. 8.3).⁵⁰ However, the other editions preserved from the Sabbio press for that year point in the direction of a very cheap, and very ephemeral production. What is certainly striking in the Méjanès and the Boullier collections, as opposed to others of earlier foundation, is the quality of their unique items of Italian origin. These are almost always cheap publications, that shed light on a print culture now almost entirely obliterated by the passage of time.

The culture of curiosity, so intrinsic to the French eighteenth century, thus allowed the preservation of items that were previously not valued and generally have not survived due to use and neglect: cheap print, ephemeral texts, items used in day-to-day life. Most collections of Italian broadsheets preserved in French libraries – all, essentially, housed at the BnF – are an expression of the awakening of interest for the small and negligible as a manifestation of the historical past. Ordinances represent a typology of text which is usually needed, and thus preserved, in the place where they have been produced. Being functional items, with a specific lifetime, their usefulness has an expiry date. It is not accidental that the largest collections of these items are to be found at the French national library, and also that they were late purchases, usually after the French Revolution. In becoming a modern State, the valorisation of the national library and national museum were crucial propaganda matters. In the words of Bette Oliver, ‘Following the Revolution of 1789, the national library was intended to serve as a visible symbol of republican pride.’⁵¹

The Italian *Grand Tour* having been such a significant part of the development of French scholarly thought and interests at the end of the *Ancien Régime*, it is understandable that items related to that culture should become part of the identity of the new French state, and especially of the French capital. The Naples volume, in itself a celebration of the French as defenders

49 Broadsheet edition: Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, P. 10507. *Bulla super revocatione facultatis testandi* (Rome: Blado, 1561), USTC 870005. For the folio edition, carrying the same title and imprint, see USTC 849294. Two copies of this edition are found in Padua, two in San Severino Marche, and three in Rome.

50 Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, Rés. Q.115 [91]: *Sopra il monte dell'Avernia dove S. Francesco ricevè le stimmate* (Brescia: Sabbio, 1596), USTC 870008.

51 Bette W. Oliver, ‘The Bibliothèque nationale from 1792 to 1794: Becoming a National Institution during the French Revolution’, *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 42 (2007), pp. 48–56: 49.

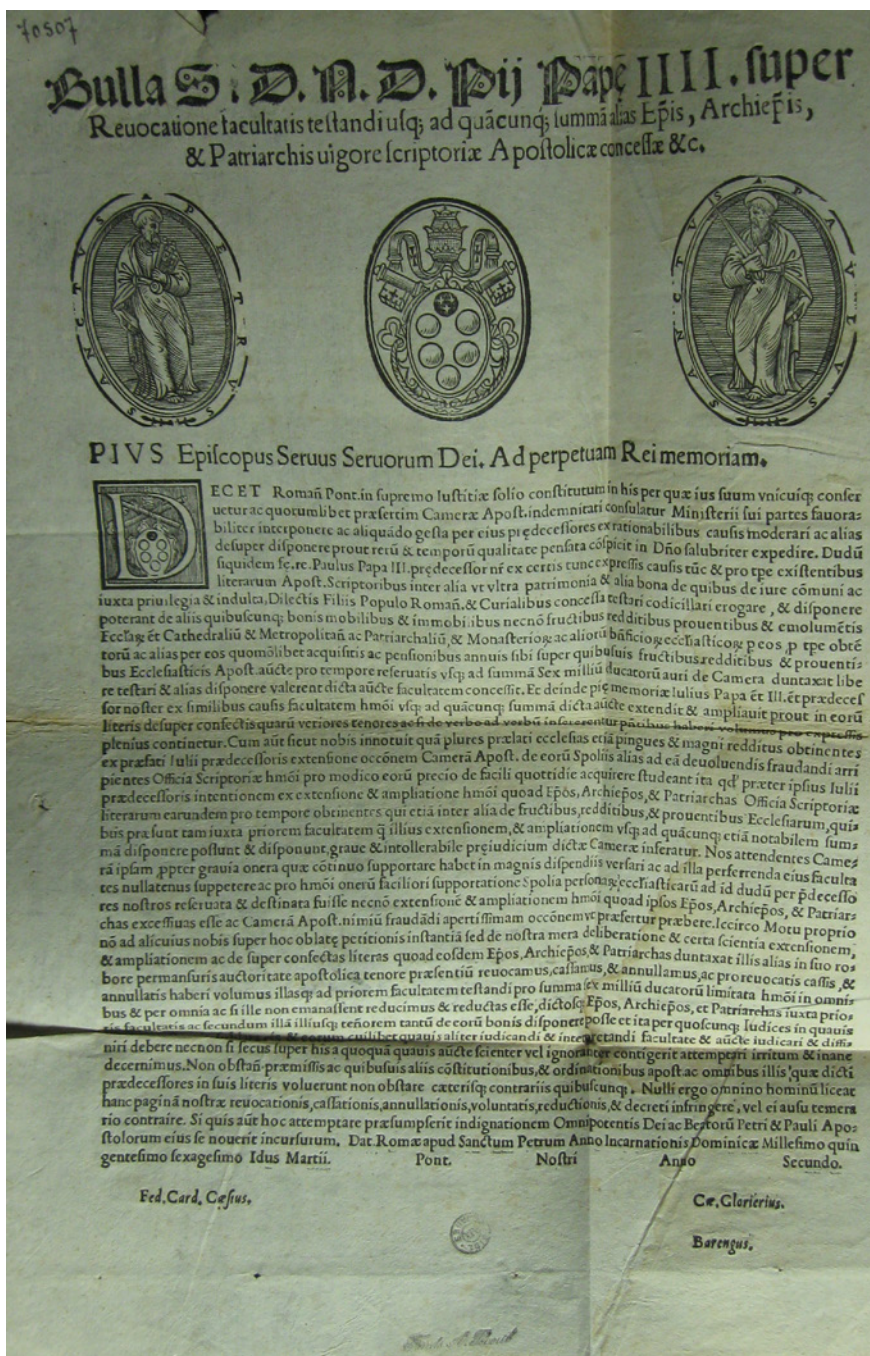


FIGURE 8.2 *Super reuocatione facultatis testandi* (Rome: Blado, 1561). USTC 870005.
 AIX-EN-PROVENCE, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MÉJANES, P. 10507.



FIGURE 8.3 *Sopra il monte dell'Avernia dove S. Francesco riceuè le stimmate* (Brescia: Sabbio, 1596). USTC 870008.

AIX-EN-PROVENCE, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MÉJANES, Rés. Q.115 [91].

of freedom, was certainly a particularly precious collection; and unlike many other seventeenth-century printed items, it can only be seen at the *Réserve des Livres Rares*. But the acquisition policies went further than that. Napoleonic confiscations of art and books, in 1798, were accompanied by banners and even a song composed for the occasion, 'Rome is no longer in Rome/It is all in Paris'.⁵² These new items were all intended to contribute to the greatness of Paris as a European capital of culture.

52 Bette W. Oliver, *From Royal to National. The Louvre Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale* (Plymouth, MASS: Lexington Books, 2007), p. 50.

Commerce and Good Governance: The Broadsheet Ordinances in the Van der Meulen Archive

Nina Lamal

In March 1588 the city council of Antwerp published a broadsheet ordinance notifying its citizens that it had come to their attention that on a daily basis many people were trying to circumvent the trade licenses imposed by the monarch. Henceforth the council prohibited the import of goods coming 'from territory or places occupied by the enemies and rebels of our Majesty'.¹ Many ordinances issued by city governments in early modern Europe dealt with the regulation of trade and in Antwerp, the largest city in the Low Countries and one of the most important commercial centres in Europe, this certainly was a pressing issue. Due to the war in the Netherlands, Antwerp had difficulties maintaining its dominant trading position in Europe. After the reconquest of the city by Alexander Farnese in 1585, the river Scheldt was blockaded by the Northern Provinces, an obstruction of trade that seriously impeded imports and exports. Following the reconciliation with the Habsburg regime and re-Catholicization of the city in 1585, many Catholic exiles returned and thousands of Reformed citizens migrated to cities in the Northern provinces or the Holy Roman Empire.²

As soon as Christophe Plantin heard the news of Antwerp's surrender to Farnese he made arrangements to travel to the city.³ The famous publisher

1 USTC 412461: 'wt de landen oft plaetsen gheoccupeert by de vyanden oft rebellen van sijnder Maiesteyt'.

2 On the Catholic exiles see: Geert Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 134–149. The literature on the migration to the Northern provinces is vast: see amongst others the publications of Wilfrid Brulez, 'De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplui op het einde van de 16e eeuw', *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*, 15 (1960), pp. 279–306; Jan Briels, *De Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek 1572–1630: een demografische en cultuurhistorische studie* (Sint-Niklaas: Danthe, 1985); Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578–1630)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000) and Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange. Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

3 Sandra Langereis, *De woordenaar. Christoffel Plantijn, 's werelds grootste drukker en uitgever (1520–1589)* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2014).

returned permanently from Leiden. In 1586 the newly appointed Catholic city council confirmed Plantin would continue to print the edicts and ordinances of the city and granted him an annual pension of 300 guilders.⁴ Plantin is famous for his grand enterprises in book publishing, but this type of sponsored ephemeral printing of government ordinances kept his presses busy and provided the firm with a steady source of income during this economically difficult time in Antwerp.⁵

Single-sheet ordinances issued by urban governments were often posted in public places throughout the city, and obviously fell prey to the normal hazards attending classes of literature intended for distribution and use rather than collecting in libraries. But in fact, these types of broadsheets have often survived rather well compared to other genres.⁶ For Antwerp, a large number of official broadsheets from the second half of the sixteenth century have survived in various archives and libraries.⁷ This is largely due to Christophe Plantin's diligent archiving practices: he kept a copy of every decree he published for the city council.⁸ The ordinances were also archived by the city's magistrates.⁹ In addition a collection of roughly 300 Antwerp broadsheets survives in the Royal Library in Brussels.¹⁰ A much smaller collection of 59 printed

4 Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1969–1972), p. 115.

5 Letter from city magistrates to Plantin on 1 October 1586 in: Jean Denucé (ed.), *Correspondance de C. Plantin. VI. 1586–1590* (Antwerp: De Groote Boekhandel, 1918), pp. 49–51. Based on data available through USTC Plantin published 237 broadsheets between 1585 and 1589.

6 The extraordinary amount of 2203 broadsheet ordinances published in sixteenth-century Bologna have survived. Compare this to the Spanish case, discussed by Wilkinson, Ulla Lorenzo and de la Cruz in this volume, where the survival of official broadsheets is rather poor.

7 For sixteenth-century Antwerp 1023 items have survived and 997 of those were printed between 1550 and 1600.

8 The Antwerp ordinances printed by Plantin are listed in Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press. A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp and Leiden (1555–1589)* (6 vols., Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980–1983), I, nos. 68–568. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, II, p. v; Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 240–242.

9 Antwerpen, Felixarchief (henceforth: SA), Ancien Regime, Archief van de stad Antwerpen, Stadsplakkaten.

10 Royal Library of Belgium (henceforth: KBR), VB 3.344: Antwerp broadsheets from 1566 to 1600 (with a gap from 1567 to 1577). This collection comes from the Jesuit College in Mechelen but it remains unclear when exactly the broadsheets were collected.

single-sheet ordinances proclaimed by the Antwerp city government can be found amongst the documents of merchant Daniel van der Meulen in the Erfgoed Leiden.¹¹

Notwithstanding this significant level of survival, scholars have not studied the role of these urban proclamations in detail. The ordinances addressed every single aspect of urban life regulated by the city government: law and order, public hygiene, work and the obligations of the citizenry, taxation and trade. These documents served to enforce local legislation as well as to warn and to inform citizens of old and new rules. Broadsheets provided the latest news that mattered to early modern city dwellers and traders.¹²

The present article focusses on the information function of broadsheet ordinances within and outside of Antwerp. It will examine their circulation outside of their domestic, regional and jurisdictional boundaries by focussing particularly on the broadsheets in the archive of Daniel van der Meulen, a merchant originally from Antwerp who moved to Bremen after Farnese conquered the city. These 59 broadsheets, now in the Erfgoed Leiden and dated between 1580 and 1591, represent the only known collection kept by a merchant in the early modern period.¹³ Since the majority of these broadsheets from Antwerp date from Van der Meulen's stay in Bremen, this small collection offers us an intriguing and unique opportunity to study his information-gathering practice, the function of such government ordinances in a mercantile environment and their role within wider international mercantile communication networks.

11 Erfgoed Leiden (henceforth: RAL), Van der Meulen 69 (VdM), 48: 'Gedrukte geboden (ordonnanties) uit Antwerpen'. I would like to thank Michiel van Halem, archivist at the Erfgoed Leiden, for granting me the permission to consult the broadsheets in person. The broadsheets are available online: <https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/collecties/archieven/archievenoverzicht/ead/index/eadid/0096>.

12 Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 87–88.

13 Voet did not include this collection in his bibliography of the Plantin editions: Voet, *Plantin Press*. The archives of the merchant families Van Immerseel, Clarisse, Hureau-De Groot and Bequen in the Insolvente Boedelkamer in the Antwerp city archives as well the inventories of the archives of the Backer, Bicker, Brants in the Amsterdam city archives, the inventory of the archive of Martens in Utrecht, and the inventory of archive of Lempreur in Thysiana in Leiden do not contain broadsheet ordinances.

‘Gheboden ende utgheroepen’

During the sixteenth century various authorities in the Netherlands issued broadsheet ordinances: the central Habsburg government, the different provinces and individual cities. The governors or the Council of State in Brussels issued edicts in name of the Habsburg king which were copied and reprinted in Antwerp and in other cities in the Low Countries.¹⁴ A reissued royal decree was recognizable by the coat-of-arms of Philip II at the top and the heading ‘By the king’ (see Fig. 9.2). The surviving broadsheet ordinances indicate that the majority of the decrees were promulgated by the city councils. A typical Antwerp single-sheet ordinance was printed on a sheet of roughly 440 × 320 mm. It was set in Gothic type and had a woodcut with the coat-of-arms of the city of Antwerp at the top (see Fig. 9.1). The documents had a nearly uniform heading ‘Gheboden ende utgheroepen’ (ordained and proclaimed), which was followed by a list of the different government officials of the city of Antwerp, such as the marquis of Antwerp, the bailiff, the burgomasters and the city magistrates, and the date of promulgation. Underneath the text the name of the respective clerk or secretary, who had signed the original decree, was printed in Italic.¹⁵ Both the coat-of-arms and the signatures referred to the issuing authorities and gave these printed documents authenticity.¹⁶

Barring a few exceptions, the name and address of the printer were not mentioned on the broadsheets printed in Antwerp but the type and initials point to Plantin’s printing presses.¹⁷ Plantin had printed several royal decrees for the Habsburg governors before he started to print the decrees for the Antwerp council in 1573.¹⁸ He continued to print these ordinances, regardless of the various regime changes during the Dutch revolt in Antwerp, until his death in 1589.¹⁹ His son-in-law Jan Moretus took over the printing business and he

14 On Habsburg ordinances in quarto and octavo format see Vincent Van Zuilen, ‘Propagande royale: les placards de Philippe II en Flandres et au Brabant (1585–1598)’, in Barbara Ertlé & Martin Gosman (eds.), *Les écrits courts à vocation polémique* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Verlag, 2006), pp. 113–129. See also Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).

15 For a draft manuscript version of an ordinance see the papers of secretary Van der Neesen in SA, PK 325.

16 See the contributions by Flavia Bruni and Arthur der Weduwen in this volume.

17 Leon Voet lists all the broadsheets published by Plantin for the Antwerp city government: *Plantin Press*, I, pp. 89–94, 107–154.

18 From 1571 onwards Plantin had printed ordinances for the Duke of Alva, the governor general, see for instance USTC 411637.

19 Plantin claimed in his correspondence to De Zayas, Philip II’s secretary, that he was forced to print the edicts of the States General, see Dirk Imhof, ‘Between Philip II and William

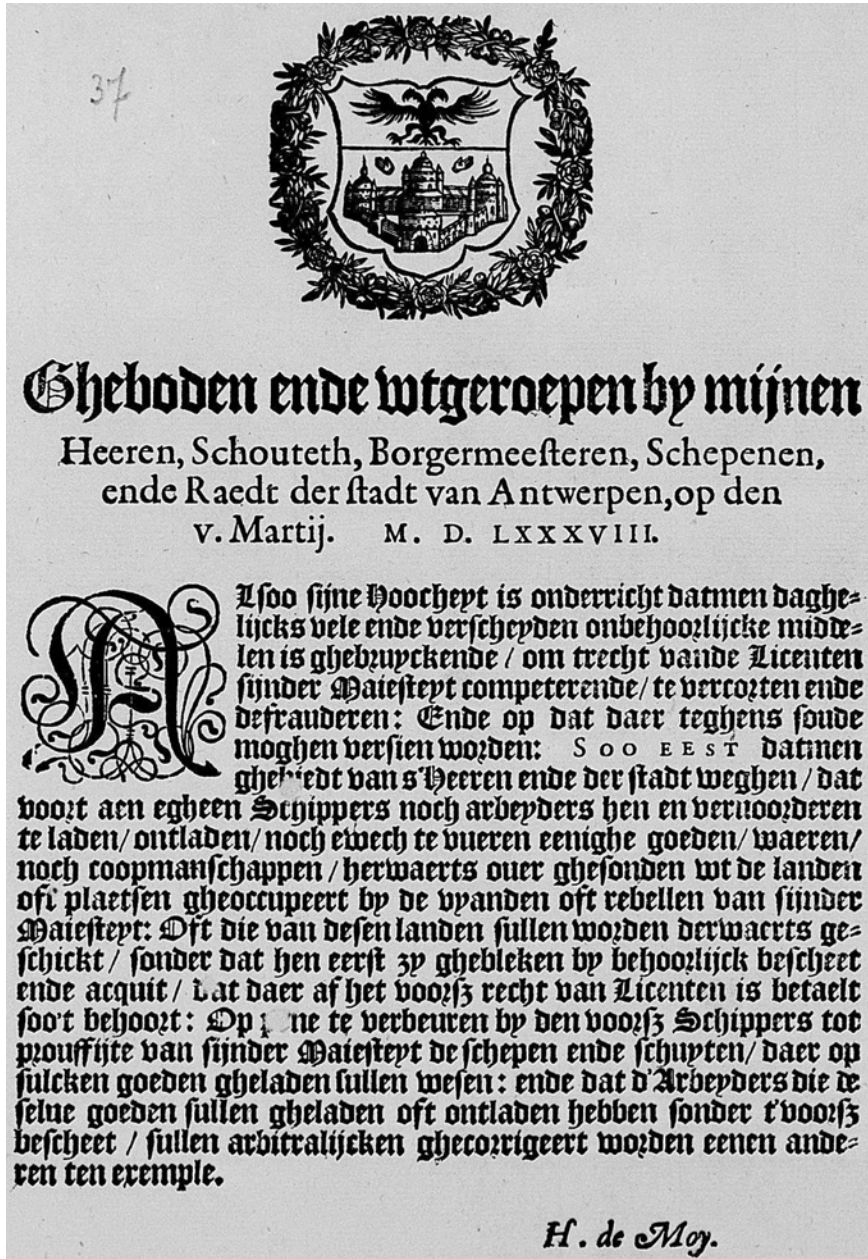


FIGURE 9.1 Example of a broadsheet from the Van der Meulen archive with the coat of arms of the city at the top. USTC 412461.

ERFGOED LEIDEN, VAN DER MEULEN 69, 48.

retained the privilege to print the ordinances for the Antwerp city government.²⁰ Based on the surviving evidence Plantin printed roughly one broadsheet ordinance each week in Antwerp. For 1582, during the Calvinist regime, a record total of 90 broadsheet ordinances have survived. There are several examples of two different editions of the same broadsheets suggesting that in some cases additional copies were needed.²¹ Frequently, two or more edicts were issued on the same day. These were sometimes printed by Plantin on the same page and may even have been distributed together on one single-sheet.²²

Broadsheet ordinances were used by Antwerp's government to communicate decisions and new legislation to its citizens. The single sheet was the preferred format to do so; far more ordinances were published as single sheets than as a quarto or octavo pamphlet.²³ Broadsheets were easy to print quickly, read out publicly and subsequently posted on walls and doors throughout the city.²⁴ A royal ordinance published in Antwerp in 1588 gave detailed instructions on how to disseminate the new measures in the city: copies were to be hung on the church doors, the city hall and on all the city gates so that no-one could claim to be unaware of the new decisions.²⁵ The ordinance itself was publicly proclaimed from a stage in front of the city hall in the presence of many by-standers.²⁶ Some broadsheets specifically ended with the sentence *D'een segghet den anderen voorts* ['tell one another, tell each other'] implying

of Orange: The Correspondence of Christopher Plantin (ca 1520–1589)', in Jeanine De Landtsheer & Henk Nellen (eds.), *Between Scylla and Charybdis. Learned Letters Writers Navigating the Reefs of Religious and Political Controversy in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 227–229.

20 Dirk Imhof, *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. LXII. Imhof records 554 broadsheets printed by Moretus for the city of Antwerp on pp. 766–878.

21 For example the broadsheet ordinance (23.06.1580) regulating the sale of property of the clergy exists in two different editions: USTC 412113 and 412114.

22 This is based on the broadsheet ordinances kept in Van der Meulen's archive: USTC 412426 and 412427 were both promulgated on 17 March 1587 and printed on one sheet (290 mm × 400 mm).

23 In the sixteenth century roughly 600 ordinances were published in other formats (data from USTC).

24 See Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 130.

25 USTC 413850: 'doet stellen ende affixeren copye van desen opde kerckdeuren, de stadthuysen, stadtpoorten ... op dat niemandt daer van ignorantie en soude moghen pretenderen'.

26 USTC 413850: 'ghepubliceert ter puye vanden Raet-huyse der stadt van Antwerpen, ... ter presentie van vele omstaanders'.

word of mouth would further spread the new regulations and rules.²⁷ Such sentences were more frequently included in broadsheets published during the seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic.²⁸ Most of the broadsheets were in Dutch and addressed to the population at large. But ordinances could also be addressed to specific groups within the city. In October 1588 one broadsheet aimed at the Habsburg troops was published in French, Italian and Spanish: all the soldiers who were staying within the city walls without a valid passport were ordered to leave immediately.²⁹ Broadsheets targeting a specific audience were also decreed and displayed in specific places: the ordinances regulating the opening and closing hours of the Bourse was to be 'posted at all the corners of the Bourse', so that all the merchants frequenting this space would be aware of the new regulations.³⁰ Authorities were aware that the Antwerp exchange was a place where not only merchants but many other Antwerp citizens went to hear the latest news. In June 1581 a secret letter about an imminent attack had been found in the city but because there were some serious doubts about the veracity of the letter, it was posted publicly at the Bourse where all people could come to see and read it.³¹ Anyone who knew when, where and by whom this letter might have been written was asked to tell either the bailiff or one of the burgomasters.

The diary kept by the Antwerp citizen Godevaert van Haecht gives us more information on the way in which Antwerp edicts were proclaimed during the revolt in the Low Countries.³² On 28 August 1566 he noted in his diary that a new decree from the government caused friction. On that day the government had proclaimed that priests and members of religious orders were allowed to return to their churches and perform Catholic services.³³ Anyone who hindered these services or insulted the clerics would be severely punished. At the end of August 1566, after the iconoclastic riots, the situation was extremely tense within the city and according to Van Haecht this new proclamation made the people, and especially the Calvinists, murmur. He noted that a day later the same proclamation was re-issued, read aloud at all the street corners

27 USTC 412477 (1588).

28 See contribution by der Weduwen in this volume.

29 USTC 62463 (1588), USTC 430664 (1588). Another example of a broadsheet in Spanish aimed at the Habsburg troops: USTC 440671 (1574).

30 USTC 412466 (1588).

31 USTC 412133 (1581).

32 Godevaert van Haecht, *De kroniek van Godevaert van Haecht over de troebelen van 1565 tot 1574 te Antwerpen en elders*, ed. Rob van Roosbroeck (Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1929–1930).

33 USTC 409767 (1566).

and spread in printed form.³⁴ In this decree the city council clarified that the previous one had been misinterpreted by many people and had caused confusion within the city. In order to maintain peace and order they had decided to re-issue the decree.³⁵

Governments in early modern Europe aimed to maintain civic unity and avoid discord within their cities.³⁶ The city government went to considerable lengths in explaining their decisions in order to achieve this goal. Broadsheets invariably had standard opening sentences ranging from 'the lords of this city are aware', 'it has come to our attention', 'many complaints have been made to the lords of this city'. These were not just formulaic phrases; they also offer an insight into the demands and grievances made by certain groups within the city and the decision-making process that had led to the promulgation of the new decree. In 1581 the city government, prompted by complaints of the Lutheran community, reaffirmed their right to profess their religion within the city.³⁷ In the decree they emphasized the necessity of good relations amongst its citizens in order for the city to prosper and resist 'Spanish tyranny'.

Many of the broadsheets deal with the rights and privileges of particular guilds within the city.³⁸ In 1581 the deacons of the surgeons and the barbers guild had send a request to the government regarding the right to exercise this function without being a *poorter*, an Antwerp citizen. In some broadsheets excerpts from guild regulations were included so that everybody in the city was aware of them and could no longer claim ignorance. Ordinances reflected the ideal of unity and consensus in a variety of ways. In 1580 the government

34 Van Haecht, *De kroniek van Godevaert van Haecht over de troebelen*, p. 105: 'ende also werdt dat selfte op den 29 dach, als St Jansdach, weder vernieuwt en gelesen op alle hoecken van der straten, en oock in druck gestelt'. A similar proclamation in Amsterdam was also decreed on all street corners: Femke Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand. Amsterdam 'Moorddam' (1565–1600)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), p. 60.

35 USTC 402957: 'wat men verstaet dat de publicatie op de ghisteren ghedaen by eenighe anders gheinterpreteert is gheweest dan dat de meyninghe ende intentie is gheweset daer ute diverse spraken gheresen zijn'. For another example also see Van Haecht, *Kroniek*, pp. 113–116.

36 On the idea of civic unity see the essays in É. Lecuppre-Desjardin & A.-L. Van Bruaene (eds.), *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th–16th century)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

37 USTC 412139 (1581).

38 USTC 412117 (1580), 412143 (1581), 412145 (1581).

decreed opening and closing hours for the bourse in Antwerp.³⁹ The absence of such time restrictions had caused problems amongst the many merchants who traded in the city.⁴⁰ The new opening hours of the bourse in 1580 were according to the ordinance approved both by the merchants from Antwerp and the foreign trading nations in the city.⁴¹

Urban government in this period was primarily concerned with the maintenance of public order.⁴² In Antwerp decrees related to these issues were regularly re-issued: they addressed begging, unruly youths, or the perceived disorder that might follow from anti-social behavior: drinking in public, walking in churches, dancing in the street or leaving the house at night without a light.⁴³ The city council closely monitored the price of grain in order to avoid social unrest.⁴⁴ Grain was normally first sold at the grain market before millers, bakers and grain merchants were allowed to buy the remainder. Many ordinances dealt with the prices of grain and regulated issues such as the weight of bread and the amount of grain used in brewing. During the revolt in the Netherlands, the issue of public order became dominant and many regulations reflect the attempts of the city government to maintain peace. In 1580 people returning to the city from exile were requested to register.⁴⁵ Frequently innkeepers were reminded to register strangers boarding with them.⁴⁶

The broadsheets decreed and published in Antwerp mainly dealt with local issues even when they had been proclaimed by the States of Brabant, the States General or the king. Why would Daniel van der Meulen have been interested in receiving and collecting these documents? The broadsheets from 1588

39 USTC 412116 (1580). This ordinance was republished several times: USTC 412398 (1586), USTC 412466 (1588), USTC 412875 (1592) and USTC 413101 (1593).

40 For the advantages of time restrictions for trading at the Bourse: Lesger, *Rise of Amsterdam Market*, pp. 224.

41 USTC 412116: 'soo ist met voorgaende communicatie vande ghemeine coopliede, soo wel vande natien als andersinds goed gevonden heeft'.

42 For a study of this phenomenon: Toomas Kotkas, *Royal Police Ordinance in Early Modern Sweden: the Emergence of a Voluntaristic Understanding of Law* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

43 See for instance: USTC 412125 (1581), 412430 (1587), 412444 (1587), 412471 (1588) and 412791 (1591).

44 Arjan van Dixhoorn, 'The Grain Issue of 1565–1566. Policy Making, Public Opinion, and the Common Good in the Habsburg Netherlands', in Lecuppre-Desjardin & Van Bruaene, *De Bono Communi*, pp. 171–204.

45 USTC 412101. In 1580 and 1581 other broadsheets related to the influx of people were decreed: USTC 412118 and 412136.

46 USTC 412155 (1582), 412259 (1584).

demonstrate that a large proportion of the ordinances dealt with economic life but we know very little about how merchants made use of them. The survival of the Van der Meulen collection allows us to investigate this.

The van der Meulens

Daniel van der Meulen was born in 1554 in Antwerp.⁴⁷ In the next decade the civil and religious strife disrupted trade and had a profound impact on the lives of many in the Low Countries. Like many of his compatriots Daniel's life was marked by flight. In 1572 Daniel fled to Cologne together with his mother and sisters whilst his two elder brothers stayed in Antwerp to run the family firm. The Reformed Van der Meulens only returned to Antwerp after the conclusion of the Union of Utrecht in 1579. The religious peace and mutual toleration proclaimed by the Union of Utrecht was soon put in jeopardy as hardline Calvinists took over the city government. Daniel's brother Andries became a member of the Calvinist government in Antwerp in 1580. During the Calvinist period Daniel was also part of the city government; as a ward master he represented the citizens.⁴⁸ When the city was besieged by Habsburg forces in July 1584, Daniel was sent as a delegate by the States of Brabant to the States General in the Northern provinces to plead for assistance to relieve the city.

During his mission in Holland Daniel married Hester della Faille in Haarlem. This marriage was of crucial importance for the expansion of his own trading networks and contacts: Van der Meulen was now a member of one of the most important and wealthy merchant families of Antwerp.⁴⁹ The Della Failles had various important trading contacts in different European cities and were active in the trade with Italian cities.

Daniel and Hester did not return to Antwerp after the city's capitulation to Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, in August 1585; instead they choose to migrate to Bremen in Northern Germany where they were swiftly joined by Andries. Many Protestants from the Netherlands fled to the larger commercial

47 For more information on the Van der Meulens see G. Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 'Inleiding', in idem (ed.), *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen 1584–1600. Vol 1, Aug 1584–Sept 1585* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), pp. xv–xxvi.

48 For a succinct overview of Antwerp's city government: Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of the Reformation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 14–22.

49 Wilfried Brulez, *De firma Della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16de eeuw* (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie, 1959).

cities in the Holy Roman Empire such as Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg.⁵⁰ The reasons behind the choice of Bremen are not entirely clear.⁵¹ Bremen had received a sizeable number of migrants from the Low Countries since the 1560s. The city was also an important member of the Hanseatic League and had only recently adopted the Calvinist confession.⁵² The combination of commercial opportunities from this North Sea port with good trading connections to other Hanseatic cities such as Hamburg probably appealed to the Van der Meulen brothers, as did the newly sympathetic religious environment. In addition they hoped to avoid the confiscation of their property in Antwerp by settling in neutral territory.⁵³ During their years in Bremen, they mainly traded in textiles, spices and grain on the Southern German markets, but they had plans to get involved more directly in trade with southern Europe, and more specifically with Venice.⁵⁴ The dispersal of family members after 1585 created a widespread and tight-knit network of trading families from the Southern Netherlands throughout Europe.⁵⁵ From Bremen it was possible for the Van der Meulens to continue

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- 50 On migration to the Holy Roman Empire see amongst others Robert van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten. Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland 1550–1600* (Leuven: Davidfonds, 1968) and Heinz Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert. Ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1972).
- 51 Robert van Roosbroeck, 'De Antwerpse Van der Meulens in Bremen. Het begin van de ballingschap (1585–1586)', in *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen*, 31 (1972), pp. 193–215. Gillis Hooftman jr., another member of the Calvinist government in Antwerp and a rich mercantile family also moved to Bremen. The patrician Heinrich Zobel had lived in Antwerp between 1567 and 1577 and helped a number of Antwerp families to settle in Bremen.
- 52 The city council never officially adopted Calvinism because they did not want to alienate their own Lutheran archbishop and the surrounding Lutheran princes. For more information on early modern Bremen: Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* (Bremen: Temmen, 1995).
- 53 This was at least one of the reasons why Gillis Hooftman jr. settled in Bremen, see: Eric H. Wijnroks, *Handel tussen Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1560–1640: een netwerkanalyse van Antwerpse en Amsterdamse kooplieden, handelend op Rusland* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), pp. 220.
- 54 Jeremy D. Bangs & George D. Winus, 'Daniel van der Meulen, first Midas of Holland's Golden Age', in Raffaele Belvederi (ed.), *Atti del ii congresso internazionale di studi storici: rapporti Genova- Mediterraneo-Atlantico nell' eta moderna* (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1985), pp. 345–371 and see also J.H. Kernkamp, *De handel van Daniel van der Meulen c.s., in het bijzonder rond de jaren 1588–1592: werkcollege economische geschiedenis* (Leiden: s.n., 1969).
- 55 Another example is De Groote-Hureau family see: Roland Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpse welvaart. De diaspora en het handelshuis De Groote tijdens de eerste helft der 17^{de} eeuw* (Brussels: Pro Civitate, 1976).

trading with the Iberian Peninsula despite the many difficulties involved. In 1591 Daniel moved to the university town of Leiden in the Northern Netherlands, where a considerable group of migrants from the Southern Netherlands lived and worked in the textile industry.⁵⁶ In this period the company started to trade directly with Genoa and Venice, and the business prospered: Daniel was one of the richest merchants in Leiden when he died of plague in 1600.⁵⁷

From the time of his diplomatic mission in 1584 Daniel began to archive the instructions and missives he received from the States General as well as his correspondence with his brother and various members of the Della Faille family.⁵⁸ His files would grow considerably over the next decades.⁵⁹ The impressive number of 6,500 surviving letters in his archive demonstrate his extensive network of correspondents from all over Europe which included family members, business partners and foreign diplomats.⁶⁰ Merchants were trained to organize, file and record their own documents. However, we do not know how Van der Meulen stored and organized his letters and other documents such as trade agreements, passports, price lists etc. With his death in 1600, his

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- 56 Leo Lucassen & Boudien de Vries, 'Leiden als middelpunt van een Westeuropes tekstiel-migratie-systeem 1586–1650', *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis*, 22:2 (1996), pp. 142–148.
 - 57 On the trading relationship with Venice and the important role of merchants from Low Countries see: Maartje van Gelder, *Trading Places: The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 41–67.
 - 58 G. Jongbloet-Van Houtte, *Brieven en andere bescheiden*, pp. xxv–xxv. On this diplomatic mission: G. Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 'De belegering en de val van Antwerpen belicht vanuit een koopmans archief: Daniël van der Meulen, gedeputeerde van de Staten van Brabant ter Staten Generaal (1584–1585)', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 91 (1976), pp. 23–43.
 - 59 In 1598 and 1599 Daniel was involved in two other diplomatic missions: J.H. Kernkamp, 'Vredehandel met Spanje in 1598', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 57 (1936), pp. 341–382; F. Boersma, 'De diplomatieke reis van Daniel van der Meulen en Nicolaes Bruyninck naar het Duitse leger bij Emmerik, augustus 1599', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 84 (1969), pp. 24–65.
 - 60 Scholars have recognized the exceptionally rich nature of the archive and the publication of the 6500 letters was planned in 1920s but never came to fruition. 181 letters from 1584–1585 were published in 1986: G. Jongbloet-Van Houtte (ed.), *Brieven en andere bescheiden betreffende Daniel van der Meulen 1584–1600. Vol 1, Aug 1584–Sept 1585* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986). For a recent article on one of Van der Meulen's correspondents see: Jesse Sadler, 'News as a Path to Independence: Merchant Correspondence and the Exchange of News during the Dutch Revolt', in Margeret C. Jacob & Catherine Secretan (eds.), *In Praise of Ordinary People. Early Modern Britain and the Dutch Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 56–92.

accountant Abraham Berrewijns re-ordered Daniel's archive.⁶¹ The format of the documents was always mentioned; with categories such as 'hele bladen' (whole leafs) 'langwerpich quarto' (long quarto's), 'langwerpich formaat' (long format) and 'gemeen cleyn papier' (normal small paper). The letters were classified according to place of correspondence such as Italy, Antwerp, Zeeland, Cologne, Frankfurt, London. There were separate files for the copies of letters and for the manuscript newsletters ('tijdingen van diversche quartieren') but in the document printed ordinances are not mentioned. Some ordinances are present in the auction catalogue of his library in the section devoted to historical books in quarto.⁶² The catalogue recorded 'an ordinance from the king and other treatises, Brussels 1576' as well as 'an ordinance from Antwerp' without any further details.⁶³ Such ephemeral material was not often included in an auction catalogue and it seems unlikely that the broadsheet ordinances would have been sold at the public auction.⁶⁴

Libraries seem to have been the place where other merchants in the Low Countries kept ordinances. Unfortunately in library inventories and auction catalogues ordinances are rarely recorded separately. It is rare to find a mention of any type of broadsides at all in these sources and exact titles of ordinances are rarely noted.⁶⁵ In the 1617 library inventory of the wealthy Portuguese

61 Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 'Inleiding', pp. xc–xcii.

62 Van der Meulen was an avid collector of books; when he died he had amassed around 1200 books: J.H. Kernkamp, 'De bibliotheek van den koopman Daniel van der Meulen onder de hamer', in A. Hulshof & Marie J. Reynvaan (eds.), *Opstellen bij zijn afscheid van de Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht aangeboden aan G.A. Evers* (Utrecht: Oosthoek's Uitgeverij, 1940), pp. 187–203.

63 RAL, VdM 69, f.71: *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae clarissimi doctissimique vin piae memoriae D. Danielis Vander Meulen. Catalogue vande Boecken des gheleerden ende wijdtberoemden heeren saliger D. Danielis vander Meulen* (Leiden: Ralphelengius, 1600), USTC 42992. A heavily damaged second copy with price annotations is kept in Utrecht, RA familiearchief Van der Meulen, collectie Andries van der Meulen, nr 16.

64 Some of his news pamphlets were not sold at the auction either and are still kept in the archive. Bert Van Selm has noted that vernacular publications are not well represented in auction catalogues, mainly because the buyers at auctions in a university town such as Leiden did not come to auctions for the cheap vernacular publications: *Een menighe treffelijcke boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1987), pp. 97–98.

65 The inventory of the library (1596) of the Milanese merchant Ieronimo Cassina, who resided in Antwerp, also contained ordinances, described as 'Des heylighen roomschen rycx ordinantien': Pierre Jodogne, 'La Bibliothèque de Ieronimo Cassina (Anvers, 1596)', in André Tourneux (ed.), *Liber Amicorum Raphaël de Smedt: Litterarum Historia* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), pp. 123–137.

merchant-banker Emmanuel Ximenez the edicts are recorded separately under the heading 'diversche placcaten' (various edicts).⁶⁶ This unique source offers us some tantalizing clues as to where merchants kept these documents and which type of documents they collected. Included in that category are printed peace treatises such as the texts of the peace of London 1604 or the Twelve Year's Truce in 1609 and ordinances regulating currency, trade and trade licenses.⁶⁷ Some of these edicts can even be identified thanks to the descriptions by the notary who in some cases added the year of publication. For instance Ximenez had a 'licentboecken 1597' which is probably a copy of the twenty-four page quarto pamphlet regulating trade with the Dutch states.⁶⁸ Interestingly Ximenez seems to have kept Antwerp broadsheets ordinances, such as a decree regulating trade in currencies, in his library.⁶⁹ It remains unclear whether this was also Daniel's practice.

Van der Meulen's broadsheet ordinances might have been kept together with the correspondence but restoration work and the reorganization of the documents by a twentieth-century archivist make it particularly difficult and challenging to reconstruct how the Van der Meulens received the broadsheets and where they were kept.⁷⁰ Daniel normally annotated letters with a date of receipt but none of the ordinances have been annotated. Traces of folding are no longer clearly visible but in the case of one of the heavily damaged

66 On this library and the inventory see the brief description by Christine Göttler as part of a larger project entitled: 'Reading the Inventory: The Possessions of the Portuguese Merchant-Banker Emmanuel Ximenez (1564–1632)': <http://ximenez.unibe.ch/library/> (Last accessed 5/12/2015). For a transcription of Ximenez-Da Vega inventory: Erik Duverger (ed.), *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, 1984–2004), II, pp. 434–461.

67 Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventaris*, II, p. 459.

68 It is probably the *Nieuwe liste van het recht van licenten dat men voortaan betalen sal voor alle toegelaten ende ghepermitteerde waeren ende coopmanschappen: vaerende near de landen ghehouden by den vyant ende rebellen*: either the edition published in 1597 by Velpius in Brussels, USTC 402388, or the edition published by Verdussen in Antwerp, USTC 413321.

69 The 'Ordonnantie van geen contant met contante penningen te coopen' is probably the following: *Gheboden ende uutgheroepen. Alsoo om te verheuden de abusen onder de cooplieden van het coopen ende te vercoopen vande contanten* (Antwerp, Moretus, 1600), USTC 414145.

70 The printed ordinances have all been grouped together regardless of their format. The collection also includes one quarto ordinance published in Antwerp: USTC 413878 (1588) and one octavo ordinance: USTC 412814 (1591). The only other ordinance in the archive was issued by the States General and published in The Hague in 1594 (USTC 423290) and has not been included in this folder by the archivist: RAL, VdM, 242.

broadsheets, the severe damage across its middle portion suggest the broadsheet might indeed have been folded, and presumably inserted in a missive (Fig 9.2). But Van der Meulen's personal circumstances point to this even more strongly. The collection only contains two broadsheets from the period before 1585 when Daniel and Andries were both living in Antwerp. All the other broadsheets date from their period in Bremen between 1585 and 1591. The majority of the broadsheets still extant date from 1587 (31 broadsheets) and 1588 (25 broadsheets).⁷¹ The collection includes the majority of all single-sheet ordinances printed by Plantin in those years: for 1587 31 of the 38 editions, for 1588 25 of the 34 editions.

There was no preference for a specific type of broadsheet regulation. The collection even contains the yearly reminders to pay taxes (Fig. 9.3).⁷² Given the miscellaneous quality of the collection, it is likely that all the broadsheets printed by Plantin were dispatched to the Van der Meulens in Bremen. The collection contains two different editions of the same broadsheet and several examples of a broadsheet printed on half a sheet still attached to a different edition printed on the other half of the sheet. This material evidence indicates that Van der Meulen did not receive them from a correspondent based in Antwerp but that Plantin himself send copies of his broadsheets to the Van der Meulens, either directly or indirectly via other bookdealers or merchants in the Holy Roman Empire. The brothers traded at the Frankfurt markets and had several contacts within the book world.⁷³ These broadsheets ordinances were part of the larger information network that shaped their commercial strategies.

Information Makes the World Go Round

In 1592 Daniel wrote to his trading partner and brother-in-law Anthoine Lempereur, who was still in Bremen: 'It would be foolish to send something without information'.⁷⁴ This piece of advice underlines the importance Daniel,

71 Ordinance from 1580 (USTC 412101), from 1582 (USTC 412154), and from 1585 (USTC 412347).

72 USTC 413761 (1587).

73 For Plantin and the Frankfurt fair see Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, pp. 396–405. The brothers traded at the Frankfurt markets and bought books in Frankfurt see: Jongbloet-Van Houtte, *Brieven en andere bescheiden*, p. lxiii.

74 Jongbloet-Van Houtte, *Brieven en andere bescheiden*, p. lvi: 'envoyer sans information, ce seroit une pure folie'.

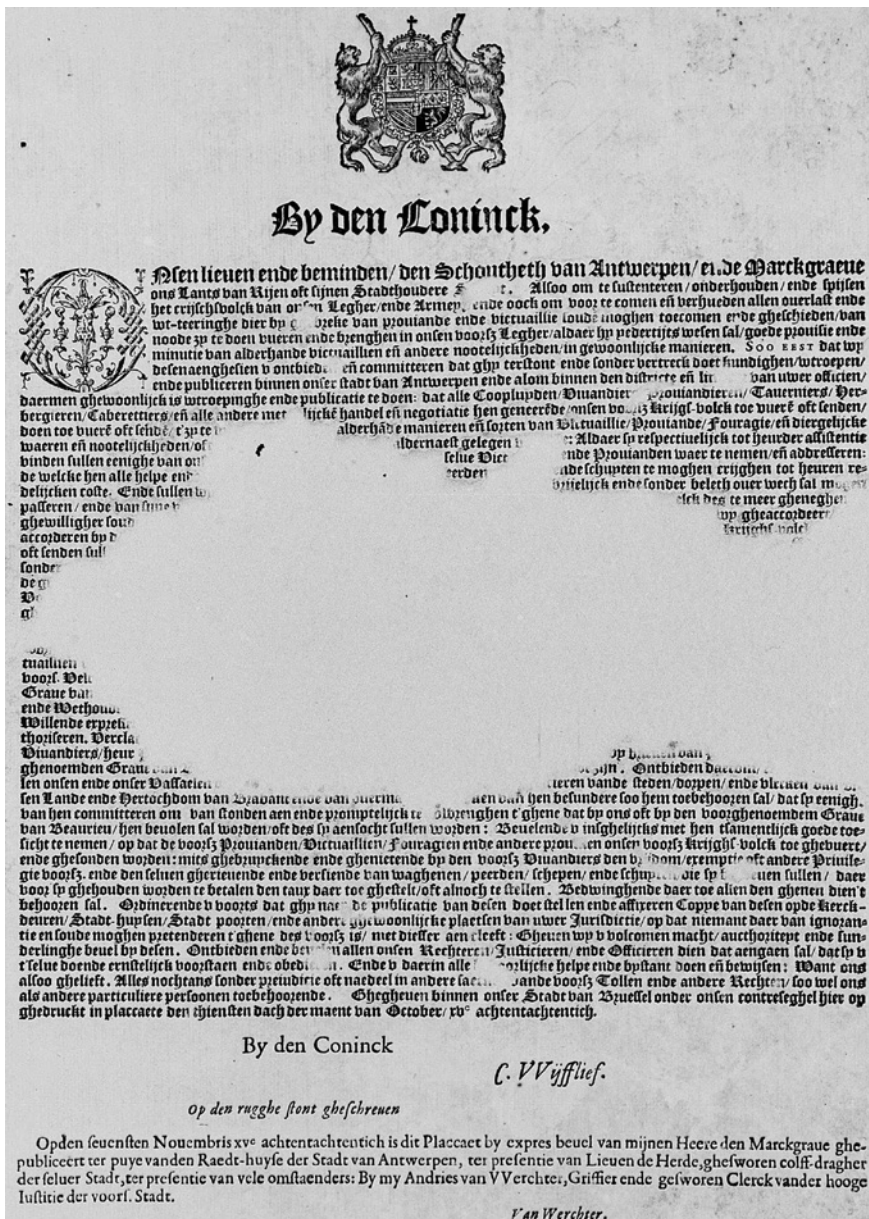


FIGURE 9.2 Damaged royal broadsheet ordinance from the Van der Meulen archive. This one was larger than the usual Antwerp broadsheets (420 × 280 mm). USTC 441293. ERFGOED LEIDEN, VAN DER MEULEN 69, 48.

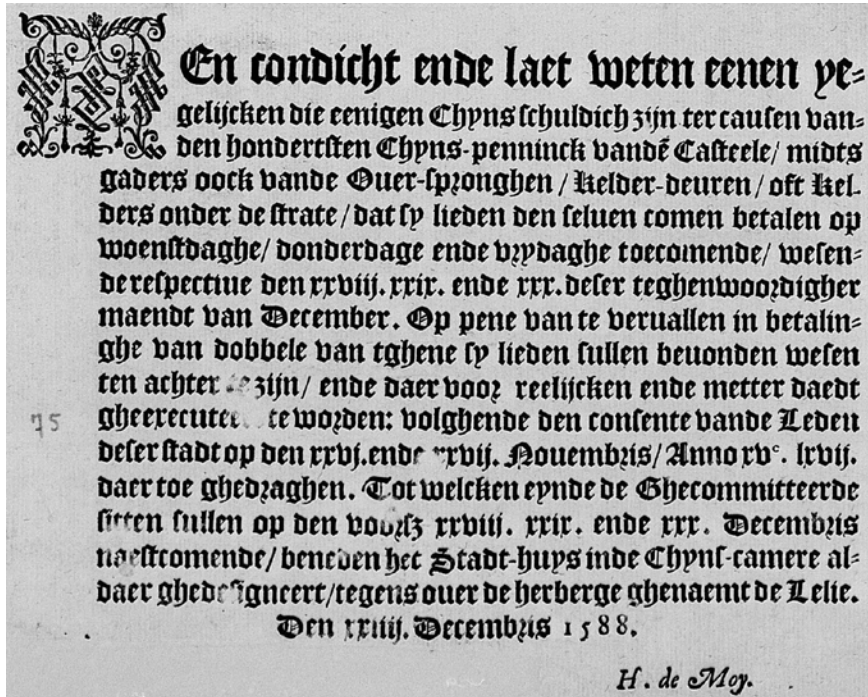


FIGURE 9.3 The only remaining copy of this 1588 edition which reminded the citizens of Antwerp to come and pay their taxes at the end of the year. These broadsheets were published on a yearly basis in a smaller format (200 × 235 mm).

ERFGOED LEIDEN, VAN DER MEULEN 69, 48.

like most merchants, attached to receiving information. Letters were used to report on the buying and selling of goods, the prices of goods and commercial deals, as well as the exchange rates.⁷⁵ During their first years in Bremen Daniel and Andries mainly traded in grain and spices. The brothers followed the fluctuating prices of these goods closely in order to be able to buy and sell at the right time.⁷⁶ Exactly during this time Francis van Eeckeren, their Venetian agent, started to send printed price lists from Venice. In 1588 they received their first printed copies of the Venetian commodity price current which gave

75 Francesca Trivellato, 'Merchants' Letters across Geographical and Social Boundaries', in Francisco Bethencourt & Florike Egmond (eds.), *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 80–103.

76 Van Roosenbroeck, 'De Antwerpse Van der Meulens', pp. 204.

an overview of goods and their prices on the local market.⁷⁷ These are exceptionally precious documents: very few of these commercial price lists have survived.⁷⁸ The first printed publications produced exclusively for the trading community were printed commodity price lists and lists of exchange rates, probably printed as early as 1540s in Antwerp, though no copies have survived from this early date.⁷⁹ The earliest extant copies of printed commodity price lists are in fact the Venetian copies in the Van der Meulen archive.⁸⁰ These earliest examples offer an interesting combination of print and manuscript: the prices of the goods were not printed but were added by hand (Fig. 9.4).

The Van der Meulens monitored the economic situation in Netherlands very closely. Local Antwerp ordinances gave them very detailed information on the financial problems of the city following the reconciliation with Farnese. They had a copy of the broadsheet in which the Broad Council of Antwerp decreed new taxes on wood and coal coming into the city in 1587.⁸¹ While the brothers had a vast network of trusted trading partners in commercial cities such as Frankfurt, Hamburg, Middelburg and Amsterdam, who reported on prices and other economic transactions, the reliability of price information was a constant worry. The fluctuation of the prices for spices and rye in the 1580s was a problem for enterprising merchants such as the Van der Meulens. Several of the broadsheets coming from Antwerp in this period established fixed prices for these goods. It was the task of the city government to provide food at a fair price and with rising food prices and the danger of famine the government thought it necessary to intervene. The Van der Meulens would have been familiar with this principle since they had been active as merchants in the city and had been part of the government for a few years. In 1588 the city magistrate issued a broadsheet ordinance in which they prohibited merchants from selling food and other goods above the fixed price (Fig. 9.5).⁸² The dearth of grain was

77 For more information on the Venetian price currents, see Ugo Tucci, 'I listini a stampa dei prezzi e dei cambi a Venezia', *Studi Veneziani*, 25 (1994), pp. 15–33.

78 John J. McCusker & C. Gravesteijn (eds.), *The beginnings of commercial and financial journalism: the commodity price currents, exchange rate currents and money currents of early modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 1991).

79 John J. McCusker, 'The Italian Business Press in Early Modern Europe', in Simonetta Cava-ciocchi (ed.), *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro secc. xiii-xviii. Atti della 'venti-tresima settimana di studi' 15–20 aprile 1991* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1992), pp. 797–841.

80 RAL, VdM, 92: Koersen en prijscouranten van koopwaren.

81 USTC 412425 (1587).

82 USTC 412478 (1588).

ADING 24th 1509. In Venezia.


CORSO DI PIV SORTE MERCANTIE QUELLO CHE VAGLIONO QVI AL PRESENTE.

Il Cargo.	La Lira alla Sotilla.	Il Miaro alla Grossa.
Piper Gaurio ———— 8p 120	Canfora Refatta ———— 8p 20	Cuori Bouini ———— 8p 20 1/2
Detto Comun ———— 8p 136	Detto grezza ———— 8p 20	Cenere di Sauoni ———— 8p 20 1/2
Detto de Calicut ———— 8p 133	Scamonea Fina ———— 8p 20	
Il Cento Alla Sotilla.	Reobarbaro fino ———— 8p 10	Il Staro.
Zenzaro da Bulli ———— 8p 15	Detto in forte ———— 8p 50	Vua passa dal Zante ———— 8p 42 1/2
Detto Belchini ———— 8p 12	Cremese de Spagna ———— 8p 20	Detto de Lepanto ———— 8p
Detto Mordasi ———— 8p 12	Seda Ardaßina ———— 8p 50	Figli in Barietti ———— 8p 20
Detto de Calicut ———— 8p 9 1/2	Detto Ardaßa ———— 8p 27	Carobe ———— 8p 7
Detto de S. Domenego 8p 9	Ardaßa Saluatica ———— 8p 23	
Detto Mechini ———— 8p 10	Canari ———— 8p 30 1/2	La Anfora.
Canella Longa ———— 8p 120	Zegen ———— 8p 34	Moscatello ———— 8p
Spolette ———— 8p 110	Mamodea ———— 8p	Romania ———— 8p
Scauazioni de Canella 8p 80 1/2	Lezzi ———— 8p	
Incento ———— 8p 12	Paciana ———— 8p 90	La Pezza.
Endigo fin ———— 8p 90 1/2	Bella Donna ———— 8p	Carifce ordinarie ———— 8p 11
Sotto fin ———— 8p 50 1/2	Vallona ———— 8p	Detto biachi da norden 8p 9 1/2
Detto mezzano ———— 8p 50 1/2	Fior de Morea ———— 8p 100 20	Detto fine laggi verdi ———— 8p 17 1/2
Goma Arabica ———— 8p 20 1/2	Doppia ———— 8p	Telle de Ceto alte de Os
Mira Fina ———— 8p 20	Decchera ———— 8p 20	senbruch ———— 8p 9 1/2
Detta Mezana ———— 8p 12	Isola ———— 8p	Detto Bassi ———— 8p 7 1/2
Sallarmonico refinato 8p 32	Fior de Isola ———— 8p	Detto de Augusta alte 8p 7 1/2
Siena Alessandrina ———— 8p 27	Belgrado ———— 8p	Detto Bassi ———— 8p 7 1/2
Caffia in Cans ———— 8p 10 1/2	Oro filado ———— 8p 13 1/2	Telle da Olmo in 16 Bia
Draganti ———— 8p 10 1/2	Argento filado ———— 8p 12 1/2	chizate ———— 8p
Alfa Fenda ———— 8p 30 1/2	Il Miaro alla Sotilla.	Detto in 18 ———— 8p 3
Colla de Pesce ———— 8p 20	Argento viuo ———— 8p 200	Sefantine da Olmo Bian
Zuccaro Fino ———— 8p 20	Cenaprio ———— 8p 200	chizate ———— 8p 50 20
Detto di Medera ———— 8p 20	Verzini ———— 8p 20	La Marcha.
Detto in Campanello ———— 8p 20	Calamo ———— 8p 60	Oro fino ———— 8p 90 1/2
Detto Santome ———— 8p 10 1/2	Mandole Ambrosine ———— 8p 50	Argento fino ———— 8p 90 1/2
Detto Caido bianco ———— 8p 34	Detto Comune ———— 8p 36	
Cera de Levante ———— 8p 12 1/2	Cominde Pulgia ———— 8p 30	La valuta.
Detto de Alemagna ———— 8p 12 1/2	Curandoli ———— 8p 10	Cechini ———— 8p 19 1/2
Detto Bianca ———— 8p 12 1/2	Aneli ———— 8p 50	Ducati Vngari de peso ———— 8p 17 1/2
Gottoni per Olmo ———— 8p 13 1/2	Sauon con la Luna ———— 8p 37	Detto de vn gran ———— 8p 17 1/2
Detto per Augusta ———— 8p 13	Risi ———— 8p 15	Crociati de peso ———— 8p 17 1/2
Detto de Agria ———— 8p 9 1/2	Lume de Rocha rossa ———— 8p 22	Detto de vn gran ———— 8p 17 1/2
Detto Amoini ———— 8p 9 1/2	Detto de Costantinopoli 8p 16	Scudi de 5. stampe de
Detto Soriani ———— 8p 9 1/2	Rozza de Alemagna ———— 8p 26	peso ———— 8p 160 1/2
Detto de la Smira ———— 8p 9 1/2	Detto de Ponente ———— 8p	Detto in forte de peso ———— 8p 160 1/2
Detto Rosso ———— 8p 30 1/2	La lira alla Grossa.	De uno gran ———— 8p 160 1/2
Filadi Tenti ———— 8p 30 1/2	Cordouani Bruni ———— 8p 39	De 2 grani ———— 8p 160 1/2
Sbiaca ———— 8p 30 1/2	Detto schietti ———— 8p 39	De 3 grani ———— 8p 160 1/2
Cebibo damaschini ———— 8p		De 4 grani ———— 8p 160 1/2
Capari il Ceto ala grossa 8p	Il Miaro alla Grossa.	Rainis d'oro ———— 8p 200
La lira alla Sotilla.	Lana Gorisvalda ———— 8p 390	Tollerer de 68. carantani
Zafaran da Laquila ———— 8p 98	Detto Marza ———— 8p 200	Fiorini di 60. Carantani
Detto de Pulgia ———— 8p	Della misla ———— 8p 600	
Detto Turco ———— 8p	Detto Spagniola ———— 8p 500	Cabij per diuersi luoghi.
Garofoli Cernidi ———— 8p 20	Detto Salomchia ———— 8p 70 1/2	Cologna ———— 8p 92 1/2
Fusti de Garofoli ———— 8p 8 1/2	Rami da Sboz ———— 8p 120	Anueria ———— 8p 92 1/2
Nose Muschiade cernide 8p 15 1/2	Detto de Ongara ———— 8p 120	Londra ———— Denari
Detto in forte ———— 8p 12	Detto da Brunch ———— 8p 100	Lione ———— 8p 20
Detto Aferbe ———— 8p 9	Stagni dal Grisso ———— 8p 150	Bisenzonte ———— 8p 20
Macis in Zurlo ———— 8p 30	Detto del Raffello ———— 8p 150	Napoli ———— 8p 20 1/2
Detto in Caffa ———— 8p 26	Detto del Caualetto ———— 8p 150	Bari ———— 8p 20 1/2
Piper Longo demestico 8p 10	Piombo Todisco ———— 8p 31	Roma ———— 8p de Camera
Detto Saluatico ———— 8p 8 1/2	Galla de Soria ———— 8p 32	Fiorenza ———— Scudi
Zeduarua ———— 8p 10	Detto della Smira ———— 8p 65	Milano ———— 8p 30 1/2
Semencuzina ———— 8p 10	Detto de Istria ———— 8p 70	Ancona ———— 8p 30 1/2
Boraso Refatto ———— 8p 50 1/2	De Pulgia Augustina ———— 8p 45	Francforte ———— fiorini
Detto Grezzo ———— 8p 50	Detto Vernia ———— 8p 40	Norimbergo ———— fiorini
Mastici ———— 8p 15 1/2	Oligio de Pulgia ———— 8p 73	Augusta ———— fiorini
Galanga ———— 8p 5		Bolzano ———— 8p 120

Carafani 25th 1509 stantio 160 1/2
stantio 25th 160 1/2
stantio 25th 160 1/2
stantio 25th 160 1/2

FIGURE 9.4 A price current printed in Venice with the handwritten prices of goods from the Van der Meulen archive.

ERFGOED LEIDEN, VAN DER MEULEN 92.



Geboden ende wtgeroepen by mijnⁿ

Heeren, Schouteth, Borgermeesteren, Schepenen,
ende Raedt der Stadt van Antwerpen, op den
xj. Octob. M. D. LXXXVIII.

Also men verstaet dat vele ende diuersche
Coopliden ende Doozcoopers binnen deser Stadt van
Antwerpen onnuegaende met alderhande eertwaere
ende andere goeden hen niet en laeten ghenoege met
redelick ghewin/maer hen veruozderen de selue naer
heuren appetijt te verhooghden / ende op te steken tot
groote schade ende achterdeel van alle Bozgeren ende
Inghelerten deser Stadt: Ende om daer inne te ver-
sien / Soo eest darmen ghebiecht van s Heeren ende deser Stades we-
ghen / dat niemant wie hy zy Bozger oft Inghelerten deser Stadt en sal mo-
ghen vercoopen noch coopen binnen noch buyten deser Stadt binnen Wra-
bant / om voorts te vercoopen eenighe eertwaere / als boter / kaele / eperen /
cappynnen / kiecken / hinnen / patrysen / filanten / halsen / conijnen / noch
eenigherhande poullerpe oft wiltbraet / tyn luttel oft vele: al eest dat de sel-
ue eertwaere heur male ende ghe woonlijcke ure ter meret ghehouden heeft.
Item dat egheen vande naernolghende waeren hooger en sullen moghen
vercocht worden als hier naer volghet te weten.

De Selsche oft Sijmuyssche Boter de beste niet hooger	
het pondt day	viij stuyuers ende eenen haluen,
Alle andere boter naer aduenant.	
Sij besij Hollandschij kaele niet hooger het pondt day iij.	stuy.
Sij besij nieubosch Hollandschij	iiij stuyuers.
Alle andere soortij day kaele naer aduenant,	
Goudt, het beste dy sack	vij. gulden.
Seep, het pondt	ij. stuyuers.
Leersij het pondt	vij. stuyuers.
Half-hondt het beste, het duyft	xliij. gulden.
Ende het gheheel hondt d'beste	xxviij. gulden.
Muisaert Aerschoot ghebinde	iiij. gulden x. stuyuers.
Ende dy anderij naer aduenant.	
Colij het sifter.	ij. gulden x. stuyuers.

Ordonnerende allen Doozcoopers/ende allen anderen wie die zijn/hen de-
sen volghende te reguleren/op de verbeurte vande selue goeden ende waer-
ren hooger vercocht zijnde/te bekeeren d'een helft tot behoef vanden officier
ende Heere/het ander vanden aenbrynger/ende te verbeuren daerenbouen
hen poozterpe ende ambacht.

G. Kieffel.

FIGURE 9.5 Broadsheet ordinance which fixed the prices of various goods in 1588.

USTC 412478.

ERFGOED LEIDEN, VAN DER MEULEN 69, 48.

the topic of numerous broadsheet ordinances. Several broadsheets regulating the import and export of grain as well as the baking of bread reached the Van der Meulens between 1587 and 1588.⁸³

Broadsheet ordinances regulated various aspects of urban life or prohibited unacceptable behaviour. The Van der Meulen collection contains a number of these: broadsheets dealing with sanitation issues, such as a broadsheet prohibiting pigs from roaming around the city.⁸⁴ A number of broadsheets dealt with the maintenance of peace and order in the city. Antwerp was home to large garrisons of soldiers from the Habsburg army and this presented the authorities with a set of difficulties. Several ordinances were issued against the buying of weapons from soldiers or the possession of weapons by citizens.⁸⁵ Information of this sort was of less direct economic relevance to the Van der Meulens, but it was still of great value, since it allowed them to gauge the general atmosphere and temper of life in the city.

Some of the ordinances in their collection proclaimed and enforced the new Catholic order in the city: in August 1587 the city government instructed everyone to send their children to catechism every Sunday at 11 am.⁸⁶ Farnese's preparation for the campaigning season of 1587 and 1588 also left traces in Antwerp broadsheets. In December 1587 an ordinance ordered all mariners and ship owners to put their services at the disposal of the royal army.⁸⁷ Other ordinances were issued requesting material support for the upcoming campaign: it was strictly forbidden to hide horses and carts, and citizens were asked to make them available to the military.⁸⁸ Several ordinances requested traders to provide the army with necessary food and supplies.⁸⁹ As was the case with commercial information, the broadsheet ordinances could serve as proof of the rumours circulating in the mercantile communities about war preparations and the possible impact of a new campaign on their trade. The broadsheet were an important source of information for Antwerp in those years, especially given the fact that Maarten della Faille and Robert van Eeckeren, two members of their extended family who still resided in Antwerp, did not mention

83 USTC 412427, 412434, 412435, 412445, 412447, 412460.

84 USTC 412426 (1587) and see also USTC 412450 (1587).

85 USTC 412424 (1587).

86 USTC 4122439 (1587).

87 USTC 412452 (1587).

88 USTC 412474 (1588).

89 USTC 412477 (1588): 'Armeye is ten velde vertrocken om den dienst Godts ende sijne majesty te vermeederen'.

these matters in their letters.⁹⁰ Perhaps it was not prudent to do so; correspondence was vulnerable to interception on the road, and could always fall into the wrong hands. In their surviving correspondence family matters, especially the issue of Jan della Faille's inheritance, are the recurring themes. And the van der Meulens also received, just like the Augsburg banking family, manuscript news-sheets or *tijdinghen* from different cities in Europe on a regular basis.⁹¹ These manuscript newsletters offered a weekly digest of military and political news and were mainly compiled by anonymous scribes in Venice and Rome.⁹² Daniel and Andries received the first *avvisi*, written in Italian and with news collected in Venice and Rome, in 1588, around the same time as their first price currents.⁹³ Only in 1598 would Daniel receive manuscript newsletters with more extensive coverage of Antwerp news. The handwritten newsletters the Van der Meulens received from Italy or German towns rarely paid attention to the issues regulated by the Antwerp broadsheet ordinances. Ordinances that prohibited people from leaving the city without paying their taxes would not have merited a mention in manuscript newsletters. Yet this measure was specifically directed against the remaining Protestants in the city who were preparing to leave the city as the term allowed by the treaty of reconciliation was ending. The broadsheet ordinances helped the Van der Meulens to keep abreast of the developments in their hometown at a time when they might still have cherished the hope to return.⁹⁴

90 Maarten della Faille sent four letters from Antwerp between 1587–1588: RAL, VDM, 274. Robert Van Eeckeren sent six letters in 1588, RAL, VdM, 536. Both Maarten and Robert tried to get Daniel to return to Antwerp and in some of their letters they included passports to guarantee Daniel could return safely.

91 RAL, VdM 244, 245.

92 For the Fuggerzeitungen see Oswald Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung. Die Fuggerzeitungen (1568–1605) und das Frühmoderne Nachrichtensystem* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011). On the *avvisi* in general see: Mario Infelise, 'From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political *Avvisi*: Notes on the Origins of Public Information' in Bethencourt & Egmond, *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange*, pp. 33–52.

93 The earliest dated newsletter is 'Di Roma li 13 di Agosto 1588'. See also Annie Stolp, *De eerste couranten in Holland. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der geschreven nieuwstijdingen* (Amsterdam: Enschedé, 1938), pp. 16–19.

94 The hope to be able to return to Antwerp was strong amongst the refugee communities, see for instance: Gelderbom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*, pp. 182–185 and Gustaaf Asaert, 1585: *de val van Antwerpen en de uittocht van Vlamingen en Brabanders* (Tiel: Lannoo, 2004), pp. 317–323.

Broadsheet Ordinances as News

In 1586 Andries wrote to his brother, who was in London for business that he was very worried about the new decree issued by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, prohibiting trade with Cadiz.⁹⁵ Such decrees had a direct impact on trade routes and the enterprises of the merchant families. Several acquired and kept printed copies of these documents in their libraries and archives. Historians have however hitherto not explored the role of the placards and regulations within the information infrastructure of early modern merchants. This case demonstrates that broadsheets ordinances travelled across the local and regional boundaries and reached an audience beyond the local citizens and traders to whom they were ostensibly addressed. The government broadsheets from Antwerp were an integral part of information-gathering practices which the Van der Meulens developed during their first years in Bremen, when they started to receive the first printed price lists and manuscript news-sheets from Venice at the same time as they received the Antwerp broadsheets. The surviving archive exemplifies their thirst for all possible information. No source of information was discarded as useless; all were carefully preserved. The broadsheet ordinances provided more than just an overview of the new regulations for merchants in a specific city. These official decrees could provide corroborating evidence for commercial information and rumours of different sorts. In the sixteenth century news came in many forms. As information gathering agencies would find once again in the modern era, the most mundane forms of print could provide insights into the functioning, economic health and morale of distant societies.

Appendix: Broadsheets in Van der Meulen archive

Abbreviations

- Imhof Dirk Imhof, *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
- NB Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby (eds.), *Netherlandish Books: Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

95 Van Roosbroeck, 'De Antwerpse Van der Meulens in Bremen', pp. 211. He referred to the decree of 4 August 1586: USTC 426632.

- Voet Leon Voet, *The Plantin Presses. A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp and Leiden* (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980–1983).

1580

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uuytgheroepen by mijnen heere de Schouteth, [...] stadt van Antwerpen op den viii.sten Martij, XVc. LXXX: Men beveelt dat alle de personen die binnen twee jaren van buyten alhier zijn commen woonen selen schuldich wesen te kennen te gheven sijnen naam. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1580.

Order to people newly settled in the city to register their names

USTC 412101, NB 1393, Voet 153.

1582

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uuytgheroepen by Schouteth [...] stadt van Antwerpen op den vii. Februarij, M.D.LXXXII: Dat alle borgeren selen gehouden zijn henne winckels ende huysen te openen op werckdagen ende die te sluyten allenlijck op sondaghen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1582.

Opening hours of the shops

USTC 412154, NB 1488, Voet 206.

1585

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgheroepen by heer Frederick Perenot Ridder [...] op den xxvj. Septemb. M.D.LXXXV: Alsoo hebben gheconsenteert de continuatie vanden impost op de consumptionen vanden bestiale ende veede. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1585.

Taxes on cattle and meat

USTC 412347, NB 1749, Voet 399.

1587

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgheroepen by heer Frederick Perenot Ridder [...] op den xxj. Ianuarij. M.D.LXXXVII: Al eerst dat alle de ghene die visch te vercoopen schuldich wesen te doen op heure behoerlijcke ende ghedesigneerde plaatsen om die by den keur-meesters vande vische ghekeurt te moghen wesen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Regulating the places of the different fish-markets

USTC 412420, NB 1854, Voet 472.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle-Perrenot Riddere [...] op den xj. Februarij. M.d. LXXXVII. Dat niemandt tzy pouliers, hoendervercoopers, en sal mogen eenich vleesch vercoopen gheduerende dese vasten. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Interdiction to sell meat during Lent

USTC 412423, NB 1843, Voet 475.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle-Perrenot Riddere [...] op den xxviii. Februarij. M.d. LXXXVII: Alsoo men verstaet dat diversche borgeren hen vervoorderen ten achterdeele van de dienst van sijne majesteyt, dat niemandt hem en vervoordere eenich loot oft andere materien van huysen vande soldaten te coopen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Interdiction to buy arms, metal, wood etc. from soldiers of the garrison
USTC 412424, NB 1864, Voet 476.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle-Perrenot Riddere [...] op den xiiij. Martij. M.D. LXXXVII: Alsoo gheordonneert is gheweest te lichten seker ongelt op het hout ende colen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Tax on imported wood and coal
USTC 412425, NB 1847, Voet 477.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle-Perrenot Riddere [...] op den xvij. Martij. M.D. LXXXVII: Dat niemandt binnen deser stadt gheene verckenenen en sal moghen houden. [Antwerpen] s.n. 1587.

Interdiction to keep pigs in the city
USTC 412426, NB 1832, Voet 478.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle-Perrenot Riddere [...] op den xvij. Martij. M.D. LXXXVII: Alsoo giste met grooter quantiteyt uut deser stadt getransporteert, dat niemandt en sal moghen eenighe giste uut deser stadt vervueren dan eenen pot op een reyse. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Regulation on the transport of bread-yeast
USTC 412427, NB 1851, Voet 479.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den ix. Junij. M.D. LXXXVII: Dat alle die meede vercoopen, niet en sulen mogen eenighe ghelagen setten, binnen oft buyten huyse, tzy van soldaten oft borgers, om heuren meede ghelachsgheuwys te vercoopen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Regulation of the sale of meat
USTC 412430, NB 1840, Voet 482.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den lesten Iunij. M.D. LXXXVII: Ten eynde het placcaet soudén worden onderhouden ende om te beletten de groote dierte vanden granen, ende te benemen de onbehoorlijcke practijcken vanden voorcoopers ende monopoliers vanden graenen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin], 1587.

Regulation of the sale of bread
USTC 412431, NB 1868, Voet 483.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick Perrenot Rid-dere [...] op den lesten Iunij. M.D. LXXXVII: Dat hem niemant en vervoordere eenighe boomen oft andere plantsoen op de vesten deser stadt, oft op de kerckhoven, af te houwen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin], 1587.

Action against those who cut down trees on the walls and in public places
USTC 412432, NB 1867, Voet 484.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den vi. Iulij. M.D. LXXXVII: Alsoo Peeter Middeldonck hem vervoordert heeft uut Hollandt, oft Zeelandt alhier correspondentie met den vy-andt ghehouden te hebben. Soo men den selven voorts-roept, ten eynde hy come verantwoorden. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin], 1587.

Inquiry about an agent of the enemy

Reference: USTC 412433, NB 1839, Voet 485.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeropen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den xj. Iulij. M.D.LXXXVII: Dat niemant hem en vervoordere granen, tzy hert ofte weeck meel, noch broodt, buyten deser stadt te transporteren. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin], 1587.

Export of grain and bread forbidden

USTC 412434, NB 1845, Voet 486.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den xvj. Iulij. M.D.LXXXVII: Dat alle backers die eenighe graenen onder hen zijn hebbende, meer dan sy van doen hebben, tselve comen aeng-heven. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Regulation of the sale of grain

USTC 412435, NB 1850, Voet 487.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den xxvij. Iulij M.D.LXXXVII. Datmen ghebiedt dat hem niemant en vervoordere inde vesten deser stadt by daghe oft by nachte te visschen. [Antwerpen], s.n., 1587.

Prohibition to fish inside the city

USTC 413819, NB 1834.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granvuelle [...] op den xxvij. Iulij M.D.LXXXVII: Dat niemant hem en vervoordere te coopen oft te beleenen casacken, bedden noch wapenen, den soldaten in gar-nisoene liggheende toe behoorde [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Interdiction to buy from soldiers of the citadel

USTC 412436, NB 1865, Voet 488.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den xi. Augusti. M.D.LXXXVII: Alsoo de haestighe siecte oft peste be-gint te regneren. Soo dat niemant eenigerhande pruymen binnen deser stadt brengen [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Interdiction to import and sell prunes

USTC 412438, NB 1846, Voet 490.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den xxix. Augusti. M.D.LXXXVII: Als dat voertaen in alle parochie kercken des sondaechs ten elf uren den jonge kinderen sal voor gheleert worden catechismus Canisii oft catholicorum. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Sunday-schools re-established

USTC 412439, NB 1866, Voet 491.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den iiij. Septem. M.D.LXXXVII: Om te beletten alle de frauden ende abusen tot prejudicie alle de frauden ende abusen tot prejudicie vande peerd-assijse. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Regulation of the excise on horses

USTC 412441, NB 1835, Voet 493.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den v. Septem. M.D.LXXXVII: Dat niemandt hem en sal vervorderen eenighe sorten van amonitien buyten deser stadt te doen voeren, oft te laeten transporteren sonder paspoort. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Interdiction to export arms and munition

USTC 412442, NB 1836, Voet 494.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den xiiij. Septem. M.D.LXXXVII: Den Brouwers verboden gheene bier te brouwen, passerende den prys van dertich schellingen Vlaems de tonne, en dit by provisie. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Price of beer forced down

USTC 412442, NB 1848, Voet 495.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den xxij. Septemb. M.D.LXXXVII: dat hem niemandt en vervoordere op der straten te dansen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Interdiction to dance in the street

USTC 412444, NB 1859, Voet 496.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den v. Octob. M.D.LXXXVII. Alsoo verboden is den backers int backen eenighe granen te menghelen met coren oft terwe. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Regulation on the baking of bread

USTC 412445, NB 1837, Voet 497.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den xiiij. Octob. M.D.LXXXVII. Men ghebidet dat niemandt en sal moghen eenich gruyts oft aerde vueren oft storten dan inde strate by het huys

daer woonende zijn de cappocini, om de strate te hooghen [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Superfluous earth or gravel has to be poured in a specified street in order to raise its level

USTC 412446, NB 1849, Voet 498.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by heer Frederick de Granuelle [...] op den xxvij. Octob. M.D.LXXXVII: Alsoo op't faict vande graenen om te voorcomen meerder dierte van graenen. Soo alle die heur willen gheneren met gebacken, ende nochtans niet en zijn int ambacht, tselve doen alleenlijck drye daghen ter weken.[Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Regulation of the sale of bread

USTC 412447, NB 1861, Voet 499.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by mijnen Heeren, Schouteth [...] op den xxj. Nouemb. M.D.LXXXVII: Allen heure kinders oft jongers in heuren ate ende dranck wesende, meer te laten doen heur ghevoech ende vuylicheyt voor de deuren, op de straten oft andere publijcke plaetsen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Action against the pollution of the streets

USTC 412450, NB 1858, Voet 502.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by mijnen Heeren, Schouteth [...] op den xxj. Nouemb. M.D.LXXXVII: Soo dat niemandt vande brouwers yemanden te wercke stellen in het cruyen ofte vueren van bieren, ten zy de selve personen eerst zijn poorters..[Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Regulation on the transport of beer

USTC 412449, NB 1858, Voet 501.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by mijnen Heeren, Schouteth [...] op den xix. Decem. M.D.LXXXVII. Dat alle schippers gehouden wesen te comparereren op der schippers camer. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Action against mariners who have not presented themselves, as ordered, for the service of His Majesty

USTC 412452, NB 1853, Voet 504.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by mijnen Heeren, Schouteth [...] op den xxiii. Dach van December M.D.LXXVII. Dat niemandt hem en vervoordere te wercken, te doen oft te laten wercken op sondaghen oft op heylighe daghen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1587.

Interdiction to work on Sundays and Feastdays

USTC 412453, NB 1860, Voet 505

Antwerpen. Men conduct ende laet weten eenen yegelijcken die eenigen Chyns schuldich zijn ter causen vanden hondersten Chyns-pennick vanden

Castele, midtsgaders oock vande Over-spronghen, kelderdeuren oft kelders onder de strate [...] Den xxiiii. Decembris 1587. [Antwerpen] s.n. 1587.

Payment of taxes

USTC 413761, NB 1870.

1588

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by mijnen Heeren, Schouteth [...] op den vij. Ianuarij M.D.LXXXVIII: dat alle de ghene die eenighe quernen in heuren huysen sijn hebbende sullen schuldich wesen de selve te comen overbrenghen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588.

Against fraud in the grinding-excise

USTC 412454, NB 1887, Voet 506.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by mijnen Heeren, Schouteth [...] op den vj. Februarij. M.D.LXXXVIII: Alsoomen dat deur de menichte vande quernen de gherichticheydt vande mael-accijsen wordt ghedefraudeert. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Payment of a tax

USTC 412456, NB 1886, Voet 508.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen by mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den x. Februarij. M.D.LXXXVIII: Is gheordoneert den brouwers heure bieren te verbeteren, ende die stercker te brouwen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Order to brew stronger beer and regulation of the prices of beer

USTC 412457, NB 1894, Voet 509.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den xxix. Februarij. M.D.LXXXVIII: Men ghebedt dat egheen vleeschhouwers, pastey-backers, dese toecomende vasten openbaerlijck en sal moghen vercoopen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Interdiction to sell meat during Lent

USTC 412458, NB 1914, Voet 510.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den eersten Martij M.D.LXXXVIII: Men condicht dat yeghelijck tapper sal moghen inne legghen meerts-bier tot neghen gulden d'ame: midts betalende op de accyse. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin], 1588

Authorization for the citizens to stock a certain brand of beer

USTC 41249, NB 1883, Voet 511.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den V. Martij M.D.LXXXVIII: Alsoo datmen onbehoorlijcke middelen is ghebruyckende om trecht van de licentien te vercorten, dat egheen schippers te vueren eenighe goeden uut de landen gheoccupeert by de vyanden [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Against fraud in paying custom dues

USTC 412461, NB 1885, Voet 513.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den iiij. Martij. M.D.LXXXVIII: Al eerst soo dat niemant en is gheoorlooft te mengen int meel eenich ander meel [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Against fraud in making bread

USTC 412460, NB 1884, Voet 512.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den xix. Martij M.D.LXXXVIII: Alsoo deser stadt schuldich zijn eenighe chijsen, ter saeken van overspronghen, kelderen sy die comen betalen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Payment of taxes

USTC 412462, NB 1910, Voet 514.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij Ioncker Roelant, Longin, onderschouteth [...] op den xxix Aprilis. M.D.LXXXVIII: Men ghebidet den visschers ende visch-vuerders, dat sy betalen den inhuyse deser stadt. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Regulation of the sale of fish

USTC 412463, NB 1915, Voet 515.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen heeren, Scouteth [...] xij May M.D.LXXXVIII: Een secker jonck dochterken van ontrent elve jaeren genaemt Susanneken is van huys vervremt gheweest. Soo datmen ghebidet sy terstont te resitueren [Antwerpen] s.n. 1588.

Seeking information about the disappearance of a young girl

USTC 413854, NB 1881.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijn heeren, Scouteth [...] xiii. May M.D.LXXXVIII: Dat alle de ghene die noch ouden ende overgeschoten harinck hebben, den selven vercoopen. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Sale of herring

USTC 412464, NB 1903, Voet 516.

Antwerpen. Gehoden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den x. Iunij M.D.LXXXVIII: Alsoo men statueert de ure binnen dewelcke de coopliden souden gehouden zijn heure borse te houden. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Regulation of the hours of the Exchange

USTC 412466, NB 1896, Voet 518.

Antwerpen. Gehoden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den xvij. Iulij M.D.LXXXVIII: Alsoo Jan Cornelissen mishandelt oft andersins

vermoort wesen, soo datmen ghebiedt dat alle deghene die yet wesen te spreken sal schuldich wesen tselve te kennen gheven. [Antwerpen] s.n. 1588

Information sought about a man who had disappeared

USTC 412467, NB 1882, Voet 519.

Men conduct ende laet weten van weghe[n] sijner Maiesteyts gherechticheyt des grooten Brabantschen water-thol, ende Zeeuschen-tol. [Antwerpen] s.n. 1588

Paying the customary toll

USTC 415960, NB 5774.

Antwerpen. Geboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen heeren, scouteth [...] op den xij. Augusti M.D.LXXVIII: Al eest soo dat hem niemant by nachte ende ontijde achter straten te gaen sonder licht by hem te hebben. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Obligation to carry a light at night

USTC 412471, NB 1905, Voet 523.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den X. Septemb. M.D.LXXVIII: dat niemant hem en vervoordere uut deser stadt metter woon te vertrecken, oft sijne meubelen te vercoopen, sonder consent. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Interdiction to leave the city without paying the 'issue-tax'

USTC 412472, NB 1897, Voet 524.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den X. Septemb. M.D.LXXVIII: Soo dat men egheene bieren moghen brouwem om te vercoopen, dan van xv schellinghen d'ame. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Price of beer forced down

USTC 412473, NB 1898, Voet 525.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den Xij. Septem. M.D.LXXVIII: Alsoo dat men tot dienste van sijne majesteyt wagens, kerren ende peerden van doen heeft, dat niemant de selve versteken oft vervueren. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Interdiction to hide waggons and horses when requisitioned for the service of his Majesty

USTC 412474, NB 1902, Voet 526.

Antwerpen. Geboden ende uutgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Souteth [...] op den xv. Septemb. M.D.LXXVIII: Dat de herbergiers niet meer moghen nemen voor t'houden van een peert tussen dach ende nacht dan neghen stuyvers [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Regulation of the prices for renting horses

USTC 412475, NB 1906, Voet 527.

Antwerpen. Geboden ende uitgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Souteth [...] op den xv. Septemb. M.D.LXXVIII: Als eest soo dat om the moghen voorcomen alle frauden ende monopolien onder de buytenlieden, hen ghenerende met poullerie te vercoopen, dat alle de buyten-lieden heur merckt houden op de Coepoortbrugge [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Regulation of the poultry-market

USTC 412476, NB 1907, Voet 528.

Antwerpen. Geboden ende uitgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den xxj. Septemb. M.D.LXXVIII: Alsoo dat het van noode zy, voor al, dat den leger van allen sijden worde gespijst, ende voersien van vivres ende victualie, alle vivandiers ende coop-lieden moghen trecken naer den legher. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Facilities granted to everyone wishing to provision the royal army

USTC 412477, NB 1912, Voet 529.

Antwerpen. By den coninck: Alsoo om te sustenteren, onderhouden ende spijsen het crijschvolck van onsen legher ende armye [...] allen coopliden, vivandiers provandiers, taverniers, gheboden wert te voeren inden legher alle manieren van victuailen.

Measures to provide the royal army with food and supplies

USTC 441293, NB 1919, Voet 2049.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uitgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den xj. Octob. M.D.LXXVIII: Alsoo deur de groote impositien op den wijn de stadt wordt gedefraudeert. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Regulation of the wine-excite and wine-prices

USTC 412479, NB 1900, Voet.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uitgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den xj. Octob. M.D.LXXVIII: Alsoo diversche coopliden ende voorcoopers met alderhande eetwaere, dat niemant sal moghen vercoopen hooger als hier naar volght. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Regulation of the prices of certain goods

USTC 412478, NB 1901, Voet 533.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uitgeroepen bij mijnen Heeren, Scouteth [...] op den 28. Nouemb. M.D.LXXVIII: Men ghebidt dat een yeghelijck die by gravinge, timmeringhe ende metselrye eenighe eerde, gruyts of vuylicheyt hebben liggende op de straten, tselve doen wech vueren. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

About the removal of earth and dirt

USTC 412483, NB 1913, Voet 535.

Antwerpen. Men conduct ende laet weten eenen yegelijcken die eenigen Chyns schuldich zijn ter causen vanden hondersten Chyns-pennick vanden

Casteele, midtsgaders oock vande Over-spronghen, kelderdeuren oft kelders onder de strate [...] Den xxiii. Decembris 1588. [Antwerpen] s.n. 1588.

Payment of tax

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgheroepen bij mijnen heeren, scouteth [...] op den lesten Decemb. M.D.LXXVIII: dat de ceurmeesters deser stadt voortaan allen maenden den eersten maendach sullen den draf stellen op sekeren prys, waer naer de brouwers ghehouden sullen wesen heur te reguleren. [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin] 1588

Regulation of the sale of beer-dregs

USTC 412484, NB 1916, Voet 536.

1591

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij Iaecques Grammey Onderschouteth, [...] op den xxij. Ianuarij. 1591: Alsoo al nu teghenwoordich de sluysen van Oustruweele ende andere worden ghetrocken tot suatie vanden watere. Soo dat niemant eenighe schuyten, hout oft ander drijfbaer goet te laeten drijven [Antwerpen, Jan I Moretus] 1591

Injunction to securely fasten vessels or driftwood to avoid damage to the locks

USCT 412794, NB 2000, Imhof Geb-35.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij wegghen des onderschouteths, [...] op den eersten dach Februarij M.D.XCI: dat niemant hem en vervoordere op eenighe kerckhoven, binnen de kercken, op eenige sondaghen eenighe vergaderinghe te maecken [Antwerpen, Jan I Mortetus] 1591.

Measures against inappropriate behaviour in churches and elsewhere.

USTC 412791, NB 1980, Imhof Geb-37.

Antwerpen. Gheboden ende uutgeroepen bij wegghen des onderschouteths, [...] op den eersten dach Februarij M.D.XCI: egheen soldaten, oft anderen in dienst van sijnder Majesteyt wesende, eenich munitiebroot te coopen [Antwerpen, Jan I Moretus] 1591.

Measures to prevent bread distributed amongst soldiers being sold at the ordinary markets

USTC 412790, NB 1981, Imhof Geb-36.

***“Everyone has hereby been warned.”* The Structure and Typography of Broadsheet Ordinances and the Communication of Governance in the Early Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic**

Arthur der Weduwen

On 8 August 1625 twenty-one delegates attended the daily meeting of the States General of the Dutch Republic. Towards the end of the meeting the delegates read over the text of a new ordinance. This resolution regulated the distribution of prize money for Spanish sloops taken by Dutch privateers. The delegates agreed on the wording of the ordinance and ordered it to be printed.¹

The Twelve Years' Truce officially ended in 1621, and war with Spain had commenced once again. With this ordinance the States General endeavoured to stimulate privateering in order to restrict the commerce of the southern Spanish state, as well as defend its own trade against the 'Dunkirkers' of the south.² It was a particularly pressing issue. The Spanish had taken the offensive, conquering Breda in the south and tightening the encirclement of the Dutch Republic in the east. In retaliation, the Dutch had imposed a partial blockade in 1624 on the major rivers flowing close to the front.³ Yet, the young Republic lived off trade and commerce; the blockade was lifted in the summer of 1625 after numerous complaints of rising food prices and starvation.⁴

As trade resumed on the inner waterways, so did southern privateering. The waterways on the frontier of the Republic could not be regularly patrolled, and

1 Resolution 2833 in J. Roelevink (ed.), *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal: Nieuwe Reeks 1610–1670, zevende deel 1 juli 1624–31 december 1625* (The Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1994), p. 492. The copyright of all images reproduced in this chapter belongs to the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague. I am grateful to the Koninklijke Bibliotheek for their permission to reproduce them.

2 USTC 1500052. In July the States General issued at least two previous ordinances related to the rewards associated with privateering on the sea: on 4 July 1625 and 22 July 1625 (USTC 1500049 and 1500050).

3 Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606–1661* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 144–145.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 149.

the States General relied on local sailors, fishermen and adventurers to protect the borders of the state. In order to incentivise their vigilance, the ordinance of 8 August advertised an increase in the premiums offered for the capture of enemy sloops: crews which captured a sloop would receive fifty *gulden*; smaller vessels would warrant smaller sums.⁵ Any enemy privateers who wished to switch their allegiance, sloop and all, would also receive fifty *gulden*. This was a document intended to appeal to loyal subjects as well as potentially malleable foes.⁶

In the early seventeenth century Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw was the licensed printer of the States General in The Hague.⁷ At his death around 1622 his widow and son continued as privileged printers: the ordinance of 8 August was, as usual, from their press. This broadsheet is a standard size – around 40 centimetres in height and 29 centimetres in width. It is headed by a prominent woodcut emblem signifying the authority of the States General (see Fig. 10.1). Underneath, it features a large, expressive title in a roman typeface which summarises its contents:

PREMIUM FOR THOSE || who take any Sloops of the Enemy on || the Waterways, or Rivers.

Below the title the text is carefully divided into six paragraphs in a black-letter typeface. A large roman typeface is used for the emphasis of certain words and transitions in the text. The last paragraph is followed by the notice that this regulation is issued “By the ordinance of their High Worthinesses the Lords States General.” A woodcut border separates the text from the imprint; here the widow and son of Van Wouw assert their exclusive right to print the ordinance “with privilege”. This printed ordinance is an impressive publication. The text is widely spaced and neatly organised, and the title is imposing. The interspersed text in roman type guides the eye: in the first paragraph the phrases “*DOEN TE WETEN*” (hereby inform), and “*SOO IST*” (therefore it is) are prominent. These two common phrases mark the start of the clause of justification, in which the States General highlights its concern and reasons for implementing the new ordinance, and the clause of consequence, which outlines the new measures associated with the regulations.


The Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB) in The Hague contains a unique collection of 363 broadsheet ordinances from the first half of the seventeenth

5 Fifty *gulden* was approximately fifty days' wages for a labourer in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

6 USTC 1500052.

7 Maarten Schneider, *De Voorgeschiedenis van de “Algemeene Langsdrukkerij”* (The Hague: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1939), pp. 36–44.

8 Aug. 1625



8 Aug. 1625

PRÆMIUM VOOR DE

ghene die eenige Chaloupen vanden Vyandt veroveren opte
Binnen-stroomen, ofte Rivieren.

DE Staten Generael der Vereenichde Nederlanden / Allen den ghenen die dese sullen sien ofte hooren lesen / Saluyt : DOEN TE VVEETEN : Also wy opten vierden / ende twee-en-twintichden der voorleden Maene Julij / goetd ghevonden hebben eenighe Placcaten te doen emaneren / by de welcke wy secker *premium* hebben gheskeid / soo wel vooyd' Dorlogh-schepen deser Landen / als vooyd' anderen / die eenighe Dyrnkerkers / of andere Schepen met Commissie vanden Vyandt varende / in Zee souden komen te veroveren. Ende dat wy mede gheoordeelt hebben / tot verseeckeringe vande Binne-stroomen grootelijc te sullen dienen / by aldien wy oock eenich *premium* beden stellen op de Chaloupen vanden Vyandt / met de welcke de selve Stroomen grootelijc werden gheinfesteert. SOO IST, dat wy / willende de Binnen-stroomen soo veel verseecken / als eenichsins moghelijk is / tot beneficie vande vijze navigatie opte selve / Ghesatueret ende gheoordeent hebben / Ratueren ende ordonneren by desen het *premium* hier nae volghende.

Alle de ghene die eenighe Chaloupen vanden Vyandt opte Binnen-stroomen ofte Rivieren sullen komen te vermeerderen / t'zy dat sy zijn particulieren / Soldaten / ofte Bootz-ghesellen op eenighe Schepen van Dorloghe ofte anderlins / in / of buyten onsen dienst wesende / de selve sullen genieten van een Chaloupe van vijf Doch-ten / die vanden Vyandt veroveret of verlaten sal moghen worden / vijftich gulden / ende daer-en-boven genieten de selve Chaloupe.

Soo oock eenighe vanden Vyandt selfs wouden overkomen / ende eenighe andere Chaloupen ende Volck vanden Vyandt vermeerderen / ende de selve mede-brachten / de selve sullen genieten haer pardon / ende boven dien de Chaloupe / mitsgaders de vijftich guldens als vooren.

By aldien de Chaloupen grooter ofte kleynder zijn als van vijf Dochten / sal betaelt worden naer advenant vande Dochten / elke Dochte teghens thien gulden ghereckent.

De betalinghe vande voorsz *premie* sal ghedaen worden by de naest-gelegene Steden / de welcke 't ghene sy sullen betalen / wederom sullen moghen kopen / tot laste vande Generaliteyt / aen hare middelen.

Albus ghedaen ende gearresteert ter Vergaderinge vande Ho: en Ho: Heeren Staten Generael / in 's Graven-haghe / opten achtsten Augusti 1625. Was gheparapheert P. Broerfama^{cl}. Onder stont /

Ter Ordonnantie vande Hooch-gemelte
Heeren Staten Generael.

I. van Goch.

KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK
Vorz. Plakkaten
F. 44 No. 61

IN 's GRAVEN-HAGHE,
By de VVeduwe, ende Erfsenamen van wijlen Hillebrant Jacobsz van VVouw, Ordinaris Druckers vande Ho: Mo: Heeren Staten Generael. Anno 1625. Met Privilegie.

FIGURE 10.1 The States General ordinance of 8 August 1625. USTC 1500052.
THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, KW PLAKK F 44 (61).

century – and many hundreds more from the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸ This collection is considerable, yet little known. The broadsheet ordinances are catalogued as collective items, concealed behind several dozen catalogue entries. They lack detailed description of their contents and appearance. The collection does not appear in the national bibliography of the Netherlands (STCN), which excludes broadsheets altogether – even those documented in well-known bibliographies of other ephemera.⁹ This restrictive bibliographic practice contributes to the elusive nature of Dutch broadsheet ordinances. It is therefore not surprising that little attempt has been made to study the structural and typographical aspects of Dutch broadsheet ordinances. Their place within Dutch print culture and state communication has never been examined, to the detriment of our understanding of the governance of the early Dutch Republic. An introductory investigation can properly begin with the diverse KB collection, focusing on the first few decades of surviving broadsheets.

Dutch Government and the Printing Press

From the start of the Dutch Revolt the printing press played an important role in the communication of public policy. The use of political pamphlets by William, Prince of Orange, and his advisors has been well documented.¹⁰ Before the revolt it was the Habsburg authority in Brussels that was responsible for most printed ordinances published in the Low Countries. The Union

8 Contained in the “kw Plakk F” collection, which contains broadsheet ordinances from the early seventeenth century (with several stray sixteenth-century items) to the early nineteenth century.

9 Such as W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamflettenverzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, (9 vols., The Hague: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1889–1920) and L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden* (4 vols., The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1882–1934).

10 See P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de Pamfletten 1566–1584* (Utrecht: HES, 1983); Alastair Duke, ‘Dissident Propaganda and Political Organisation at the Outbreak of the Revolt of the Netherlands’, in his *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. by Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Femke Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand: Amsterdam “Moorddam” 1566–1578* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015).

of Utrecht (1579) and the abjuration of Philip II's authority by the rebellious provinces in 1581 cemented the role of the States General in the governmental structure of the Republic. At regular meetings of the States General delegates from the States of Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel and Stad en Lande (the province Groningen) gathered to represent their regional interests and formulate federal policy.

At these meetings, delegates also took responsibility for supervising the publication of some of its resolutions in print. To maintain inter-provincial consensus it was essential to advertise new policies. As with the ordinance of 8 August 1625, delegates read a prepared text – a *conceptplakkaat* – and if they considered this appropriate, would choose to disseminate the ordinance in print. Ordinances were proclaimed in The Hague, and distributed to other regional authorities with instructions for the proclamation and reprinting of the ordinance. The process of distribution and the intended audience varied with each publication. On 11 March 1627 it was agreed that an ordinance on false coinage circulating in Southern Holland should be printed and distributed throughout the entire country to warn citizens against the counterfeit currency; on 10 April an accord established between the States General and Algiers and Tunis was distributed specifically to the five Admiralties of the Republic.¹¹

The States General issued enough ordinances to provide valuable business to its printer. The privilege of the States printer was coveted, but the position stayed within one family between 1582 and 1669. Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw had received the privilege from his father-in-law, Albrecht Hendricksz van Leuninghen, in 1605. Hillebrant ensured that the privilege was passed to his wife, Machtelt Hendricksz, and then to his son, Hillebrant II. Other printers throughout the Republic complained that the privilege of the *landsdrukker* was too generous and its associated profits too large.¹² We do not always need to take the lamentations of aggrieved tradesmen at face value, but in this case these complaints do provide persuasive evidence that printed ordinances circulated widely. They clearly played a critical role in government strategy for keeping the wider citizenry informed and involved in the business of government.

The KB collection contains a total of 102 broadsheet ordinances printed for the States General (see Colour plates III and IV) between 1601 and 1650.

11 See Resolution 7, 11 March 1627 and Resolution 10, 10 April 1627, *Resolutiën Staten-Generaal 1626–1630*, I.J.A. Nijenhuis, etc. (eds.), Huygens Instituut Online Publication, available at <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/>.

12 See for example Marika Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad. Haagse Boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), p. 48 and Schneider, *Voorgeschiedenis*, p. 52.

Their content is diverse. The primary concern of the States General was the conflict against Spain, which required the organisation of immense financial and military resources. Ordinances returned repeatedly to pressing issues surrounding the equipment of the fleet, the regulation of discipline in the army and, of course, the raising of the necessary taxation. Maritime affairs were also of vital importance. Diplomatic relations with England and Scotland were threatened by the regular eruption of conflict between Dutch sailors and Scottish and English fishermen.¹³ The protection of naval convoys and its financing were constantly debated: on 27 November 1627 an ordinance on convoy arrangements to the Mediterranean was reworked and reprinted after complaints by the Directors of the Levant Chamber.¹⁴ The East and West India Companies were to be protected from illegal colonial ventures; the States were deeply involved with an advertising campaign to raise investment for the West India Company.¹⁵ The regulation of commerce and manufacture was vital to social order; and to the import and export duties claimed by the authorities. Other ordinances prohibited the publication of seditious texts, stipulated the value of money in circulation, regulated the use of passports and oversaw adherence to acceptable religious practice.

The provincial States shared many concerns with the States General. Ordinances were reiterated by provincial institutions – with particular regard to irregularities in the book trade, the East and West India Companies, religious orthodoxy and coinage. The provincial States could also interfere with issues of public order: the collection includes broadsheets issued by the States of Holland condemning the behaviour of students of the University of Leiden, and by the States of Groningen banishing murderers and other dangerous criminals.¹⁶ The five Admiralties of the Republic issued their own ordinances, and the Stadhouders exercised their rights to regulate hunting and forestry privileges and military provisions.¹⁷

The bulk of broadsheet ordinances in the KB collection were issued by municipal bodies (see Colour plates III and IV). The Dutch Republic remained a

13 See for example USTC 1500105 (1618), USTC 1500023 (1618), USTC 1500046 (1625).

14 Resolution 10, 27 November 1627, in *Resolutiën Staten-Generaal 1626–1630*.

15 See for example USTC 1500087 (1622) and USTC 1500088 (1636). See also Israel, *Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World*, pp. 126–128.

16 See USTC 1500109 (1627) and USTC 1500097 (1618) (the latter reiterated two months later, see USTC 1500098).

17 See for example USTC 1500092 (s.d.), USTC 1500116 (1610), USTC 1505682 (1610), USTC 1500117 (1612), USTC 1500120 (1628), USTC 1500090 (1639). Throughout the early seventeenth century two branches of the Orange-Nassau-Dillenburg family descendant from William I of Nassau-Dillenburg (1487–1559) ruled as Stadhouders in the Dutch Republic.

highly decentralised state. Power and privilege was devolved to urban communities, often quite small. The town councils, by this time mostly under the control of a tight-knit oligarchy, defended their mediaeval privileges and competed and bargained to gain new rights. The KB collection contains ordinances issued by Amsterdam, Leiden, Haarlem, Groningen, Utrecht, The Hague, Gouda, Schiedam and Delft. The vast majority were issued by the city of Haarlem (183 items). This is purely an accident of survival; other towns employed the printing press as a tool of governance to a similar extent.¹⁸

In the early seventeenth century Haarlem was a flourishing industrial centre and the third-largest town in the Dutch Republic. Regulating the lives of 40,000 inhabitants and many other market-goers from the immediate surroundings required constant communication. It is uncertain how often the council used broadsheet ordinances. Some evidence on this point can be derived from the corpus of surviving ordinances. Broadsheet ordinances frequently refer to previous orders and thereby provide vital clues to the identification of lost broadsheets. An ordinance of 29 March 1641 on the use of Schleswig yarn by the cloth-refiners of the town stated that “the regents of Haarlem find that ... some persons are infringing upon the ordinance published and read aloud on 31 May 1639 ...”¹⁹ It remains difficult to establish a reliable estimate of the total yearly production of any town, but it is certain that broadsheet ordinances were frequently commissioned in Haarlem. The council sometimes issued three or four ordinances on the same day.²⁰

The chief concerns of the town council were the regulation of taxation, trade and commerce and the maintenance of public order and sanitation.²¹

18 A good comparison from the Habsburg Netherlands is provided by Antwerp: the USTC documents thousands of broadsheet ordinances printed by the Plantin-Moretus firm for the Antwerp council from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Léon Voet, *The Plantin press (1555–1589): a bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (6 vols., Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980–1983) and Dirk Imhof, *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press: A Bibliography of the Works published and printed by Jan Moretus I in Antwerp (1589–1610)* (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 2015).

19 USTC 1500215, 29 March 1641. Luckily, the ordinance that is referred to in this instance survives in the Noord-Hollands Archief, USTC 1500347.

20 As on 6 September 1640 and 15 May 1641.

21 Similar concerns have been identified for Antwerp during the late sixteenth century. See Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 240. See also Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie: Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven, 1577–1620* (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1989), pp. 131–134 on frequent concerns of the council of Haarlem with regards to the relationship of trade and market-days with public religious practice and observance.

Maintaining standards in the cloth trade and beer-brewing industry were particularly pressing concerns.²² Illicit trade damaged the revenue of the council, and poor quality work could have reputational consequences for Haarlem's produce in a highly competitive international market. The council extended its influence over all aspects of daily life: the size of butter barrels, the maintenance of water holes in frozen canals, the burial of plague victims, the protection of swans and other birds, the construction of garden sheds, the price of soap, the sale of paintings, cake and second-hand clothes, the consumption of alcohol at funerals and the prohibition of dancing schools.

City councils also addressed wider regional concerns. The decentralised nature of the Dutch state left many regional matters to be coordinated between municipalities.²³ The council of Haarlem published ordinances in concurrence with Amsterdam or Leiden on the improvement of roads and canals between the towns. The date of the annual market, the exchange of prisoners of war with Spain, the capture of Dutch sailors by Barbary pirates (and efforts to release them) appear frequently in broadsheet ordinances of the first half of the seventeenth century.²⁴ The voice of the city council permeated urban society. The magistrates advertised employment measures, threatened tax-evaders and coordinated waste disposal. Regardless of the concern at hand, the magistrates endeavoured to inform, warn and persuade their citizens. The broadsheet ordinance provided one appropriate means to do so.

The Dutch State and Public Communication

The broadsheet ordinances in the KB collection are testament to a wealth of public regulation and communication. Evidence of persistent interaction between the rulers and the ruled has, however, largely been ignored by previous generations of Dutch historians, who have presented the early modern Dutch authorities as distant from the wider public. A.Th. van Deursen claimed that "regents were independent of the people's will and did not have to make

22 See, for some examples: USTC 1500163 (1626), USTC 1500168 (1627), USTC 1500175 (1629), USTC 1500218 (1640), USTC 1500227 (1640), USTC 1500238 (1641), USTC 1500248 (1642) and USTC 1500280 (1648).

23 Marjolein 't Hart, *The making of a bourgeois state: War, politics and finance during the Dutch revolt* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 187–210.

24 See for example USTC 1500165; USTC 1500166; USTC 1500167; USTC 1500169; USTC 1500179; USTC 1500193; USTC 1500196; USTC 1500197.

publicity for themselves”, and that “regent rule made little effort to mould public opinion”.²⁵

A seventeenth-century observer certainly disagreed. Sir William Temple, in his *Observations upon the United Provinces* (1673), stated that the regents “maintain their authority with less popular envy or discontent [by giving] much to the general opinion of the people in the choice of their magistrates.”²⁶ It seems absurd to suggest that regents made little efforts to influence public opinion when early modern Dutch citizens were both politically active and intermittently extremely demanding in the expectations they placed on the ruling class. Dutch cities were crowded and the sites of significant tensions between the wealthy and destitute, who lived not in separate, segregated areas of the city but close to one another.²⁷ The burgomaster or councillor walked the same streets as those whom he was tasked to govern and regulate.²⁸ Municipal authorities were dependent on the cooperation of a wide public and could only effectively enforce regulations with popular support.²⁹ Political compromise and coordinated economic activity stood at the very heart of the Dutch model of commonwealth.

Urban dwellers with recognised rights as *burghers*, or citizens, were organised in militias representing their neighbourhood or trade. Their service was to the municipal government, but authority was established through consent and re-negotiated during times of disagreement or tension.³⁰ Recent studies have emphasised the importance of public petitions, pamphlet literature, and civil unrest in the political culture of the Dutch Republic.³¹ When decisions

25 A.Th. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular culture, religion and society in seventeenth-century Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 161, 188.

26 Sir William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, edited by Sir George Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 69. Also cited in Michel Reinders, “‘The citizens come from all cities with petitions’: Printed Petitions and Civic Propaganda in the Seventeenth Century”, in Femke Deen, David Onnekink and Michel Reinders (eds.), *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 97.

27 J.L. Price, *Dutch Society, 1588–1713* (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), pp. 84, 100. Also ‘t Hart, *The making of a bourgeois state*, p. 217; and Michel Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium: Popular Print and Politics in the Netherlands, 1650–72* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 3–5.

28 Cf. Temple, *Observations*, p. 71.

29 Price, *Dutch Society*, p. 107.

30 See Maarten Prak, *Gouden Eeuw: Het raadsel van de Republiek* (2nd ed., Amsterdam: Boom, 2012), pp. 175–176, 210–214 for accounts of popular resistance against municipal policy. See Wayne te Brake, *Ordinary People in European Politics 1500–1700* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), for a more general overview of popular politics.

31 Roeland Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie: Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011); Roeland Harms, “Thievery of Literature.

were unpopular, regents had to revise their policy or face the intimidating violence of a recalcitrant militia and a hostile mob.³² Extant ordinances reveal the extent of popular influence. On 30 April 1643 the magistrates of Haarlem published an ordinance in which it was prohibited to produce a certain type of bread, namely a dark *rogge*, within the city walls or to import it into the city. Just over half a year later, the council apologised in a new ordinance: it had become clear that the previous ruling had adversely affected many citizens, as much as the prosperity of the town. The council therefore immediately annulled the publication of 30 April and eased tension by making this *volte face* public.³³

Current scholarship has departed from Van Deursen's narrow perspective of the state as an entity unresponsive to its citizens.³⁴ Grand statesmen such as Jacob Cats or Johan de Witt may have presented themselves amongst their peers as deliberately oblivious to the sentiments of the mob, but in reality the authorities were engaged in a constant public dialogue with their citizens.³⁵ Attempts at state secrecy were rarely successful.³⁶ Intricate matters of state were not the business of the majority of society, but tax increases, religious services, festivities, postal routes, market days and fishing rights most certainly were.³⁷ The state was unable to function without the tacit consent of a wider public.

The study of the Dutch public sphere is dominated by considerations of the impact of popular engagement, but scholars have thus far had remarkably little to say about the communication strategies promoted by the authorities.

Consequences of the Interaction between Politics and Commerce for the Form and Content of Pamphlets', in Deen, Onnekink Reinders, *Pamphlets and Politics*; and Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie*, p. 220 and Reinders, "The citizens come from all cities with petitions", pp. 100–102 on the role of petitions in urban government.

32 Rudolf Dekker, *Holland in beroering. Oproeren in de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw* (Baarn: Ambo, 1982).

33 USTC 1500257 and USTC 1500259.

34 See Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium*, pp. 28–32, 238, 245–246 on Dutch government and the influence of public opinion on its conduct, and Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie*, pp. 31–32, 80–85, 101–106, 154–155, on government attempts to influence the public sphere. See also Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

35 See Van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, p. 142, on the thoughts of Cats and De Witt on public persuasion.

36 Guido de Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad: De geheimhouding van staatszaken ten tijde van de Republiek (1600–1750)* (The Hague: Sdu, 1991).

37 Karel Davids, 'Public Knowledge and Common Secrets. Secrecy and its Limits in the Early-Modern Netherlands', *Early Science and Medicine* 10, No. 3 (2005), pp. 419–420.

In this interpretation public discourse is fostered by popular pamphlets, correspondence, ballads, music, theatre and gossip.³⁸ The use of ordinances as communicative media has thus far been thoroughly neglected by scholars.³⁹ In the introduction to his catalogue of pamphlets in the university library of Utrecht, J.F. van Someren omitted broadsheet ordinances, on the grounds that they “hardly have any historical value”.⁴⁰ This is not to say that broadsheet ordinances provide the most thrilling texts: the formulaic repetitions, routine legal jargon and mundane content of many ordinances have certainly contributed to their relative historical neglect. If ordinances are cited by scholars, they are most commonly derived from pamphlet compendia published at regular intervals from the 1640s onwards.⁴¹ Dutch printers saw commercial value in issuing large collective volumes including “the most notable” regulations introduced by the States General or the States of Holland.⁴² While such compendia are certainly useful to the historian as reference, they were above all commercial publications for sale to lawyers and merchants. Most ordinances in the compendia were first issued in broadsheet form decades before the compendia were published.

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- 38 Craig E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987), pp. 107–109, 155–188, 191–226; Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda*; Deen, Onnekink and Reinders, *Pamphlets and Politics*.
- 39 Recent exceptions are Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012) and Vincent van Zuilen, ‘Propagande royale: les placards de Philippe II en Flandres et au Brabant (1585–1598)’, in Barbara Ertlé and Martin Gosman (eds.), *Les écrits courts à vocation polémique* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), though Stensland is sceptical of the impact and effectiveness of ordinances as tools of communication.
- 40 J.F. van Someren, *Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht. Pamfletten niet voorkomende in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare nederlandsche bibliotheken* (2 vols., Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1915–1922), p. vi.
- 41 See for example S. Groenveld, ‘The Mecca of Authors? States Assemblies and Censorship in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic’, in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (eds.), *Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1987), p. 68 and De Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad*, pp. 414–415.
- 42 For example: *Nederlantsche munt-boeck: vervatende de voornaemste placcaten ende ordonnantien, de munte, ende het munt-wesen betreffende uytgegeven in de vereenighde Nederlandtsche Provintien, sedert den jaere 1580. tot in 1645* (Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius, 1645), USTC 1013851, or *Nederlandtsche placcaet-boeck: waerinne alle voornaemste placcaten, ordonnantien, accorden, ende andere acten ende munimenten, uyt-ghegeven by de EE. Hoog-Mogende Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenigde Nederlandtsche Provintien in twee deelen vervaten* (Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius, 1644), USTC 1512586.

Broadsheet ordinances provide evidence of the daily communication of the state. They offer crucial evidence of how the Dutch authorities sought to make themselves heard in the cacophony of circulating opinions and texts. Public communication through ordinances presents only one part of a relationship based on consensual governance, but it is nonetheless an important part.

Proclamation and Dissemination

The emergence of the printing press and the use of broadsheet ordinances did not replace an information sphere based on oral communication. In order for a new ordinance to take effect as law, it had to be proclaimed in each jurisdiction where it was intended to apply. The States General and the provincial States of the Dutch Republic always specified that their ordinances were to be proclaimed by officers of state (usually a city's secretary or the *schout*, equivalent to the English bailiff) at the customary locations for such ceremonies. This varied in each city or town, but the *stadhuis* (town hall) or main square was often used. Many Haarlem broadsheet ordinances in the KB collection specify that the ordinance was "published before the people" or "read out before the people at the stroke of the clock".⁴³ Ringing of church bells or hand bells would announce an imminent publication, and encourage citizens to gather to hear it. This was not always successful. During the opening stages of the Dutch Revolt, the proclamation of the Tenth Penny on 11 March 1572 in Haarlem was a lacklustre affair: "The city's bell was rung only five times because the town official charged with proclaiming the message from Brussels was 'very much afraid' of the 'restless' reactions of his audience."⁴⁴

In more normal times the ringing of the bells could draw a considerable crowd. The *Spaanschen Brabander* (1617), a play by Dutch playwright Gerbrand Bredero, offers a glimpse of the scene when a proclamation is to be made in Amsterdam:

Harmen: Well, what do I hear? What can that be?

Andries: It is the bells, something's to be read out.

Robbeknol and a host of others: The people rush to the *Dam* [the main square and the location of the *stadhuis*], to see what it means/justice will

43 58 of the 363 broadsheet ordinances in the KB collection contain such a statement.

44 Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 97.

be proclaimed, the bells are ringing/There I must haste, and see what they publish.⁴⁵

Depending on the length of an ordinance, the proclamation could take several minutes. Without any oral aid, the speaker would be required to make himself heard over the constant cacophony of a crowded city, filled with town dwellers and visitors who did not always pause their business to hear the decisions of their government. Lengthy preambles and frequent repetitions of legal jargon did not encourage attentive listening.

The magistrates of a city could never hope to reach their intended audience with one proclamation. Many people will have gathered knowledge of new ordinances and legislation from word-of-mouth rather than printed ordinances. Dutch authorities recognised this and instructed readers to pass on the content of the ordinance, even in the face of the deliberate or inadvertent spread of false information. Around 20% of ordinances in the KB collection use one or two particular phrases at the end of the text. The first is “*Segghet Voorts*”, or “*D’een segghet d’ander voort*” – best translated as “Pass on the word” or “Tell one another”. Another form is “*Een yder zy hier mede ghewaerschouwt*” – “everyone has hereby been warned”. These phrases are located at the end of the broadsheet, always clearly separated and sometimes emphasised with a large typeface (see Fig. 10.2). Both phrases were common to popular culture, and used in pamphlets, songs and advertisements throughout the Low Countries. They played on habitual social practices of sharing news, rumour and gossip with friends and acquaintances. The phrasing also indicates the collective public responsibility for making the law known; once the proclamation had taken place, the ordinance was in effect. No ignorance could be claimed on the basis of missing the public announcement of the text.

The proclamation of ordinances was not new to the seventeenth century; the public process stemmed far back into the mediaeval period. Yet the use of the printing press undoubtedly transformed the dissemination of the text of ordinances. Now hundreds of printed copies could be distributed after a day’s work in the print shop of an appointed printer.⁴⁶ These ordinances were

45 G.A. Bredero, *Spaanschen Brabander*, ed. C.F.P. Stutterheim (Culemborg: Tjeek Willink/Noorduijn, 1974), verses 1142–1146.

46 Overall figures of print runs for ordinances are difficult to establish. A ream (500 sheets) of broadsheet ordinances seems to have been the norm at the Plantin-Moretus workshop in Antwerp in the early seventeenth century. Smaller towns will have had smaller print runs, but those of regional and national authorities will have regularly exceeded 1,000 copies.



FIGURE 10.2

Announcement of the sale of a tax-farming position in Haarlem on 7 May 1640. USTC 1500295.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, KW PLAKK F 226 (1).

posted up in towns or handed out at shop fronts; they were dispatched by post to other cities, or passed on with travellers on their way to the next village. Broadsheet ordinances of the States General made their way across the entire Dutch Republic, and crossed international borders with ease. Broadsheet ordinances of the States General can be found in archives and libraries in London, Wolfenbüttel, Stockholm, Paris, Bruges and Brussels. Read abroad, they provided valuable evidence of the political mood of Dutch society, as well as the precise details of tariffs and regulations that might affect merchants trading with the Netherlands.⁴⁷

It is this process of dissemination which is crucial to the communication of early modern governance in the Low Countries. The widespread distribution of ordinances enabled early modern authorities to claim a leading role in the public sphere. Developments in the appearance of Dutch broadsheet ordinances of the early seventeenth century suggest that subtle visual developments were introduced to ordinances to aid their dissemination. In the seventeenth century broadsheet ordinances throughout Europe underwent various changes; Flavia Bruni's article in this volume highlights such developments

47 See the chapter by Nina Lamal in this volume.

in Rome.⁴⁸ The design of ordinances differed between political and cultural localities: one does not see the same changes in the Low Countries as in the Holy Roman Empire or England. Broadsheet ordinances from Antwerp are, in design terms, different again from ordinances published in Haarlem. Similar visual developments are also recognised as important in the study of news pamphlets.⁴⁹ The evolution of the design and lay-out of printed texts was by no means uniform.⁵⁰ As Goran Proot has emphasised, such changes in design should not be taken for granted, but are to be examined and investigated with due care.

The Structure and Design of Broadsheet Ordinances

The woodcut emblem or coat of arms is one of the most common characteristics of European broadsheet ordinances. They are generally found at the head of the broadsheet. Such emblems were recognisable to many citizens. Woodcuts drew attention to the issuing authority of the broadsheets, especially when they circulated outside the city walls or regional boundaries. Of the 363 broadsheets in the KB collection 130 feature a woodcut emblem. One example, the emblem used by the Admiralty of Amsterdam, is pictured opposite (see Fig. 10.3).

The use of these woodcuts follow a tradition established in the sixteenth century. Although the KB collection shows that the use of woodcut emblems seems more prominent from the 1640s onwards, they were widely in use before that.⁵¹ There does not seem to be a specific genre of ordinance in which an emblem is used more often.

A most interesting example of the innovative use of woodcut imagery is provided on a broadsheet ordinance issued by the city of Utrecht on 27 July 1618 (see Fig. 10.4).⁵² This *Publicatie Vande E. Vroetschap der Stadt Utrecht van*

48 See the chapter by Flavia Bruni in this volume.

49 Massimo Petta, 'War news in Early Modern Milan: the birth and the shaping of printed news pamphlets', in Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (eds.), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 280–304.

50 Goran Proot, 'Converging Design Paradigms: Long-Term Evolutions in the Layout of Title Pages of Latin and Vernacular Editions Published in the Southern Netherlands, 1541–1660', *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America*, 108 (2014), pp. 269–305. See also Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther* (New York: Penguin, 2015).

51 Of the 118 broadsheets with woodcut emblems, 65 are from the 1640s (55%), whilst broadsheets from the 1640s only make up 30% of the total collection.

52 USTC 1500305.



FIGURE 10.3
Woodcut emblem of the
Admiralty of Amsterdam, on
a broadsheet ordinance of 20
February 1618. USTC 1505678.
THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE
BIBLIOTHEEK, KW PLAKK F
69 (3).

weghen die ware Ghereformeerde Religie (Publication of the council of Utrecht on the true Reformed Religion) was printed by Jan Amelisz during the height of the Remonstrant crisis in the Dutch Republic. Prince Maurice of Orange, Stadhouder and Captain-General of the army, had disarmed the militia of the town. He then purged the city council after it had stood firmly on the side of the Remonstrants.⁵³ The ordinance of 27 July 1618 effectively outlawed the preaching of Remonstrant doctrine and established the “true Reformed religion”, or the orthodox Contra-Remonstrant canon, as the only Reformed faith. News of the purge of Utrecht spread around the country. The ordinance was a newsworthy document and was widely disseminated in other towns throughout the Dutch Republic. The broadsheet ordinance of Amelisz was reprinted in Delft by Jan Andriesz, and copied in a further anonymous edition.⁵⁴

The Utrecht broadsheet features two woodcut emblems underneath the title. Alongside the emblem of Utrecht (on the right) the personal coat of arms of Maurice is prominently displayed (on the left). Although the ordinance

53 Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 447–448.

54 USTC 1514535 and USTC 1505356.

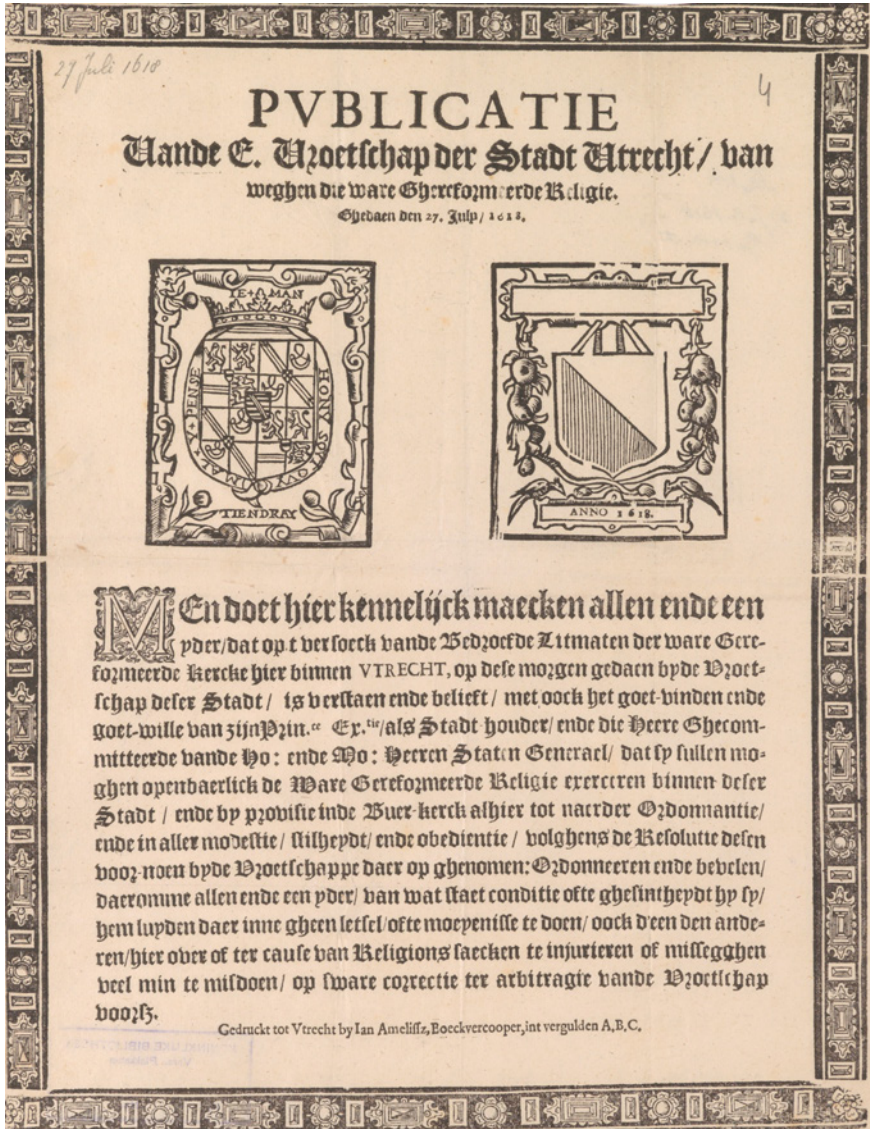


FIGURE 10.4 The *Publicatie Vande E. Vroetschap der Stadt Utrecht* of 27 July 1618.
USTC1500305.
THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, KW PLAKK F 256 (4).

is issued by “the council of the city of Utrecht”, the coat of arms of Maurice leaves no doubt as to the true authority behind this order. The Stadhouder’s intervention was forceful. The use of two emblems is a clear indication of the extent of Maurice’s influence over municipal and regional affairs; it directly identifies the Stadhoudership with the Contra-Remonstrant cause.

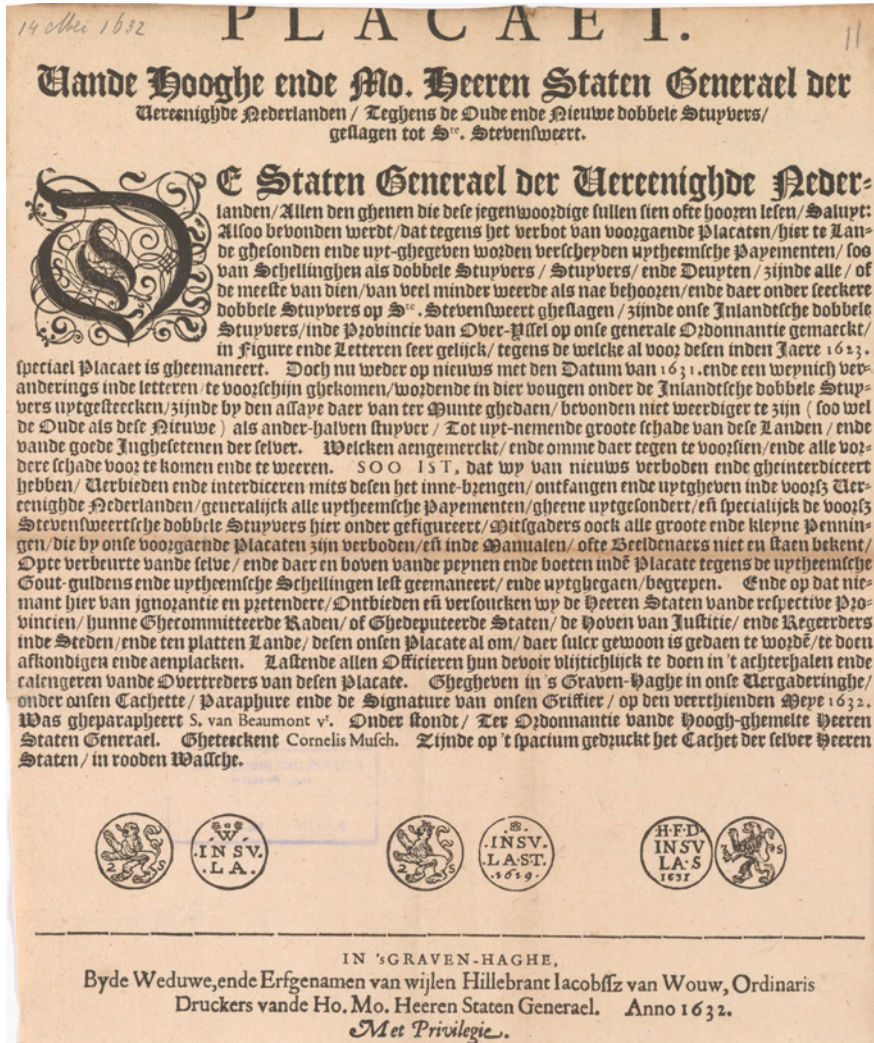


FIGURE 10.5 A placard of the States General prohibiting the use of overvalued 'Old and new double stuivers' of 14 May 1632. USTC 1500316.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, KW PLAKK F 262 (11).

Woodcuts were also used on ordinances prohibiting the use of undervalued or false coinage (see Fig. 10.5). These were important visual aids: in a period when coinage was valued for its weight of precious metal, it was essential that fraudulent practices and cheap foreign minting did not inhibit commercial exchange. Almost every year, the States General issued a pamphlet entitled *Beeldenaer ofte figuer-boeck* in which woodcuts of the coins were used to

portray the type and value of coinage in circulation.⁵⁵ In between the yearly cycle of publication, broadsheet ordinances were used to instruct provincial officers and warn citizens against coins which had been found to be clipped or issued with low-grade metal.⁵⁶ The use of broadsheets was well-suited to such *ad hoc* application of the law.

The most notable development of Dutch broadsheet ordinances in the early seventeenth century is the use of a title. It is in this respect that broadsheets are most dissimilar in appearance to earlier Netherlandish broadsheets. Sixteenth-century broadsheet ordinances published in the Low Countries generally lack comprehensive titles (see Fig. 10.6). Rather they are often presented as a single justified block of text. Some early headings consist of a phrase such as “*Par le Roy*” or “*By den Keyser*”. The broadsheet ordinances printed in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin and his successors have a near-uniform heading: “*Gheboden ende uytgeroepen*” (ordained and proclaimed). Such broadsheets have few distinctive qualities. It is difficult to distinguish an ordinance on preventative measures against the plague from a text on the sale of butter or a decree against mutinying soldiers.

The evolution of titles in the early seventeenth century can be divided into two categories: a catchphrase or a comprehensive title. The former is often a simple phrase: “Release of prisoners”, “Tax on grain”, or “General pardon for defectors”.⁵⁷ The use of a short phrase is not designed to outline the actual measures of the ordinance. Instead, it captures the attention of the reader passing by on the street.

Short titles or catchphrases seem to be used for ordinances which do not fit a regular pattern of publication. The news that local sailors, taken prisoners months or years ago, were to be released is both unexpected and of great importance to the community – especially when citizens had to supply the city council with the names of their family and friends imprisoned abroad in the Southern Netherlands or on the Barbary coast (Fig. 10.7). Similarly, the demand for an extraordinary tax was a measure which required universal compliance. The city council therefore sought to advertise its orders with impressive headers to ensure the attention of those who might otherwise claim to be unaware of the additional taxation.⁵⁸ A “general pardon for defectors” issued by the States

55 The first dates to 1586, and from 1604 onwards an edition is published almost every year.

56 USTC 1500316.

57 USTC 1500216; USTC 1500210; USTC 1500061.

58 USTC 1500210.

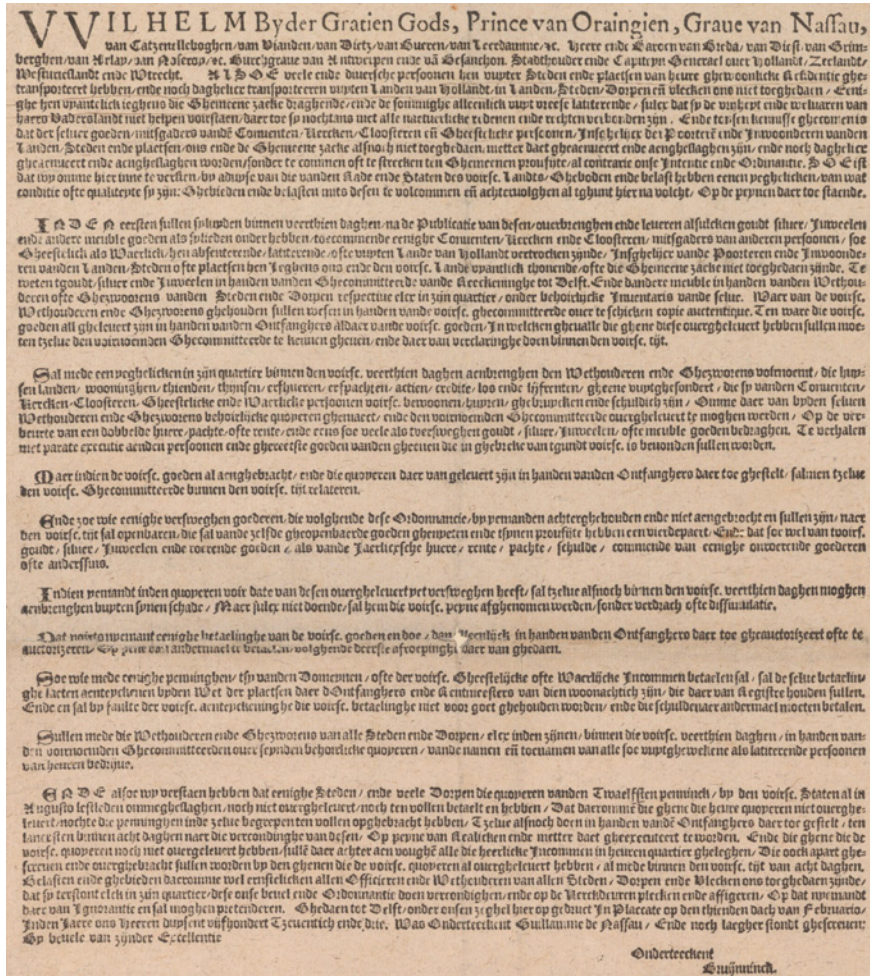


FIGURE 10.6 A typical sixteenth-century Dutch broadsheet, issued by William of Orange in February 1573. USTC 426196.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, KW PLAKK F 70 (1).

General for turncoat officers and soldiers is also an unusual but very important measure which demands an exceptionally large title.⁵⁹

Other titles are more detailed and provide a summary of the content of an ordinance. These titles generally appear on ordinances with complex measures. Dutch broadsheet ordinances frequently carried extensive lists of prices, wages and tax rates. The revenue of the States General, as well as that

59 USTC 1500061.

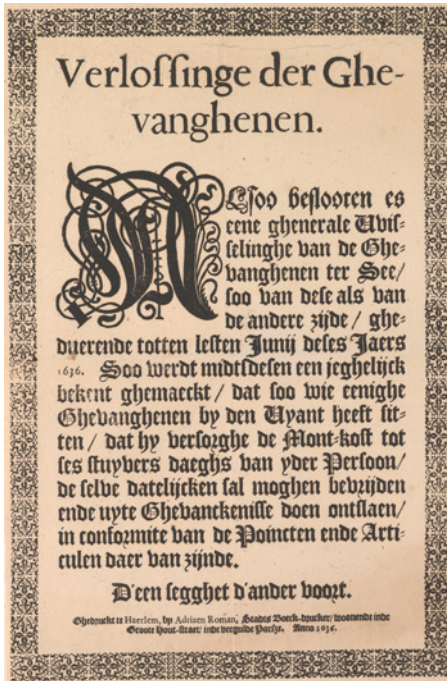


FIGURE 10.7

Verlossinge der Ghevanghenen,
 Haarlem ordinance of 1636.

USTC 1500196.

THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIO-
 THEEK, KW PLAKK F 220 (89).

of urban municipalities, relied on indirect taxation. The regulation of exports and imports of commercial products in terms of quality, weight and means of transportation was therefore essential. Similarly, the financing of naval convoys required immense organisation. Hundreds of ships sailing to the Baltic, Norway, the Mediterranean and beyond were assigned to particular convoys to protect the ships from Spanish privateers.⁶⁰ Regulations established the number of cannon for each convoy, as well as collective payment by the owners of unarmed ships to fund the annual enterprise. Further funding had to be gathered for other military precautions. The States of Holland published an ordinance on 1 August 1628 which was entitled:

Ordinance || Of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, regarding ||
 the Beacons placed by the States on several coastal places || and which
 will have to be placed on others as well: at the same time regarding the
 beacon-tax, which will || have to be paid for that purpose, etc.⁶¹

60 See Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World*, pp. 110–111.

61 USTC 1500110.

After justifying the need for coastal beacons and elaborating on the financial contributions required for the maintenance of the beacons, the ordinance contains a second title:

A List, according to which all incoming Ships, in accordance with their cargo || shall have to pay their beacon-tax.

The ordinance then lists the rates of taxation for incoming ships, divided into different sections: “All ships from Guinea – 5 *stuivers*”, “All ships from the East Indies – 8 *stuivers*”, “All ships from the West, those from France, England, Schotland or Ireland – 1 *stuiver*”.⁶²

Longer, detailed titles and sub-divisions were often used for ordinances which targeted a specific audience. The ordinance on beacon-tax was only of concern to merchants, traders and clerks or officers of merchantmen. By detailing the essential content of an ordinance in a comprehensive title, it is more likely that the intended target audiences engaged with the text.

Ordinances generally followed a similar structure of rhetoric and procedure. First, the issuing authority justified its intervention in the social or economic affairs of its citizenry, often making clear that interested parties or concerned citizens by bringing forward requests or petitions had been instrumental in shaping the new legislation. As on the ordinance of 8 August 1625, these different passages were demarcated on the broadsheet using differences in spacing and typeface: Goran Proot has described this design strategy as “typographical discontinuity”.⁶³ Around the mid-sixteenth century there emerged “a growing interest in the physical organisation of information” of text in book design.⁶⁴ Dutch authorities certainly took such an interest in the design of their broadsheet ordinances. On 13 October 1609 the States General specifically ordered their printer Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw to print ordinances “with the same date, structure and signature, as the [written] copies are dated, structured and signed” by the secretariat of the States General.⁶⁵ Such regulations ensured that all printed ordinances were standardised in exact likeness to the official manuscript copy signed and sealed by the States General. The additional features, such as woodcut emblems, also gave a distinctive and formal character to the broadsheet ordinances.

62 Ibid.

63 Goran Proot, ‘Mending the broken word: Typographic discontinuity on title-pages of Early Modern books printed in the Southern Netherlands (1501–1700)’, *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 22 (2015), pp. 45–59.

64 Ibid., pp. 56–57.

65 Schneider, *Voorgeschiedenis*, p. 38.

The structure and size of a broadsheet ordinance was dependent on its intended distribution. The vast majority of broadsheet ordinances in the KB collection are between 37 and 42 centimetres in height and between 27 and 32 centimetres in width (similar to modern A3 paper). This was an ideal size to post up around towns or on noticeboards. Longer and more complex ordinances featuring many clauses or lists might be composed of multiple sheets pasted together. Others were more flexible. After the execution of King Charles I in January 1649, the ambassador of the English Commonwealth, Walter Strickland, was threatened and attacked in The Hague. His colleague Isaac Dorislaus had already been murdered by Royalist refugees. On 8 March, the States of Holland had printed a relatively small (28.4 by 15 centimetres) order explicitly forbidding “assaulting, impeding or bothering” Strickland and his entourage.⁶⁶ This broadsheet was composed of fewer than a hundred words, and the States of Holland did not deem it necessary to include an extensive explanation or justification in the text (see Fig. 10.8). The size of this ordinance indicates that it was to be distributed as a small handbill, and passed around The Hague and its environs.

Ordinances were constantly repeated and reprinted. Haarlem broadsheets often copy or refer to previous publications of the States General or the States of Holland. In Enkhuizen, a notable maritime hub in Northern Holland, States General ordinances on fishing regulations and herring-barrels originally published in the 1620s and 1630s were reprinted locally in 1640.⁶⁷ The council of Haarlem frequently reiterated orders, especially on topics of recurring concern: fireworks and festivities around Christmas and the New Year, the annual festivals or markets, the proliferation of refuse and waste in the canals, and standards of beer and cloth production. Consequently a majority of broadsheet on these subjects have virtually identical texts, even if they are issued several years apart. Other strategies for addressing subjects that required repeated reiteration were more inventive. On 3 October 1647 the council of Haarlem issued a broadsheet which detailed four different ordinances on the sale of pigs and the regulation of their inspection in the city (see Fig. 10.9).

The four ordinances were issued in 1635, 1639, 1642 and 1647. The collective display of the ordinances served to remind those selling pigs of their obligations and rights and advise them of changes in policy. The licensed pig-vendors were compensated by the council for their efforts in maintaining the pig-market and the stalls. Vendors displaying “fat pigs” were duly rewarded over those with “slender pigs”. In 1647 the payment was raised; the council would now reward

66 USTC 1500113.

67 See USTC 1512393, 1512394 and 1512396. I am grateful to Andrew Pettegree for locating and inspecting these rare Enkhuizen broadsheets in the Houghton Library at Harvard.

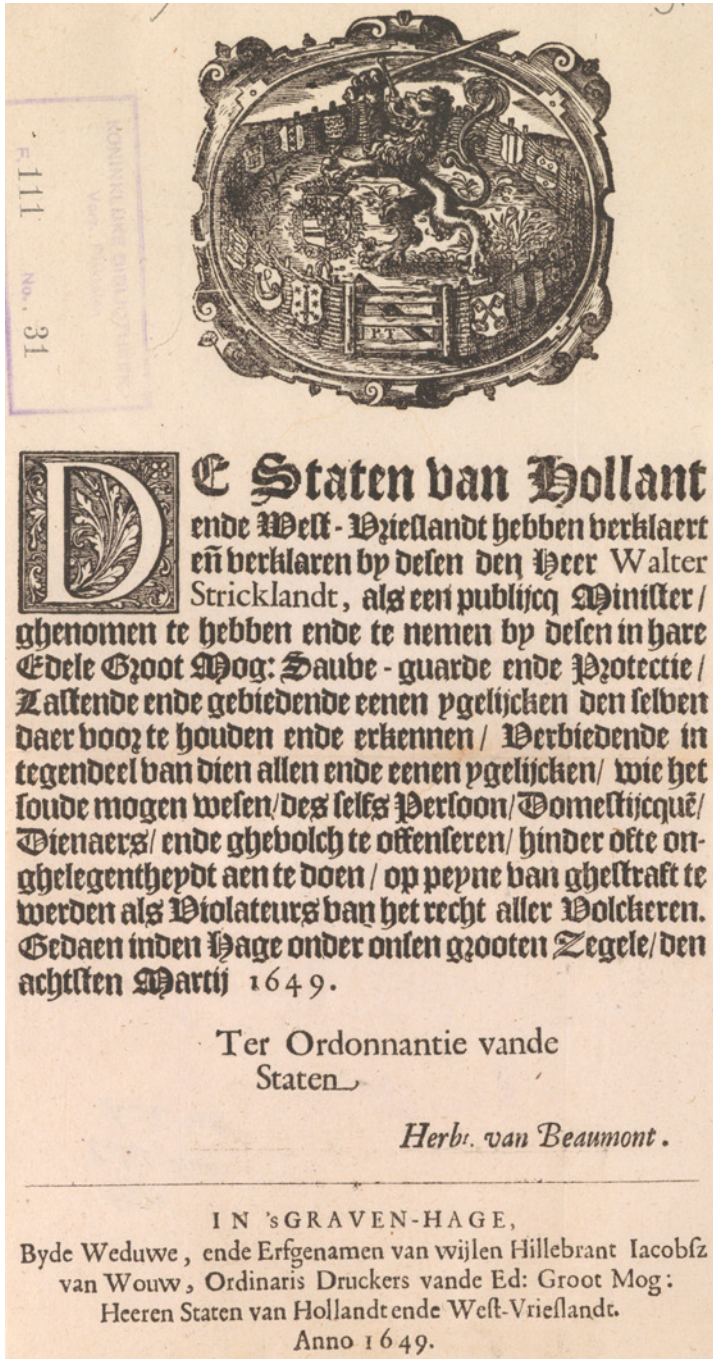


FIGURE 10.8 Protection offered to Walter Strickland by the States of Holland, 8 March 1649. USTC 1500113.
THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, KW
PLAKK F 111 (31).

7 Mei 1635
5 Oct. 1639
11 Maart 1642
3 Oct. 1647

179
07



Burgermeesteren ende Regeerders der Stadt Haarlem/ hebben den aenghenomen ende geordonneerden Clercken-schouwvers voor haer arbejds-loon ende dienste van het schouwen der Clerckens / als oock voor haer luyder moeyte van 't marcken / setten ende onderhouden van de hocken op de Clercken-marcke/ toe-ghevoeght ende gheaccordeert te ontfanghen sulcks hier nae volght ;

Als eerst : Voor 't schouwen van een Vet Clercken binnen deser Stadt/ twee Stuyvers ende een half.
Ende van een vet Clercken te schouwen buyten deser Stadt/ drie Stuyvers ende een half.
Item/ van een magher Clercken te schouwen / een stuyver ende een half / wel-verstaende dat van de maghere Clerckens die den eenen koopman den anderen by koppelen verkoopt/ betaeldt sal worden een halven stuyver/ alles komende tot laste van den koopver.

Oock mede hebben de Burger-meesteren ende Regeerders der voorszeyden Stadt verstaen ende gheordonneert / dat van alle vreemde Clerckens ende andere / die binnen deser Stadt wyt Vrieslandt ende andere plaetsen komende/ werden verkocht : als oock die van de hups-luyden ingehaycht worden/ mede het schouwen den Schouwvers (volghens hare Odomnantie competerende) sal worden voldaan ende betaeldt als nae behooren/ te weten : Gheleijk van de maghere Clerckens die by de koppelen verkocht werden / werdt betaeldt van elck Clercken een halven stuyver / alsoo sal men van de vette Clerckens die by de koppelen werden verkocht/ half gelde betalen : te weten / een stuyver en vier penninghen.

Item/ voor 't marcken / setten ende onderhouden van de hocken/ sulden de voorszeyden Schouwvers ontfanghen/ ende is hem toe-ghevoeght/ van elck magher Clercken een Doxtjen/ van elck schayp een Doxtjen/ ende van elck Lam een Dwyf / 't welck alles sal werden betaeldt by den verkooper.

Alus ghebaen ende gheordonneert / den seveden Maey 1635. By allen den Heeren Burgermeesteren der voorsz. Stadt Haarlem. My reghenvoordigh I. VAN BOSVELT.

Burgermeesteren ende Regeerders der Stadt Haarlem/ ghehoort de Requeste/ ende ghelet op den inhonde van dien/ hebben geordonneert ende ordineren by desen / dat alle Speck-verkoopters ende andere Personen/ den Supplianten sulden moeten betalen het schouw-geld/ volghens het vierde Artijckel van der Supplianten Odomnantie / van alle de Verckens die 3/4 / soo nye Vrieslandt als van andere hups-lieden ontfanghen/ op peene van tuintigh stuyvers/ by den couradeurs 't elckens te verbeuren / ten behoeve van den bekeurder.

Hebben mede gheordonneert/ dat gheene keuringhe by den keur-meesters en sal moghen werden ghebaen ten laste vande Supplianten/ over eenige Verckens/ daer de tonge van te voorszeyden uytghefieden/ dan allernelijc daer de Tonge aen 't Vercken ten tijde vande keuringe noch is vast ende enmer. Actum ter Camere den vijftien October 1639. My present I. Benningh.

Burgermeesteren ende Regeerders der Stadt Haarlem/ ghehoort de Requeste/ als mede de mondelinge debatten van de gemene Speck-verkoopters deser Stadt. ende geordonneert op de billichheit van het verfoeck/ hebben verstaen/ goet-gevoonden en geordonneert/ verstaen/ vinden goet ende ordineren by desen/ dat van nu voortaan geene Speck-verkoopters binnen deser Stadt ende de buytende van dien hen sulden verwoorden nochte vernemen enige Verckens / hoedanigh die zijn/ ende van wat plaetsen 3/4 deselve sulden mogen gekrijgen binnen deser Stadt ende de buytende van dien/ te slaen ofte stercken/ ofte doen slaen ofte stercken/ directelijc ende indirectelijc/ ten 3/4 dat altoos de selve by den geordonneerden Vercken-schouwvers deser Stadt behooflijcken zijn gheschouwen ende geuifereert/ ende 't recht van 't schouwen aen de selve voldaan : op de boete van vijf Guldens / van jeder Vercken / contrarie deses/ te slachten ofte doen slachten/ te verbeuren/ ten behoeve van den Verkeurder allen.

Actum ter Camere den vijftien Maert 1642. By allen den Heeren Burgermeesteren, schalcken Johan van der Camere. My present J. Benningh.

Burgermeesteren ende Regeerders der Stadt Haarlem ghehoort hebbende het verfoeck van den Supplianten / hebben de selve toe-gheslaen ende gheaccordeert/ slaen toe ende accorderen hen by desen/ dat de selve van nu voortaan aen voorszeyden schouwen van een Vercken binnen deser Stadt in plaets van een Drooter sulden ontfangen Dyp stuyvers : Ende van een Vercken te schouwen buyten deser Stadt in plaets van Dyp stuyvers/ lastende mits dien een poer desen aengende/ hen ghe naer te reguleren.

Actum ter Camere, den Derden Dach Octobris, Anno 1647. By allen den Heeren Burgermeesteren der voorsz. Stadt, My present I. BENNINGH.

Edruckt tot HAERLEM, by VINCENT CASTELEYN, Stadts Drucker op de Markt.

FIGURE 10.9 The pig-vendors' compendium published by the council of Haarlem on 3 October 1647. USTC1500194.
THE HAGUE, KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, KWPLAKKF220 (87).

each vendor of fat pigs three *stuivers* instead of the 2.5 *stuivers* stipulated in 1635. The payment rested on the condition that the vendors would abide by the ordinances displayed above, and not slaughter their pigs before they had been inspected – as stipulated in 1642. The ordinance from 1642 was only issued after a request had been submitted by the licensed vendors and the magistrates had taken into account the “verbal debates” held by the vendors amongst themselves. The broadsheet thus also served as a compendium of regulations which demonstrated the council’s due regard to previous rulings and decisions, made in co-operation with the vendors affected.

Commenting on printed French broadsheets of the sixteenth century, Lauren Kim observed that “as in the tradition of placards, the name of the printer is usually not given. This is for a straightforward reason: broadsheets of this sort had no commercial sale; a printer would therefore have no need to advertise his responsibility, as he was not attempting to stimulate commercial business.”⁶⁸ In contrast, around two-thirds of all broadsheets in the KB collection have an imprint with the name of the printer. The widow and son of Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw do not give an address – but both Haarlem printers, Adriaen Roman (*stadsdrukker*, or city-printer, between 1618 and 1642) and Vincent Casteleyn (1642–1658) do. Roman moved around frequently, and throughout his tenure as official printer the broadsheet ordinances give four different locations for his printing shop. Casteleyn is consistently located “*op de Marckt, in de Druckery*”. The few broadsheet ordinances from Amsterdam in the KB collection also have imprints with addresses: “Gerrit Jansz, *by de Doele Sluys*” and “Michiel Colijn, *op’t water*”.⁶⁹

The prevalence of imprints reflects a departure from the sixteenth-century tradition. Perhaps some Dutch broadsheet ordinances were offered for sale to a wider public, and so potential purchasers had to know where to go for copies. However, it is likely that most broadsheets were simply delivered to the city council for non-commercial distribution. Still the use of an imprint has a significant, commercial purpose. A printer benefited from the reputation associated with the title of *ordinaris drukker* of the States General or *stadsdrukker* of a large town. Advertising the responsibility of printing broadsheet ordinances was a matter of recognition and place in a community – certainly so for the

68 Lauren Jee-Su Kim, *French Royal Acts Printed before 1601: A Bibliographical Study* (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2007), p. 45.

69 USTC 1500127; USTC 1500125; USTC 1500124.

Casteleyn family, who were highly successful businessmen.⁷⁰ The widow and heirs of Van Wouw proudly maintained his full name on their publications as a symbol of their privilege for half a century. No wonder – the privilege from the States General was a foundation of the family's prosperity. By the end of her life, the widow of Van Wouw was registered as one of the richest individuals in The Hague; her taxable capital rose from 52,000 *gulden* in 1627 to 225,000 *gulden* in 1654.⁷¹ These imprints demonstrate that for printers, the right to produce broadsheet ordinances could serve as an essential aspect of their social authority and business profile.

Conclusion

On 14 December 1637, 15 December 1640 and 19 January 1643 the magistrates of Haarlem issued ordinances which prohibited the defacing, stripping and destruction of broadsheet ordinances.⁷² Various citizens, whether disgruntled or mischievous, frequently tore down broadsheets posted up by the council around the town. The council responded by issuing a twenty-five *gulden* fine to anyone caught tearing down any ordinances or other notices. The increasing dissemination of printed ordinances issued by town councils or the States General certainly did not stimulate greater deference to Dutch authorities.

Despite the widespread loss of broadsheet ordinances (by mischievous citizens or otherwise), surviving examples provide ample evidence of the efforts made by Dutch authorities to improve the effectiveness of their communication. These developments do not constitute a revolution in printing or governance. There is no particular stage in the early seventeenth century when Dutch municipal authorities and their printers all implemented the various structural and typographical changes discussed here. Developments in design should here be described as 'trends' rather than 'transformations'.⁷³

Still, we may observe developments over time which suggest that Dutch authorities used broadsheet ordinances in innovative ways in order to make the

70 Vincent's son, Abraham Casteleyn, became licensed printer of the town after his father in 1658, and also established one of the most successful Dutch newspapers of the seventeenth century in 1656 (the *Weeckelijcke Courante van Europa*, transformed into the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* in 1658–9).

71 Schneider, *Voorgeschiedenis*, p. 45.

72 USTC 1500208; USTC 1500230; USTC 1500254.

73 As Proot argues, in his 'Converging Design Paradigms', p. 296.

printed ordinances more accessible to their intended audiences. The composition and form of printed texts impacted on their reception. Early modern communication was highly visual, and in this respect one should consider the structure and placement of text as significant as the placement of images in the representation of the state. The authorities were by no means disconnected from a wider public. This, ignored by previous scholarship, is the significance of these documents. The use of print by Dutch authorities in the seventeenth century adds a new layer of understanding to our perception of the sophistication of urban governance and communication.

PART 4

Politics



Broadsheets Testing Moderation in the Nascent Dutch Revolt

Johan Verberckmoes and Violet Soen

Speed of communication has always been a major issue in the historiography on the Dutch Revolt.¹ Especially in the decisive decades of the Revolt – from the unrest among nobility and citizens in the 1560s through the Calvinist takeover in the 1570s to the Spanish Habsburg Reconquista in the 1580s – the intricacies of political, religious and social affairs heightened the appetite for news. On the highest political level, the slow pace with which the decisions of the Spanish King reached the Low Countries (or failed to do so), have also been seen as a decisive factor in the unfolding of events.² On a regional and local level, government policies, religious turbulence, military engagements and horrendous war crimes precipitated rumours and public debate.³ The Dutch Revolt was a highly mediatized event, the contours of which have been studied from political and religious perspectives and through the lens of political thought.⁴

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- 1 For their comments on an earlier version we thank all members of the Research group Early Modern History at KU Leuven and the editors of this volume.
 - 2 Geoffrey Parker & Fernando González de León, 'The Grand Strategy of Philip II and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1559–1584', in Philip Benedict, etc. (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555–1585* (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands academy of arts and sciences, 1999), pp. 215–232; Geoffrey Parker, 'The Making of Strategy in Habsburg Spain: Philip II's 'Bid for Mastery', 11: 1556–1598', in Williamson Murray, etc. (eds.), *The Making of Strategy: Rules, States and War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 137–146.
 - 3 Henk Van Nierop, '"And Ye Shall Hear of Wars and Rumours of Wars": Rumour and the Revolt in the Netherlands', in Judith Pollmann & Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: essays in honour of Alistair Duke* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 69–86; Femke Deen, *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand: Amsterdam 'Moorddam' 1566–1578* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015).
 - 4 Martin Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten 1555–1584* (Nijmegen: HES, 1983); Craig E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1987); Femke Deen, David Onnekink & Michel Reinders (eds.), *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

More recently, the defining importance of highly-skilled propaganda in the construction of public opinion has come to the fore. Through circulating rumours, staging performances and spreading prints and manuscripts, the proponents of regime change created a setting in which people were at least mentally participating in the revolt, if not in practice. This was particularly the case for citizens in the densely populated provinces of Holland, Flanders, Brabant and Hainaut.⁵ The motivations and methods of particular actors such as Protestant preachers, discontent noblemen and publishers in engaging the masses have been the subject of intensive investigation.⁶ Currently, multimedia approaches emphasize that opinion building was a process that relied on multiple resources and actors.⁷ At any rate, the Revolt was arguably the first instance of an overall mobilization of the general public in the Netherlands for political and religious ideas, even though the Low Countries already had a long tradition of inventive citizen participation in politics.⁸

In the initial stages of the Revolt single-sheet publications were a key feature of the transformation of communicative structures rapidly paving the way for such mass public politicization. Very few copies of these broadsheets have

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- 5 Pollmann & Spicer, *Public Opinion, passim*; Jan Bloemendal, Arjan Van Dixhoorn & Elsa Strietman (eds.), *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Low Countries, 1450–1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Nina Lamal, 'Nieuws en informatienetwerken: de Medici en het begin van de Opstand in de Nederlanden (1566)', *Handelingen der Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 66 (2013), pp. 63–77; Roeland Harms, *De uitvinding van de publieke opinie: pamfletten als massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (PhD dissertation, Utrecht University, 2010).
 - 6 Alastair Duke, *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, Judith Pollmann & Andrew Spicer (eds.) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), esp. Chapters 6 and 7.
 - 7 Anne-Laure van Bruaene, 'Revolted Beasts: Animal Satire and Animal Trials in the Dutch Revolt', in Walter S. Melion, Bret. Rothstein & Michel Weemans (eds.), *The Anthropomorphic Lens. Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Arts* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 23–42; Johan Verberckmoes, *Laughter, Jestbooks and Society in the Spanish Netherlands* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 83–108. For a comparative perspective: Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
 - 8 Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts & Civic Patriots. The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, 'Des portes qui parlent. Placards, feuilles volantes et communication politique dans les villes des Pays-Bas à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 168 (2010), pp. 151–172 analyses scarce late mediaeval instances of posted pamphlets critical to the government as examples of individual protest; Jan Dumolyn & Jelle Haemers, "A Bad Chicken Was Brooding". Subversive Speech in Late Medieval Flanders', *Past and Present*, 214 (2012), pp. 45–86.

survived. Printed matter in various formats was read and thrown away, glued to outside walls and washed away by the rain, or torn apart and burnt if containing seditious content. Because we lack the physical remains, we often have to look elsewhere for evidence. For the initial years of the Revolt chronicles – a genre popular and cherished by the many literate citizens in these regions – probably offer the firmest evidence of this type of printing having a performative impact in the unfolding of events. In particular, those chronicles originating as diaries and generally considered reliable, by citizens like Van Haecht, Van Vaernewyck and Van Campene, contain contextualization not found elsewhere. These chronicles contain on occasions full transcriptions of now rare broadsheets and although details about the actual publishing are rare, they all document how broadsheets contributed to the onset of the Revolt.⁹

In this chapter, we argue that rebel broadsheets challenged the methods and contents of the ongoing communication between the King and his subjects through means of legislation (*placards* or broadsheet ordinances). Rather than considering these voices as individual protests, we suggest that political single sheets appropriated the goals, methods and content of government printing. Their authors, often anonymous, while publishing non-governmental, even anti-governmental political opinion, followed the patterns of existing government communication. Whether radical, moderate or loyal, the voices raised in the non-governmental broadsheets helped mould the structures of communication, for which the sixteenth-century Dutch word *moderatie* seems an apt description. *Moderatie* referred to leniency regarding the anti-heresy laws and was the bone of contention *par excellence* at the onset of the Revolt. But it also expressed the desire to ‘moderate’, and to intervene in order to moderate, rather than to be left out of decision-making.¹⁰ Although most of the intended projects of *moderatie* in both senses eventually failed, rebel broadsheets established a *modus operandi* that steered collective action in the Dutch Revolt, and which the surviving chronicles document.

9 Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), the appendix on p. 203 lists the most important Catholic diarists and memoirists used in this article, such as Philip van Campene, Nicolas Soldoyer and Van Vaernewijck. Other chronicles for the sixteenth century can be retrieved through <http://egodocument.net/>.

10 Violet Soen, *Vredehandel. Adellijke en Habsburgse verzoeningspogingen tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand (1564–1581)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), pp. 59–64; J.J. Woltjer, ‘De vrede-makers’, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 89 (1976), pp. 229–321; Deen, *Publiek debat*.

Moderation

Broadsheets might be the most difficult sources to identify in the Dutch Revolt.¹¹ It is assumed that cheap single-sheets were printed in their hundreds and even thousands and were among the most accessible of printed media. At a price of one or two *stuivers* everybody could afford to buy one. They were bought at stalls on markets, but equally from ambient pedlars; in addition, as this essay will show, they were spread for free. Their contents were ingenuous arguments or crude caricatures. Broadsheets also contained songs, verses and other literary genres that invited creative performance. Although fleeting and ephemeral and as historical sources largely disappeared from view, indirect evidence confirms that broadsheets were from the late 1550s firmly present in the ever-expanding print market in the Low Countries. Antwerp was by then already the main centre of printing in the Low Countries.¹² News networks gave new impulses to the printing business, especially in the tense context of crisis of the mid-1560s. The onset of the Revolt was accompanied by a wave of printed texts, in particular in smaller formats. Although not a major news centre, by 1572 Antwerp had become the third largest centre of information in the extensive Fugger network of news exchange, for commercial reasons as much as because of the Revolt.¹³ But rebel printing was outlawed and printers sought solutions in setting up presses out of the reach of government. In the mid-1560s, for instance, a press was set up in Vianen on the borders between Holland and Utrecht, which supplied the rest of the Low Countries with seditious pamphlets that were illegal to print elsewhere, but were freely printed there because of the quasi-autonomous sovereignty of the city-lordship and the commitment to new ideas of its lord, Hendrik of Brederode. On the other hand, Emden, where Protestant printing for the Low Countries flourished, was

11 The USTC lists 959 broadsheets printed in the Low Countries from 1565 to 1585, being, with very few exceptions, government ordinances, religious texts, academic dissertations and calendars and prognostications. In the octavo format the USTC lists 2,737 items printed in the Low Countries from 1565 to 1585, in this case a majority of religious texts and important subcategories such as 146 political tracts, the latter containing the political broadsheets to which this contribution refers (accessed 9/9/2016).

12 Andrew Pettegree, 'Printing in the Low Countries in the early sixteenth century', in Malcolm Walsby & Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 3–25.

13 Nina Lamal, *Le Orecchie si piene di Fiandra*. Italian news and histories on the Revolt in the Netherlands (1566–1618), (KU Leuven/University of St Andrews, PhD dissertation, 2014), p. 27.

too far away for single-sheets to be printed there – their message would be outdated before reaching the intended audience.¹⁴

The medialization of events and opinions in the early and mid-1560s has been much noted by historians as scholars have begun to place increasing emphasis on written, oral and visual means of communication. However, this was not only the consequence of the new controversies. Government authorities on all levels posted printed ordinances and read them aloud, underlining the intricate link between the written, printed and oral word. Governing was a communicative process in which rulings issued on one day were revoked or affirmed the next, depending on the strategies that rulers followed after the promulgation of new prescriptions.¹⁵ Therefore, in the opening stage of growing public unrest, subversive broadsheets were closely modelled on these existing patterns of official communication. Rebellious pamphlets used the medium and techniques of single-sheet government publications in order to participate in strategies of *moderatie* and appropriate the authority of official print. In particular, provocative broadsheets challenged the genre, format and content of the well-known *placards*, the generic term for legislation of the central and provincial authorities in the Low Countries.¹⁶ Though with an uncertain etymology, the term *placards* probably referred to the act of *plaquer*, to attach to noticeboards, and taken strictly the placard was a one-sided *in plano*

14 Duke, *Dissident Identities*; Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt, Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).

15 Jean-Marie Cauchies & Hugo de Schepper, *Justice, grâce et législation. Genèse de l'état et moyens juridiques dans les Pays-Bas, 1200–1600* (Cahier Centre de Recherches en histoire du droit et des institutions, 11) (Brussels: Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis, 1994); Nicholas Simon, 'La législation de Charles Quint dans les Pays-Bas: jeux et enjeux de contorsions identitaires', in Violet Soen, Yves Junot & Florian Mariage (eds.), *L'identité au pluriel. Jeux et enjeux des appartenances autour des anciens Pays-Bas, XIV^e–XVIII^e siècles. Identity and Identities. Belonging at Stake in the Low Countries 14th–18th Centuries* (Revue du Nord, Hors série, collection Histoire 30), (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université Charles-de-Gaulle, 2014), pp. 41–58.

16 The *Commission Royale pour la Publication des Anciennes Lois et Ordonnances de Belgique* is in the process of editing the missing volumes for the reign of Philip II: see, amongst others, Gustaaf Janssens, 'De ordonnantie betreffende de pacificatie van de beroerten te Antwerpen (24 mei 1567): breekpunt voor de politiek van Filips II ten overstaan van de Nederlanden', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale pour la Publication des Anciennes Lois et Ordonnances de Belgique*, 50 (2009), pp. 105–132; in the meantime: Charles Terlinden (ed.), *Liste chronologique provisoire des édits et ordonnances des Pays-Bas. Règne de Philippe II (1555–1598)* (Brussels: Goemaere, 1912).

to be posted.¹⁷ To gain validity in each of the Low Countries polities, such ordinances with general matter had to be expedited with a royal seal and publically announced by the provincial and city authorities. This often happened only orally, but whenever deemed necessary, also in the form of single folio publishing. This process was neatly summarized in the fixed expression used by the royal chancellery “vous mandons faire cris et publications”, and often the proclamation was made in multiple locations for wider dissemination.

As importantly, not only did broadsheets engage with the medium and technique of the *placards*, they also challenged their content. Especially in the crucial years of the 1560s, the term for all legislation emanating from the central authorities was increasingly used as a synonym for only that part of the legal corpus proscribing Protestantism.¹⁸ This echoed the *Affaire des Placards* in France of 1534, when during the night of 17 to 18 October a poster against the Eucharist was attached (*placardage*) in several cities like Paris and Rouen, and even to the door of the castle of Amboise, where King Francis I was staying. The King responded by publically confessing his Catholic faith, temporarily prohibiting all printing and bringing in its wake people to the stake – victims included a printer of other suspected literature, yet the nightly distribution of anti-Catholic broadsheets continued to question the royal policy of persecution of Protestants.¹⁹ The broadsheets in the Netherlands equally asked

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- 17 Different interpretations remain, some refer to the act of attaching it to noticeboards (which is still the current term in French ‘*plaquer*’ and was the contemporary Dutch ‘*plakken*’), others to attaching a seal (*lettres au sceau plaque*); others think that the term derives from *placitum*. In any case, terms as *plakkaten*, ordinances and edicts were used as synonyms during the sixteenth century. With regards to the printed format of the *placards* as one-sided printed broadsheets, Vincent Van Zuilen, ‘Propagande royale: les placards de Philippe II en Flandres et au Brabant (1585–1598)’, in Barbara Ertlé & Martin Gosman (eds.), *Les écrits courts à vocation polémique* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 113–128, notices that many exceptions remained, the legislation from 1585 onwards was often distributed in forms of brochures or pamphlets, with one ordinance even extending to 32 pages.
- 18 Aline Goossens, *Les Inquisitions dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux à la Renaissance (1519–1633)* (2 vols, Brussels: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 1997–1998) discusses much of this legislation in a long term perspective; Jochen A. Fühner, *Die Kirchen- und die antireformatorische Religionspolitik Kaiser Karls v. in den siebzehn Provinzen der Niederlande 1515–1555* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) for the imperial legislation under Charles v.
- 19 James K. Farge (ed.), *Religion, Reformation, and Repression in the Reign of Francis I: Documents from the Parlement of Paris, 1515–1547* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2015), vol. 1, xxxv discusses the *affaire*, and lists the reactions of the Parlement of Paris. Bruce Hayes, ‘The *Affaire des placards*, Polemical Humour, and the Sardonian Laugh’, *French Studies: A Quarterly Review*, 70 (2016), pp. 332–347.

for moderation of religious persecution. But invoking classical clemency and Christian mercy for the persecuted Protestants, by asking for a moderation of the existing placards and leniency for arrested reformers, excluded other voices that sought to intervene in the deliberation-making process, and to moderate the ongoing policy discussions. Moderation became a buzz-word in these days preceding the Iconoclastic Fury. Thus, even though the content as well as the use of the medium shocked contemporary observers, broadsheets adhered closely to the principle of issuing and appropriating authority through print. Amongst other things, their immediate performative impact resulted from closely following earlier established principles of legislation and communication between the king and his subjects, of which the surviving chronicles provide a remarkable testimony.

Nocturnal Sowing

An astute and lively observer of the onset of the Revolt in 1565–1566 was Godevaert Van Haecht from Antwerp, a Lutheran painter, art trader and print publisher and member of the Guild of St Luke since 1572.²⁰ Van Haecht was finely attuned to the power of the heterogeneous sources of news, such as local government edicts, pamphlets, prints, rumour and gossip, jokes and manuscripts nailed on doors. His chronicle has therefore been much valued in studies on the impact of the Revolt on local populations.²¹ In the heated month of April 1566 some of the major themes of opinion mongering had already gained force. The perceived threat of an introduction of the Spanish Inquisition (then functioning as an all-explaining myth and legend), the shifting positions of noblemen negotiating with the governor-general, the hesitant allegiance of local government to royal authority and uncertainties about religious allegiance among the population enflamed the public sphere.²² The city magistrate of

20 Godevaert van Haecht, *De kroniek van Godevaert van Haecht over de troebelen van 1565 tot 1574 te Antwerpen en elders*, Robert van Roosbroeck (ed.), (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1929–1930), 2 vols.

21 Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the age of Reformation: underground Protestantism in a commercial metropolis, 1550–1577* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

22 Alastair Duke, 'A Legend in the Making: News of the 'Spanish Inquisition' in the Low Countries in German evangelical Pamphlets, 1546–1550', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 77 (1997), pp. 125–144; F.E. Beemon, 'The Myth of the Spanish Inquisition and the Preconditions for the Dutch Revolt', *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, 85 (1994), pp. 246–264; Werner Thomas, 'De mythe van de Spaanse inquisitie in de Nederlanden in de zestiende eeuw', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*,

Antwerp responded by issuing orders (*geboden*) to contain unrest and sedition, and proclaiming (*uytgheroepen*) these from the *puyen* or balcony of the city hall, at times on its own initiative or otherwise publicizing the ordinances of the central government.²³ In this context a small pamphlet, presumably a folded single-sheet, attracted Van Haecht's attention, who described it as "briefkens" (small letters). In the night of 27 April, in Antwerp and three other main cities of Brabant (Louvain, Brussels and 's-Hertogenbosch) printed sheets were distributed in which warnings were given about the 'Moderation', a proposed amelioration of the placards drafted by the central administration for which the advice of the provincial estates and the cities had already been solicited.²⁴ The details of the communication by Van Haecht are important. The sheets were printed, they were 'sown' at night, but nobody knew who had done this and in the morning many copies were found lying in several streets of these cities. Sowing apparently implied a multiplication effect. A similar action in the same four cities was repeated a month later, in the night of 25 May. Sheets calling for the abolition of the inquisition (by then a container term for all kinds of persecution) were also anonymously 'sown', as Van Haecht phrased it once again.²⁵

105 (1990), pp. 325–353. In fact, much of this fear was steered by the contemporary ending of the Council of Trent, and the royal wish to have the decrees promulgated in the Low Countries (cf. *infra*). On the difference between perception and the very few actual inquisitorial mandates in the Low Countries, see Gert Gielis and Violet Soen, 'The inquisitorial office in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. A dynamic perspective', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 66 (2015), pp. 47–66.

23 *Gheboden ende uytgheroepen*, 29.08.1566. *Alzoo het gherequireert is, dat de ghewoonlijcke Gods diensten sacramenten, ende sermoenen, inden kercken ende cloosteren nae oude maniere worden ghedaen ende gheadministreert* (Antwerp: s.n., 1566), USTC 402957, broadsheet volume. For its context, Violet Soen 'The Beeldenstorm and the Spanish Habsburg Response (1566–1570)', *The Low Countries Historical Review*, 131 (2016), pp. 99–120. Regarding the ever immanent struggle between the city magistrate of Antwerp and the central government, see G.E. Wells, *Antwerp and the Government of Philip II: 1555–1577* (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 1982).

24 For the context of this 'Moderation', a proposition issued as a reaction to the Compromise of the Nobility: Violet Soen, 'Between dissent and peacemaking. Nobility at the Eve of the Dutch Revolt (1564–1567)', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 86 (2008), pp. 735–758.

25 Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, I, 40–42 (17 April) and 44–45 (25 May). The first pamphlet *Vermaninge aende regeerders ende gemeente vande vier hoofsteden van Brabant* was printed in Vianen by Albert Christiaensz. in 8°, USTC 421495. Duke, *Dissident Identities*, pp. 171–172 briefly mentions this occurrence and points to the use of the word 'sowing' (implicitly referring to its biblical reference). The second pamphlet is or stems from, *De derde waerschouwinge ende vermaninghe aende goede, getrouwe regeerders vanden lande van*

These night-time manoeuvres are remarkable, for in the spring and summer of 1566 numerous actions and performances full of political criticism were already openly on display in the light of day. For instance, in June 1566 wooden bowls were fashioned as a symbol of the noblemen turned beggars, and “everybody began to buy these and as a novelty drank from them, saying ‘I toast to you à la mode de gues’, getting the response ‘vive le gues’”.²⁶ Pamphlets had been flying around for a year, notes had been put on doors, in short, a whole range of activities had already been deployed to engage people in dissidence or in loyal opposition. Obviously, such printing and distribution when containing criticism and libel was illegal and thus secretive.²⁷ Printers, booksellers and book pedlars – always vigilantly scrutinized – were prosecuted. A multi-layered government machinery of censorship and repression had been operational in that respect since the 1520s.²⁸ Van Haecht noted in the margins of his memoirs that those who printed these pamphlets would lose their lives and goods if caught, but that the monetary reward offered to find those responsible did not yield any result. In May the government issued and printed another prohibition of distributing ‘pasquillen’ under the threat of the gallows and confiscation.²⁹ This partially explains the distribution at nighttime of the

Brabant, teghen de calumnien vanden cardinael van Granvel, Viglius, theologiennen van Loeven, ende andere inquisiteurs haren aenhangers, printed in Vianen by Albert Christiaensz. in 8°, USTC 421502. Gerard van Gorp, *Reformatie in Brabant: Protestanten en katholieken in de Meierij van 's-Hertogenbosch, 1523–1634* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), pp. 72–73 mentions the distribution of these pamphlets in 's-Hertogenbosch; thanks to Erik Aerts for this last reference.

- 26 Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, I, 48. ‘Gues’ or ‘geus’ is the Dutch mock name for beggar as a variant of the French ‘gueux’ and was the political slogan of the revolted in this first phase: Henk Van Nierop, ‘A Beggars’ Banquet. The Compromise of the Nobility and the Politics of Inversion’, *European History Quarterly*, 21 (1991), pp. 416–443.
- 27 J.-B. Vincent, *Essai sur l’histoire de l’imprimerie en Belgique, depuis le XV^{me} jusqu’à la fin du XVIII^{me} siècle* (Brussels: Delfosse, 1867), pp. 33–41, 137–162.
- 28 See the different essays in Violet Soen, Dries Vanysacker and Wim François (eds.), *Church, Censorship and Reform in the early modern Habsburg Netherlands* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).
- 29 *Ordinantie ende placcaet daerby alle ondersaten verboden is te maken eenighe pasquillen oft injurieuse schriften* (Bruessel, 01.05.1566) (Ghent: Jan van der Steene, 1566), USTC 409745. The printers, authors, editors and ‘zaeyers’ (sowers) were to be caught, and one could no longer ‘make, write, compose verses, print, post (plakken), sow or strow’ pasquills. Other edicts on 1 and 16 April, 2 May and 26 June 1566, see Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), p. 166, note 79.

two broadsheets of late April and late May, echoing the nocturnal actions during the French *affaire des placards*.

But, and this has hardly been noticed, the two occurrences of nightly broadsheet sowing mimicked the official channels of local government communication, while clearly interrupting them. The broadsheets were thrown around simultaneously in four main cities of the Duchy of Brabant, symbolically endorsing the political weight of these cities, but also echoing that they earlier had joined forces to deliberate on future actions and decisions.³⁰ Moreover, each city put up its ordinances on official noticeboards during daytime, inviting people to take note of decisions standing upright. Proposing an alternative voice to that of the local government the act of throwing broadsheets at night onto the streets for people to pick them up required from the citizens a different, participatory kinetic activity to the immobile listening to government proclamations. But the folio format and layout was similar to government ordinances. This was exactly what the handbills of April and May aimed at, sowing distrust among the population against the central and local government's attempts at reconciliation. The broadsheets addressed in their heading the rulers (*regierders*) of the four cities, in another action imitating official correspondence. Moreover, becoming public at the first light of dawn and being found in several streets meant that each pamphlet relied significantly on its close proximity to the existing system of city-wide communication. In other words, although subverting the power of the city councillors, mimicking their system of asserting authority created means for people to participate in ongoing debates and deliberations.³¹ The 'unrest' among the population, to which Van Haecht kept referring, underscored distrust of existing power relations built on the monopolizing of authority by distant authorities such as the king and the pope and his cardinals, but it also harboured the notion of uncertain authority that engenders disquiet.

Intriguingly, the two handbills that sowed such confusion in the city concerned the very matter of a proposed 'Moderation' of the criminal law regarding heresy.³² This moderation and relaxation of the law had been long wished

30 Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, 1, 24. For similar Brabant cooperation outside the structures of the estates, but using the same strategies: Guido Marnef, 'Resistance and the celebration of privileges in sixteenth-century Brabant', in Pollmann & Spicer, *Public opinion*, pp. 125–139.

31 Deen, *Publiek debat*, pp. 173–185 points to the influence of pamphlets.

32 *Concept de placart de la moderation des anchiens placcartz sur le fait de la religion*, Biblioteca del Monasterio San Lorenzo de El Escorial (BME), Ms. L-I-22, doc. 17, fol. 16v–27, Archivo General de Simancas, Secretarías Provinciales SP 2604, unfoliated (copy); discussion in Soen, *Vredehandel*, pp. 59–67 and summarized in Soen, 'The Beeldenstorm

for, especially by Protestants, but increasingly also by Catholics, opposing the many executions disrupting the social fabric of the city. City elites and gentry had in December 1565 joined a 'Compromise of the Nobility', which spanned different estates and denominations, and which in a well-attended march on Brussels in March 1566 had handed over a Request to the Governess-General asking that all kinds of religious persecution 'whether by law or by decrees' be abolished, referring among other issues to the attempts to promulgate the Tridentine decrees.³³ Yet, when the Governess effectively sacked the inquisitors, proposed a Moderation in order to meet the demand of leniency, and received the hesitant approval of the King, she sent out the proposal for advice to the provincial estates in order to meet their demands and offer reconciliatory gestures.³⁴ Remarkably, Van Haecht attributed the two handbills described above as the means by which "t volck", the people, was informed of the content of the Moderation, emphasising the word "volck" with a different bold lettering in his manuscript. Moreover, in both cases Van Haecht also transcribed the text of the two handbills ("saeyboeckkens") in full, endorsing their impact as well as implicitly avowing that this was contentious posting that might be replaced soon by other decisions. The April pamphlet admonished the citizens not to accept 'under the cover of a moderation' anything 'new', warning against the continuing use of capital punishment and confiscation against Protestants. The May broadsheet accused the advocates of the Moderation of being 'peace-breakers' rather than 'peace-doves'. Still, when the Moderation was read in the provincial estates of Flanders on 10 and 11 May – not coincidentally right between the two sown broadsheets – some of its members were ready to divulge the articles and discredit the attempt at mediation in an octavo pamphlet, which Van Haecht thought "too long to tell" but which he mentioned in order to hint "what the court proposed".³⁵ Clearly, the broadsheets and pamphlets served to

and the Spanish Habsburg Response', pp. 99–120. This proposition of the Moderation has to be compared with the legislation in vigour: Goosens, *Les Inquisitions* and Fühner, *Die Kirchen- und die antireformatorische Religionspolitik*.

33 Violet Soen, 'The Council of Trent and the Preconditions of the Dutch Revolt (1563–1566)', in Wim François & Violet Soen (eds.), *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and beyond (1540–1700)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming).

34 Violet Soen, *Geen pardon zonder paus! Studie over de complementariteit van het koninklijk en pauselijk generaal pardon (1570–1574) en over inquisiteur-generaal Michael Baius (1560–1576)* (Brussels: KVAB, 2007), p. 132 lists the resignation letters, and the surprised reaction of the inquisitors.

35 Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, I, 43–44: "daer men corts hier na hoorde, want van 't hofwegen haer daer voergehouden werdt... te lanck al te verhalen', the pamphlet was *Copie van sommige ende de principaelste articulen uute propositie geextrachert van s hoofden wegen*

give voice to those who were excluded from the deliberations at the Brussels court or in the Provincial Estates.³⁶ But on this occasion, they even questioned the trustworthiness of the representative government structures enshrined in the political culture of the Low Countries, advocating a different moderation and intervention than that proposed by the ruling elites.³⁷

Posted on Doors

When the first stirrings of open revolt occurred in the mid-1560s, they thus became intertwined with an experiment in the effectiveness of single-sheet publishing as a source of authoritative politics. Government ordinances had been a constant presence in the cities of the Low Countries since the early sixteenth century; this extended experiment with printed law had assisted the rise of such publishing centres as Antwerp, Ghent and Louvain.³⁸ Moreover, the ordinances which the central government issued against printing which it labelled heretical constituted a response to the penetration of Protestant teaching in print. These censorship edicts serve as an indication that print was a sensitive feature of political and religious culture.³⁹ Even if dissent was part and

geproponeert den staten van Vlaenderen, binnen der stede van Gent, n.05.1566 (Ghent: s.n., 1566), USTC 404471. A subsequent Calvinist pamphlet printed in Vianen was deemed important enough to be transcribed in full, Van Haecht, *De Kroniek*, 1, 49–52. [Gilles de Clercq], *Advertissement bijde goede ende ghetrauwe ondersaten ende inwoonderen der C.M. Erfnederlanden gedaen, aende gouverneurs van tghene dat sijlieden verstaen ende versuecken geordonneert te worden op tstuck vander religie* (Vianen: Albert Christiaensz.), in 8°, USTC 421494; the French edition of the pamphlet was probably the source text, USTC 441615. Gilles de Clercq was one of the initiators of the Compromise of the Nobility, working along with Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde.

36 As three pamphlets were printed in Vianen, their patron was most probably the Count of Brederode. Though from an eminent aristocratic family, he had not been able to secure a position within the Brussels bureaucracy, and his virulent anticlericalism (and later open Protestantism) later prevented him acceding to circles of influence there. Hence, his leading role in the Compromise of the Nobility can be interpreted as his 'coming of age'. Moreover, the pamphlets hinted at his antagonism to William of Orange, Margrave of Antwerp, to Brederode's great distress at that time that he was not willing to convert to Protestantism.

37 H.G. Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments. The Netherlands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

38 Vincent, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'imprimerie en Belgique*, pp. 5–27.

39 M.E. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam: Van Kampen, 1948).

parcel of the disputative functions of printed books, it was a different matter when such dissenting views were posted to influence actual political events.⁴⁰ Since the late fifteenth century and throughout Europe, broadsheets had served to promote pamphlet exchanges on such pressing issues as the Turkish threat to Christianity or the rise to prominence of Martin Luther.⁴¹ In the Low Countries in the first half of the sixteenth century publicly distributed single-sheets were overwhelmingly either ordinances or calendars and prognostications, all containing vital claims to authority.⁴² By the mid-sixteenth century, religious controversy provoked further public display of print. For instance, in September 1558 inquisitor Pieter Titelmans issued sentences against the brothellers Antheunis, Gillis and Hans Verdickt to ban them as heretics from the church and also issued warrants for their arrest, copies of which were to be hung on church doors. Gillis Verdickt responded by putting up a letter on the church door in his native Elversele in which he accused the inquisitor of wanting to shed innocent blood.⁴³ During the Revolt provocative broadsheets infringed on the governmental claim to authority, not only to produce counter-claims, but, arguably even more, to provide authority for the arguments of those in revolt. For several decades during the Revolt and creating momentum around the comings and goings of major royal representatives in the country, printed petitions, requests, justifications, proclamations, apologies, commentaries, letters and placards flooded the cities. This extensive production of pamphlets made an insistent claim for the public dimensions of the conflict, and the need to deliberate and moderate more broadly than solely at the court.⁴⁴

40 Florence Alazard, Stéphane Geonget, Laurent Gerbier and Paul-Alexis Mellet (eds.), *Dissensus. Admettre la diversité des opinions dans l'Europe de la Renaissance* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2016).

41 Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); R.W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987); Carl Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Bucharest & Berlin: Editura Academiei/Akademie Verlag, 1961–1968) 2 vols.; Idem, *Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1978).

42 Cara Janssen, 'De almanakken van Jan Franco Sr. en de promotie van een katholiek-Habsburgse identiteit in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1598–1621)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 22 (2015), 9–26.

43 Johan Decavele, 'Protestanten in het Land van Waas in de zestiende eeuw', *Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van het Land van Waas. Annalen*, 119 (2016), pp. 27–92 (here pp. 33–34).

44 Deen, *Publiek debat*; Geurts, *De Nederlandse opstand in de pamfletten*.

Contemporary observers noticed how dissenting voices appropriated the media methods of official communication. One such observer was Philip Van Campene, Ghent citizen and lawyer in the Council of Flanders, and thus familiar with the ins and outs of the promulgation of laws. In his diary he noted in detail which government edicts were read out in the Council of Flanders, how ordinances were proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet or read aloud to passers-by. Orders of the city were communicated to Spanish soldiers with the beat of drum, summonses were posted on the doors of the town hall or the St Bavo church, small printed books were distributed with calculations of the impact of the hundredth penny tax.⁴⁵ When in March 1568 infamous iconoclasts and rebels such as the Ghent brothers Lieven and Jan Onghena, and the tumultuous preacher Nicasius Vander Schueren were summoned by Alva, Van Campene recorded the communication strategy of both the government and the insurgents. Summoning people and, when they did not appear, seizing property, was part of the process by which central, provincial and local authorities symbolically stripped perpetrators of their falsely usurped authority in the public domain.

Onghena and his henchmen had misled their companions into revolt, *pace* Van Campene, “by imitated and false writing making it look like it came from the court”, probably hinting at the fact that many iconoclasts had entered cities showing ‘letters of commission’ allegedly issued by the provincial governor.⁴⁶ Moreover, the rebels ‘had laughed at’ the edicts of the king, the duke (of Alva) and the city magistrate.⁴⁷ Consequently, the local authorities became wary of seditious single-sheets, promulgating, for instance on 30 December 1569, that no new year’s prints could be posted (as was the custom as a form of entertainment), suggesting that the twisting of existing communication structures challenged the government’s claim to authority.⁴⁸ On reading Van Campene’s private notes, it becomes clear that he was acutely aware that authority depended on broadsheet publications. When in April and May 1572 an open rebellion was rapidly changing the fate of the Low Countries, Van Campene observed that on the most important places letters were posted announcing

45 Ph. Blommaert (ed.), *Vlaemsche kronijk, of dagregister van al het gene gedenkweerdig voorgevallen is, binnen de stad Gent, sedert den 15 july 1566 tot 15 juny 1585, onderhouden in 't Latijn door Ph. De Kempenare* (Ghent: Hebbelycnk, 1839), e.g. 21, 24, 36, 45, 53, 62, 72, 78, 94–95, covering the period January 1567 to August 1571.

46 Blommaert, *Vlaemsche kronijk*, 44. On Onghena see Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, 30–31.

47 Blommaert, *Vlaemsche kronijk*, 44.

48 Blommaert, *Vlaemsche kronijk*, 76.

that “major lords were coming with great power into the country to protect common liberty and soften Spanish tyranny”. Yet he also insisted that local urban governments at the same time issued many ordinances concerning the city guards in order to protect the local citizens.⁴⁹ As such, local citizens were confronted with similar kinds of posted printing which challenged each other’s unique claims to authority.

Another intelligent Ghent eye-witness of the pertinence of communication strategies was the patrician Marcus van Vaernewyck, who held several public offices in the city. Van Vaernewyck was bitterly disappointed by the printed songs and ballads (some presumably single-sheets) commissioned by the rebels that raised the spirits among the population and hardened people to despise and mock the clerics and the (Roman) faith.⁵⁰ He gave the specific example of the mocking lamentation of inquisitor Pieter Titelmans, a pamphlet printed in Ghent around October 1566 that simulated the style of official communication, properly divided into paragraphs and clauses, although the anonymous author and printer were both probably Calvinist supporters.⁵¹ It was no coincidence that a pastiche had been written on inquisitor Titelmans to maximize the shock impact among the Ghent citizens, and also in this case, it clearly mimicked the communications that Titelmans himself had been addressing to the governess in order to defend ‘our inquisition’.⁵² The mocking ballad challenged the claim to power and expertise: was the inquisition to be carried out by clerics or councillors, by theologians or by laymen? Inverting the inquisitor’s exclusive claim to knowledge and power, the *Claghe* insisted on a deliberative structure to deal with questions of heresy. As such, it echoed the manifold criticisms of the Antwerp magistrate and the Council of Brabant against Titelmans that clerics could not adequately perceive the economic and political challenges facing the country and could not therefore be entrusted

49 Blommaert, *Vlaemsche kronijk*, 104. Obviously, the reference is to William of Orange.

50 Marcus Van Vaernewijck, *Van die beroerlicke tijden in de Nederlanden en voornamelijk in Ghendt 1566–1568*, Ferdinand Vanderhaeghen (ed.) (Ghent: Annoot-Braeckman, 1872–1881), 5 vols, 1, 276–281; Paul Fredericq, *Het Nederlandsch proza in de zestiende-eeuwse pamfletten uit den tijd der beroerten met eene bloemlezing (1566–1600) en een aanhangsel van liedjes en gedichten uit dien tijd* (Brussels: Hayez, 1907).

51 *De claghe vanden inquisiteur, meester Pieter Titelmanus, deken van Ronche* (Ghent: Gileyn Manilius, 1566), USTC 402958; an Emden version is dated 1565: Emden: Gellius Ctematius, 1565, USTC 408094. Arjan Van Dixhoorn, ‘The Claim to Expertise and Doctrinal Authority in the Struggle for Anti-Heresy Policies in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1520s–1560s’, in Soen, Vanyacker & François (eds.), *Church, Censorship and Reform*.

52 Pieter Titelmans, *Aen Madame hertoginne van Parma (Gendt 08.01.1564)*, (s.l., s.n., 1564), USTC 409512.

with the practice of justice.⁵³ After all, for several decades, rumours about the inquisition had been the testing ground for pamphlet wars, but they were also the most quintessential form of complaints about the autocratic (and thus perceived 'hispanized' form) of government. In the complaints about the alleged introduction of a Spanish inquisition, discontent about the persecution of Protestants and the autocratic style of Habsburg rule neatly merged.⁵⁴

Pamphlets wars were not limited to Brabant, Flanders and Holland where the largest publishing centres were located.⁵⁵ The warnings against the Moderation and the Inquisition issued in the Brabant cities in April and May 1566 also circulated in Tournai and Valenciennes in French versions.⁵⁶ In Tournai no printing press was active before 1580, so the pamphlets were clearly imported from elsewhere.⁵⁷ The libels were attached to the Tournai town hall, St Brice church and on street corners. Although copies were brought to the city councillors and high rewards were promised, those responsible could not be found, one chronicler, a high city officer, complained. The chronicler, Pasquier de le Barre, wrote down further details on a similar incident, with many political pamphlets being scattered in the cities. On Wednesday 3 April 1566, "bon nombre de petits billetz" (again pointing at their small format) pleading for the revocation – not moderation – of the placards on religion were found on several locations in Tournai. The next day, "grands billetz" had been distributed ("attachez ou semez", attached or sown) containing more reasons why the Tournai city councillors needed to prevent the execution of the placards and stop the inquisition in whatever form from being introduced. On the same day the city government received warnings from the central government that in several places in the country up to 5,000 subversive handbills had been sown. The town councillors took action and forbade foreigners – easy scapegoats both before and after the iconoclastic fury – to be out on the streets after ten

53 At least, these arguments were continuously voiced by the city magistrate: Victoria Christman, *Pragmatic Toleration. The Politics of Religious Heterodoxy in early Reformation Antwerp 1515–1555* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015).

54 Henk Van Nierop, 'The Nobility and the Revolt of the Netherlands: Between Church and King, and Protestantism and Privileges', in Benedict, etc. (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War*, pp. 83–98, 92.

55 On Holland: Deen, *Publiek debat*.

56 *Mémoires de Pasquier de le Barre et de Nicolas Soldoyer pour servir à l'histoire de Tournai 1565–1570*, Alexandre Pinchart (ed.), (Brussels: Société de l'histoire de Belgique, 1859–1865), 2 vols., I, 19–20.

57 Alexander Soetaert, 'Printing at the frontier. The emergence of a transregional book production in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai (ca. 1560–1659)', *De Gulden Passer* 94 (2016), pp. 137–163.

o'clock at night.⁵⁸ Transregional occurrence of very similar publishing strategies suggests that occupying space and using methods similar to government ordinances was not only confined to the most urbanized provinces.

House for Sale

Although they were available in large numbers, broadsheets were also transient and temporary. The severe repression against suspicious printing is certainly part of the explanation for this evaporation of printed matter; our chroniclers were also diligent in noting the cases of persecution related to print. Van Haecht mentions a young man in Antwerp who on 6 August 1566 was taken prisoner because he had sold pamphlets denouncing the misdeeds of the clergy; he was banned from the country for six years.⁵⁹ The most challenging episode was in March 1569, when, prompted by Alva, coordinated searches took place in the houses of printers and booksellers in Antwerp, Mechelen, Brussels and elsewhere.⁶⁰ Van Haecht lamented that on 19 November 1569 the books that had been discovered in March and found to be suspicious by Louvain theologians and censors were burnt in Brussels from 9 to 12 in the morning.⁶¹ The prosecution of authors, publishers, printers, bookbinders and booksellers inadvertently endorsed the political importance of the printed word. Undoubtedly the contrast between extensive rebel printing and slower reactions in print by the Habsburg authorities was important to understanding the course and vehemence of the Revolt, though the impact of the communication between the King and his vassals through the means of (printed) ordinances remains a subject of ongoing discussion.⁶²

The historiography on the Revolt has traditionally interpreted the prominence of pamphlets as an aspect of the affinity between Protestants and the medium of print, translating the Word of God in a personal and tangible way, without clerical intercession. More recently, the emphasis has shifted towards the broader networks of news and debate – embracing Catholics as well as

⁵⁸ *Mémoires de Pasquier de le Barre*, I, 21–22.

⁵⁹ Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, I, 93.

⁶⁰ Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, II, 82; Guido Marnef, 'Repressie en censuur in het Antwerps boekbedrijf, 1567–1576', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 8 (1992), pp. 221–231; Gustaaf Janssens, 'Plantijn-drukken in de Henegouwse boekhandel in 1569', *De Gulden Passer*, 66–67 (1988–1989), pp. 349–379.

⁶¹ Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, II, 110.

⁶² Deen, *Publiek debat*; Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*.

Protestants – that greatly enhanced the need and demand for printed (and handwritten) communication. This prompted more flexibility among printing enterprises, moving between cities and regions and experimenting with new constellations of commissioning, production and distribution.⁶³ Contemporary chroniclers emphasize over and over again that pamphlets were found on the streets and on the doors of churches and other buildings, offered for sale or freely thrown around, passed from hand to hand and generally much discussed. In short, not only the production and conditions of the printing presses changed considerably, also the spatial dimensions of print altered radically. Previously, books had been largely confined to learned and religious environments. From the initial stages of the Revolt onwards print was literally everywhere in the cities and its functions therefore changed irrevocably. As single-sheets were the quickest medium to print in high numbers, their omnipresence, as attested by chroniclers, literally brought print into everybody's orbit. Moreover, printed broadsheets affected the spatial dynamics of the city as every street corner and public building became a place of political debate.

But for such a fleeting medium to have an impact in such a contested environment, the smallest single-sheets also relied on the effectiveness of official communication to impact their intended audience. A particularly telling example is the small one-page letters posted on doors and buildings, some of them printed, pointing to the importance of the act of *plaquer*. A glimpse of this can be seen in Van Haecht's reporting on early 1566. In January of that year of 'wondrous changes', letters ('brieven') were attached to the doors of the neighbourhood masters ('wyckmeesters'). Whether these were manuscript letters or printed remains unclear. The heading urged the recipients to read the letter promptly. Van Haecht added that the letters were kept so secret that common people could not know what was in them and that he himself was not keen to make an effort and find out. He reported open speculation that the letters concerned the enforcement of the inquisition, but that the Antwerp local councillors hesitated to follow the central government orders because they feared the reaction of the population.⁶⁴ Two elements are striking in this account. First, the notes were directed to local neighbourhood leaders in an evident attempt to influence key decision makers. But, especially the secrecy surrounding the notes confirms that moderation was a crucial consideration in the interpretation of these letters. The neighbourhood masters were relatively low-level officials, but it was well known that the Antwerp councillors wanted

63 See the different titles in the *Library of the Written Word – The Handpress World*, Brill, Leiden/Boston, edited by Andrew Pettegree.

64 Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, 1, 23.

to implement a form of moderation by slowing down the publication of a government edict.⁶⁵ In that sense, even the tiniest single-sheets were political matter.

Before as well as after 1566 posted notes on doors and buildings, whether in manuscript or in print, were a feature of acute moments of political crisis, and often the broadsheets facilitated alternative readings of the then current balance of power. For instance, on 13 March 1564, Granvelle had left Brussels.⁶⁶ Because he combined high clerical and political functions, cardinal Granvelle had been a favourite target of the Protestant opposition to the King and the Roman Church. As soon as he had left his official residence in Brussels, someone had attached to the door of the house a note ('un papier') which read in big letters ('en grosses lettres'), presumably handwritten, 'A vendre suis' (I am for sale).⁶⁷ This parody on a notice for the public sale of a house doubled as political criticism intending to convey the opinion that the Cardinal would not return to the Brussels government. In April 1566, a similar letter 'dit huys es ter hueren' was attached to the Dominican convent referring to the Dominicans' activities as inquisitors which had temporarily been halted when drafting the *Moderation*.⁶⁸ Besides being obvious instruments of mockery, these notes, in order to be effective, relied heavily on the use of print by government when perpetrators were shamed by having their names posted on doors. The Ghent lawyer Van Campene, for instance, mentions several occasions on which the names of iconoclasts and rebels were posted on the doors of the town hall and St Bavo church.⁶⁹

The most famous instances of this sort occurred in connection with Alva in 1572. In early May 1572 a notice had been glued up at the court in Brussels stating that it was for hire from the date of the festival of St John.⁷⁰ The joke was against Alva and intimated that he would be away by late June. The birth of

65 Christman, *Pragmatic Toleration*.

66 Krista de Jonge & Gustaaf Janssens (eds.), *Les Granvelle et les anciens Pays-Bas, Liber doctori Mauricio Van Durme dedicatus* (Symbolae, Facultatis Litterrarum Lovaniensis, series B 17) (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000).

67 Alexandre Henne (ed.), *Mémoires de Pontus Payen*, ed. (Brussels: Société de l'histoire de Belgique, 1860–1861), 2 vols., I, 64. Duke, *Dissident Identities*, p. 165 traces the first of such posted bills, also against Granvelle, in the spring of 1562.

68 Morillon to Granvelle, 7 April 1566: *Correspondance du cardinal de Granvelle 1565–1586*, Edmond Pouillet & Charles Piot (eds.) (Brussels: Hayez, 1877–1896) 12 vols., I, 88; Soen, *Geen pardon*, p. 136.

69 Blommaert, *Vlaemsche kronijk*, pp. 45, 53, 62, 72, 94, 95, 97.

70 Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, II, 185. For this and similar instances of comic interventions during the Revolt, Verberckmoes, *Laughter, Jestbooks*, pp. 83–108.

St John the Baptist was celebrated on 24 June in what was one of the popular festivals in early modern Europe. It was also the time of the year when contracts expired. In May 1572 the duke of Medina Celi had arrived in the Low Countries to become the new governor and replace the duke of Alva, but the anticipated transfer of power never took place and Alva was only recalled to Spain in 1573.⁷¹ The mocking notice at the court in Brussels was undoubtedly as temporarily as its message, but it did not escape attention as a very effective means of shaming a presumed misdoer. Songs and verses were equally fleeting and volatile. A printed mock-prayer for “Hellish Father who is in Brussels”, again directed against Alva, was found lying in the streets of Ghent in mid-March 1572.⁷² This happened at a time that the military confrontation with the sea beggars was growing.⁷³ These incidents not only document printed single-sheets and handwritten notes, but also refer to the performative dimensions that the broadsheets sustained and initiated within the public realm, enhancing the shaming potential of such prints.

Tilting Churches

According to contemporary observers and today’s historians alike, visual prints were as explicit in their claims as short pamphlets. The dissemination of visual print for wide audiences was another novelty of the period. Innovators such as the Antwerp printer couple Hieronymus Cock and his wife Volckxen Diericx had since the 1550s experimented with formats and printed engravings and created a solid market for the consumption of visual print.⁷⁴ However, the political use of printed visual propaganda occurred relatively late in the Low

71 Violet Soen, ‘Philip II’s Quest. The Appointment of Governors-General during the Dutch Revolt (1559–1598)’, *The Low Countries Historical Review*, 126 (2011), pp. 3–29.

72 Blommaert, *Vlaemsche kronijk*, 101; Frans De Potter (ed.), *Dagboek van Cornelis en Philip Van Campene* (Ghent: Annoot-Braeckman, 1870), pp. 388–389, Gustaaf Janssens, ‘Het oordeel van tijdgenoten en historici over Alva’s bestuur in de Nederlanden’, *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis* 54 (1976), pp. 474–488.

73 Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), pp. 131–132.

74 Jan Van der Stock, ‘Hieronymus Cock and Volcxken Diericx – Print Publishers in Antwerp’, in Joris Van Grieken, Ger Luijten & Jan Van der Stock (eds.), *Hieronymus Cock – The Renaissance in Print* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 12–21. A discussion of Volcxken Diericx also in Heleen Wyffels, ‘Behoedsters van het familiebedrijf? Vier weduwen-drukkers in het zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpen’, *Handelingen der Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 70 (2016), pp. 285–299.

Countries compared to other regions in Europe. In the early sixteenth century the Reformation and the peasant wars in Germany as well as the Turkish wars had generated printed visual satire and created new audiences in the process.⁷⁵ The religious and political tensions in the late 1550s and early 1560s in the Low Countries seem to have stimulated the take-off stage of printed political caricature. Arguably, this medium was even more dangerous than the posting of libellous words, or at least was perceived as such by both government commissioners (ready to send such material to the King) and attentive citizens.⁷⁶ On 25 June 1566 in Antwerp single-sheets (the “briefkens” in Van Haecht’s vocabulary) were sold of a print graphically showing the tensions generated by the placards and the alleged inquisition. Van Haecht describes a large pole “printed on the middle of the page” on which hung the inquisition and placards. On one side local councillors pulled a rope, while on the other the pope, cardinals and their followers pulled another rope. Van Haecht also gave the inscriptions printed on the illustration, explaining that the councillors were the beggars (“de gues”) who wanted to tear down the placards and the inquisition, while the pope and his people wanted to keep the laws and the tribunal.⁷⁷ This print has been identified as ‘the tree of the Inquisition’ and seems to have spread like wildfire, with the result that only a few copies have survived.⁷⁸ On 3 August 1566 the Spanish ambassador in London, Diego Guzmán de Silva, lamented that a print on the same visual theme was also printed and sold in London.

In July 1566 Van Haecht reports on another broadsheet with a similar visual theme. He calls these illustrated single-sheets (“figuerlycke briefkens”) and states these were printed openly (“opelyck gedrukt”). In this case many noblemen and others were pulling at a rope on a church and the caption explained that these were Lutherans from Germany, Calvinists from France and “de gues” from the Netherlands. Another caption boasted that if all three groups would continue to pull for a long time they would tear down “the shop with all its commerce” (a reference to the commercialization of indulgences among Catholics).⁷⁹ In mid-August 1566 Van Vaernewyck saw the same print in

75 Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk*.

76 Liesbeth Geevers & Griet Vermeesch (eds.), *Politieke belangenbehartiging in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden. De rol van lobby, petitie en officiële delegaties in de politieke besluitvorming* (Maastricht: Shaker, 2014).

77 Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, I, 62.

78 Daniel R. Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand (1566–1584)* (Zutphen: Walburg, 2003), pp. 34, 40–43. Duke, *Dissident Identities*, p. 151 emphasizes the combination of propaganda argued in words as well as appealing images.

79 Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, I, 75.

Ghent.⁸⁰ At the end of October 1566 yet other similar visual satire was printed in Antwerp on the burial of the mass with another tug of war, in this case by noblemen against the pope, cardinals and bishops.⁸¹ The visual representation of such trials of strength seems specifically designed as well as restricted to the summer months of 1566.⁸² Moreover, as these prints were made on the basis of woodcuts manufacturing these was rather cheap.

In the heated summer of 1566 and just before the outbreak of iconoclastic fury, these prints apparently had a strong appeal to the urban population in Brabant and Flanders. The intentions of the patrons of such one-sheet prints were unequivocal and testified to an old truth in the Christian Church that only the true Church of God in the end would stand. Theology was brought to the streets. Nevertheless, images creating such a stir was uncommon. As anti-clerical imagery was also in the Low Countries far from unknown one could think that this explains their popularity, but that seems an insufficient explanation. What happened in these visual broadsheets was more fundamental than mere scoffing at the clergy or the Church. The centrality of noticeboards dangling from the ropes suggest that another variant of shaming was being used. Victims of the inquisition, for instance, were exposed in the streets with notices on their bodies naming their misdeeds. Moreover, the church was one of the crucial places to publish decisions and shaking this building was literally and physically testing the strength of authority.

These cheap prints therefore visualized a process of deliberation among power brokers that was usually hidden from the masses, such as the ongoing struggle to moderate heresy placards and to moderate decision-making. Pulling at ropes tied to tall structures and pushing against buildings visually articulated a rivalry to be resolved by physical strength. It was above all a very good joke that resounded in the cities as people began to be aware that at the highest levels of decision-making competing parties were flexing their muscles. Van Vaernewyck commented that many people laughed at the print and enjoyed themselves considerably. This laughter endorsed the idea that a power

80 Van Vaernewijck, *Van die beroerlicke tijden*, I, 68.

81 Van Haecht, *De kroniek*, I, 119.

82 The only other example from the period of the Revolt is an engraving of ca. 1570 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes) on which Spanish inquisitors pull a number of ropes ending in one thick rope that is tied around the steeple of 'die Kirch Christi', in this case meaning the Reformed Protestant Church; James Tanis & Daniel Horst, *Images of Discord. A graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Bryn Mawr & Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), pp. 42–43; Horst, *De Opstand*, pp. 68–70 notes that this engraving might also be interpreted as a comment on the Iconoclasm suggesting Catholics were those who broke the Church.

struggle was ongoing. Indeed, a mast with sealed placards hanging at the top and a church building against which ordinances were posted, were accepted references to authority. The popular laughter targeted the efforts of those involved on both sides, who with wrestling and tug-of-war politics undermined the idea that authority claims are based on consultation. This is the crux of what *moderatie* was in the opening years of the Revolt, but also how people very soon became aware that moderation was always threatened. Significantly, cheaply-produced visual broadsheets such as these literally exposing the devious means of power politics would no longer be produced after 1567, when the Revolt really started.

These figurative broadsheets provided in all senses sticky memories. The Ghent citizen Jan Van den Vivere noted in his diary that at the end of September 1579 a pamphlet was glued to the Ghent town hall ridiculing the town councillors and other citizens. The large sum of 100 guilders was promised to whoever could find the culprit.⁸³ Interestingly, Van den Vivere confirmed the effectiveness of this 1579 pamphlet by pointing to the visual imagery on the pamphlet of large, small and medium-sized gallows to hang or more metaphorically condemn big, small and average thieves. This might refer to the high, middle and lower judicial authorities of the Low Countries, prescribing whether those could apply criminal punishments or not. As had been noted by Van Haecht, the combination of text and image proved a key element in keeping the pamphlets present in personal and collective memories. Van de Vivere compiled information over a long time span, and the fact that he referred to these particular pamphlets was proof of the memory of the pamphlets being 'kept alive', even, or especially after the material evidence had presumably been cleared away. While single-sheet publications thus had a direct effect on policy-making, they also had a longer aftermath in the memory of those who lived through the Revolt.

During the Dutch Revolt, the broadsheet became a medium with an immediate performative impact, yet one that endured in written and oral traditions, of which the chronicles provide a clear and lasting testimony. It is no surprise that this medium was first seriously tested as a political instrument in the Low Countries in the early 1560s, when the need for legitimizing claims to authority and power were very strong. The single-sheets borrowed the mechanics of government ordinances, invaded public space and, similar to the effectiveness

83 Jan Van den Vivere, *Chronijcke van Ghendt*, Frans De Potter (ed.) (Ghent: Siffer, 1885), 298.

of rumours, materialized a spirit of volatile information that proved most durable and stuck in peoples' memories. 'Sown at night', the *saeyboeckxens* also inverted the communication between the King and his subjects. While citizens could listen to or read governmental decisions standing up, with the broadsheets scattered around they were required to pick these up, take them in one's hands and thus engage with them physically, making the message for moderation 'work'. Broadsheets inscribed themselves gradually into the process of deliberative moderation and decision-making, whether they were petitioning, lobbying or obstructing what the government, the provincial estates or the city magistrate proposed. They fitted complex questions into the contents of a broadsheet. They voiced opinions of those in and outside networks of power, and tried to make vertical structures into tilting ones with many wrestling participants. As such, in many respects, the *modus operandi* of political deliberation in the first years of the Revolt was moderated both by the medium of the broadsheets and by its contents.

The King is Dead. German Broadsheets Printed on the Death of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles I

Jan Hillgaertner

‘The Swede is still alive’. With these triumphant and comforting words, a remarkable broadsheet begins its narration of the death of the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632). The broadsheet appeared in 1633 and tells in allegorical figures the story of the heroic death of the perceived saviour of German Protestants.¹ It draws upon Greek mythology: Mnemosyne, the muse of memory, stands with Gustavus as God stands with his church. Urania declares that the king will metaphorical live on until the Last Judgement.

The unexpected death of Gustavus stirred the interest of the German public to the point that the event became an early media sensation. Contemporaries discussed what must have happened on the battlefield of Lützen: Gustavus’ death left a void that needed filling. For this, publishers used the power of the broadsheet not only to inform the public of what had happened, but for more partisan purposes: on the Protestant side to maintain confidence in the Swedes and denounce the Imperial enemy (and the overwhelming majority of these broadsheets represented the Protestant point of view). Broadsheets were part of the voluminous literature that attempted to bring sense to the unexpected loss.

When the Swedes began their intervention in Germany, they used broadsheets and pamphlets to stimulate support from the German Protestants. The broadsheets sought to give meaning to their actions and justify them; the use of cheap print was part of a larger propaganda campaign. This aimed to unify the Protestant Dukes under the Swedish king and encourage them to supply troops and goods. The public had to be convinced of Gustavus’ good intentions and invincibility. Speaking of Gustavus as the *Lion of the North* soon became proverbial amongst the German populace; establishing this trope represented a considerable success for his propagandists.

1 Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 121–132. For a discussion of Gustavus’ actual reasons to enter the Thirty Years War, the protection of religious freedom as well as securing the Swedish homeland, see Günter Barudio, *Gustav Adolf der Große. Eine Biographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1985), pp. 352–375.

The unprecedented quantity of broadsheets published during these years has already attracted a degree of scholarly attention. John Roger Paas, in his seminal study, emphasised the enormous importance of Gustavus for Protestant authors and publishers.² He demonstrated how the image of the king would change over time, and how popular broadsheets relating the deeds of Gustavus became with the purchasing public. Wolfgang Harms elaborated on this theme, demonstrating the extent to which Gustavus was as much a totem as a historical figure, a canvas on which Protestant authors could paint colourful images of a divinely appointed king. Propagandists created a superhuman image of the king who appeared as a Christianised version of Alexander, Hercules and Judas Maccabeus, on his rightful mission to save Protestants from Catholic expansion.³ The broadsheets published before his death constructed a positive image of the king's personality and his motives. In the broadsheets he combines piety with forceful action as he advanced into Germany.⁴ The role of propaganda changed radically after his death. It was now, according to Olaf Mörke, that it shifted towards keeping the memory of the king and his victories alive and restoring the fragile unity amongst the Protestant dukes fighting on Gustavus' side.⁵

This article explores the ways contemporary authors framed the unexpected death of Gustavus on the battlefield of Lützen in 1632 through the medium of illustrated broadsheets. To understand the scope of these sources we need to place them in the wider context of broadsheet production in Germany in the 1630s and 1640s. The attention Gustavus received was unique. Similarly unexpected, the death of the influential Catholic commander Count Tilly (1559–1632) received little attention in the heavily Protestant-dominated media. Only the dramatic murder of army leader Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634) attracted anything like the same media attention.⁶ In the last portions of this

2 John Roger Paas, 'The Changing Image of Gustavus Adolphus on German Broadsheets, 1630–3', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 59 (1996), pp. 205–244.

3 Wolfgang Harms, 'Gustav Adolf als christlicher Alexander und Judas Makkabaeus. Zu Formen des Wertens von Zeitgeschichte in Flugschrift und illustriertem Flugblatt um 1632', *Wirkendes Wort*, 35 (1985), pp. 168–183.

4 Hellmut Zschoch, 'Größe und Grenzen des "Löwen von Mitternacht". Das Bild Gustav Adolfs in der populären protestantischen Publizistik als Beispiel religiöser Situationswahrnehmung im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 91 (1994), pp. 25–50.

5 Olaf Mörke, "'Der Schwede lebet noch' – Die Bildformung Gustav Adolfs in Deutschland nach der Schlacht bei Lützen', in Maik Reichel (ed.), *Gustav Adolf König von Schweden. Kraft der Erinnerung 1632–2007* (Dössel: Stekovics, 2007), pp. 88–90.

6 See for example the broadsheet *Eigentliche Vorbildung und Bericht, welcher gestalt der keyserliche General Hertzog von Friedland beneben etlich anderen Obristen und Offizieren zu*

essay, we will turn our attention to a very different event that occurred outside Germany but nevertheless led a considerable amount of printed broadsheets: the execution of King Charles I of England. This unprecedented event shocked, enthralled and scandalised the reading public all over Europe. Charles's accusation, trial, and beheading for high treason resulted in the publication of a large number of broadsheets, which circulated through Europe.

Illustrated broadsheets have attracted attention for their visual qualities. But as historians, it is important to recognise how much value we can find in the accompanying texts. These texts gave the broadsheets a particular editorial slant. The texts accompanying political broadsheets often took the form of rhymed songs, stirring passion as well as piety. Their authors offered reverent moral narratives and biting satire. The combination of text and image gave meaning to events that took the public of the seventeenth century by surprise.

Putting Death into Perspective

The arrival of Gustavus Adolphus and his Swedish army on German soil (6 July 1630) marked a watershed in German print production. The campaign to support Gustavus relied strongly on ministers and their projected hopes that Gustavus would reinstate pure Lutheran doctrines and secure them through military force.⁷ His supporters immediately began sounding their rhetorical trumpet to stir support amongst German Protestants. In order to be effective, propaganda needed to resonate with its intended audience. Here, it surely did. A number of German rulers joined Gustavus' cause despite initial resistance. It was not least thanks to their support that Gustavus advanced from victory to victory throughout Germany, making even the most optimistic Protestant hopes look plausible.

The king owed this endorsement to the amount of coverage he received in newspapers, broadsheets, and pamphlets. The bare statistics reveal the extent of the media frenzy surrounding the Swedish king. Broadsheets relating to Gustavus and the Protestant cause dominate the output of German single-sheets printed between 1630 and 1633.

A survey of the entire corpus of surviving broadsheet production during this period demonstrates the enormous importance of Gustavus' presence in

Eger hingerichtet worden. Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 7, 1633–1648 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), P-1953.

7 Thomas Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede. Kirchengeschichtliche Studien zur lutherischen Konfessionskultur* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 55–65.

Germany (see Colour plate v). In this survey we include all known single-sheet items, included ordinances, proclamations and other form of ephemeral print: most of these, in contrast to the political broadsheets studied by Paas, will have been unillustrated. If we take together all the accounts of victories in battle, the mockery of the Imperial enemy and works inspiring piety, it becomes clear that the Swedish intervention was the most heavily covered event in broadsheets of the time. The advance of the Swedish troops and the liberation of Stettin, Augsburg, Nuremberg and Magdeburg resonated through the publications of the time and left an indelible mark on the Protestant consciousness. When Gustavus landed at Usedom in 1630, his arrival resulted in the publication of twelve broadsheets. These tend to be rather similar in style; they either reported on the king's arrival on German soil as in the *Swedish Liberation of the Christian Churches* or depicted him in his incarnation as the lion of the north. Propagandists was quick to apply this well-known trope to Gustavus. It depicts him fighting off a seven-headed dragon, resting on the broken foundations of the Palatinate, Augsburg, Austria, Bohemia and Moravia.⁸ Already these early broadsheets contain aggressive anti-Catholic sentiments.⁹

In 1630, only a small proportion of the surviving German broadsheets are concerned with Gustavus and his affairs. Most deal with routine matters of business, edicts and other form of official print. Things changed radically in the following two years. Already in 1631, over a hundred of the 271 broadsheets known from this year dealt with the Swedish king and his victories. In 1632, he dominated broadsheet production almost completely. Moreover, the quality of these publications was extremely high. Take the well-known anti-Catholic allegorical broadsheet *Sächsisch Confect*.¹⁰ In this lampoon, Gustavus fights alongside his German ally Duke John George of Saxony against Tilly, chief commander of the Imperial League. In the image, a bloated Tilly reaches for the Saxon sweets, i.e. the Protestant virtues *dignitas, religio, regio* and *conscientia*. Only Gustavus and Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar obstruct him in his enterprise. The sweetmeats turn out to be made of iron: Tilly has literally bitten off more than he can chew.

Production of broadsheets relating to Gustavus soared in 1631. The surviving 115 sheets meant a staggering tenfold increase compared to previous year.

8 Anon., *Schwedische Rettung der Christlichen Kirchen* (s.l., s.n., 1631), VD17 12:672259P. USTC 2206143.

9 Anon., *Zustand der Christlichen Kirchen. Anno 1630* (s.l., s.n., 1630), Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 5, 1630–1631 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), P-1269. USTC 2206411.

10 Anon., *Sächsisch Confect* (s.l., s.n., 1631), VD17 1:090620G. USTC 2206148.

He was the subject of more than 40% of the surviving broadsheets in 1631. His popularity reached its pinnacle in 1632 when 331 out of 345 broadsheets were devoted to his deeds, his triumphs and his unexpected end. Such global numbers need careful interpretation. An unknown number of the German broadsheets issued for more mundane purposes still await cataloguing and this would alter the picture somewhat. We have to recognise that illustrated broadsheets were eagerly collected even in their day, and individual items have survived in quite surprising numbers. However, the general trend remains clear. Gustavus is the uncontested champion of the broadsheet in the early 1630s and his prominence accounted for a growth of global broadsheet production in Germany.

The death of Gustavus in November 1632 left Protestants in despair. Their fear of a Catholic re-conquest proved to be unfounded, yet the sudden and unexpected passing of Gustavus had a deep impact on broadsheet publishing. Dividing broadsheet production by year often hides interesting trends that would emerge if a more subtle dating were possible. Only 31 broadsheets marking his death appeared in 1633; marking a steep slump from the year before. The 231 known items for 1633 represent a 25% decrease in publication compared to the previous year. The Swedish propaganda still worked well. All broadsheets had either a neutral (in the case of battle accounts) or a strongly positive view of Gustavus. His death marks the turning point in the war of opinion. Imperial propagandists were certainly encouraged by the king's death, and began for the first time an effective counter-campaign of anti-Protestant broadsheets in 1633. Their output, however, could not match the pro-Swedish efforts.

A King under God's Protection. Building Gustavus' Reputation

Pro-Swedish propaganda built a superhuman image of Gustavus by 1632. He appeared to be an invincible hero and his death on the battlefield was like a lightning bolt for Protestants who might have thought of Gustavus as a liberator under the protection of God. Many of these sheets share the notion of a divinely appointed king, tasked to liberate the German Protestants. The authors placed Gustavus under God's protection and with their broadsheets sought to inspire prayers for his wellbeing. The king appeared as the defender of the true confession and the impact of his victories on the battlefield was reinforced by these images.

A series of broadsheets printed in 1632 provides a telling example of how much the Swedish king meant to one Protestant. Johann Oeder's *Joyful New*

Year's Wish was a manifestation of the wide support for Gustavus.¹¹ In order for it to be published the council of Nuremberg had had to change its regulations to permit the publication of confessional propaganda; Oeder no longer had to hide behind the shield of anonymity previously rendered prudent by the Council's attempt to prevent confessional discord.¹² Oeder's *Wish* narrated the king's mission in the Holy Roman Empire 'to expel the enemies of God', words that were familiar to the audience at this time.¹³ The poem addresses the reader and petitions him to include Gustavus in his prayers.

O Lord help, thy will be done now and forever
 You small flock of orthodox, praise God for this
 Honour, vaunt, praise and thank forevermore.
 As from your pure heart, ardently call upon and beg
 Dutifully, to protect the Royal Majesty
 Of all evil in this new year.¹⁴

Another broadsheet, the *Christian prayer for the King from Sweden* took this appeal even further.¹⁵ The account, written in a highly personal style by Matthias Henitz, petitioned the Protestant public to include the Swedish king in its prayers. The exiled Bohemian minister had already published a passion sermon in 1632.¹⁶ For him, Luther's teachings are the only true revelation. He perceived them to be under threat by the Imperial Catholics and in turn declares Gustavus Adolphus not only to be under God's protection but the executor of God's will by saying '[w]ithout you [Gustavus] He cannot be victorious'.¹⁷ Henitz underlines the selfless character of the Swedish king's intervention in

11 Anon., *Herzensfreudiger Newer Jahres Wunsch*. (Nuremberg: Johann Oeder, 1632), Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 6, P-1549.

12 Michael Schilling, *Bildpublizistik der frühen Neuzeit: Aufgaben und Leistungen des illustrierten Flugblatts in Deutschland bis um 1700* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990), pp. 183–184.

13 '[D]ie Feinde GOTTES zuverjagen'.

14 'O HERR hilf, O HERR dein Will geschehe immerdar./Thue du Rechtgläubige kleine herd, GOTT dafür/Loben, Ehren, Rühmen, Preisn, Dancksagen, für und für./Auch aus reinm Herzn, GOTT inbrünstig anrufen und bitten./Pflichtschuldig, Königlich Mayestät zubehütten./Vor allem Unglück dieses angehenden Newe (sic!) Jarhr'.

15 Matthias Henitz, *Ein Christlich Gebet/für den König aus Schweden* (Leipzig: Gregor Ritzsch, 1632). Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 6, P-1630.

16 Matthias Henitz, *Kurtze PassionPredigt/Dorinn Antwort zu finden auff diese Frage: Wie es mit Christo würde seyn zu gangen/wenn ihn die Jüden erkandt/geliebet und nicht gecreuziget hetten* (Leipzig: Ritsch, 1632). VD17 14:679634Q. USTC 2048034.

17 'Ohn dich er kein Sieg haben kann'.

Germany. For 'he does not seek to raise his own honour or enrichen himself/ But to praise your name's rightful glory'.¹⁸ Yet the poem is not entirely devoted to Gustavus. Slightly bewilderingly in the context of his main theme is the author's excursus into reporting a wonder that allegedly took place in Hesse, where a copy of the famous *Paradies-Gärtlein* survived a book burning 'completely unharmed'.¹⁹ This is a reference to a report of an event that took place in 1624 in Lang-Göns, where a Spanish Lieutenant allegedly looted a copy of the Protestant devotional book and threw it into the fire.²⁰ An innkeeper later recovered the book from the ashes, to find it unharmed after exposure to the fire for one hour.²¹ The event was popular in the pamphlet literature. Henitz interpreted it as the revelation of God's judgement that the Protestant teaching contained in the book is ultimately right. Including Gustavus in his daily prayers is a vital statement of how the memory of the Swede became perpetual; Gustavus's deeds would live on, indestructible, in the same way the *Paradies-Gärtlein* had survived the fire.

The *Fortification of Angels* presents a visual response to such devotion (Fig. 12.1). It portrayed a devout Gustavus, praying amongst angels who protect him from enemy attacks.²² The anonymous author loaded the broadsheet with biblical allegories. Its title refers to the practice of building impromptu barriers of cartwheels on battlefields. These were known as *Wagenburgen* (wagon castles), and building such fortresses was common in Hussite Wars.²³ In practice, improved firepower had rendered them redundant by the beginning of the sixteenth century. In this case, angels shield Gustavus from the looming danger.

The king occupies the centre of the image; kneeling, contemplating in prayer. The moment for introspection could not have been more unlikely as his enemies are closing in. Soldiers attack Gustavus from the right. Approaching

18 'Daß er mit seinem Streiten all//Nicht sucht seine Ehr und Reichthumb/Sondern deins Namens rechten Ruhm'.

19 'Gelegen hat ganz unverletzt'.

20 Johannes Frontius: *Außführliche Relation Und Warhafftiger Bericht/was sich zu LangenGöns in Hessen/mit ... Herrn Johann Arndts Paradißgärtlein/für ein merckliches und gedencwürdiges Wunderwerckzugetragen hat* (Darmstadt: s.n., 1627). VD17 23:236279X. USTC 2020347.

21 Alfred Messerli, 'Die Errettung des Paradiesgärtleins aus Feuers- und Wassernot', *Fabula* 38 (1997), pp. 3–4.

22 Anon., *Königlicher Majestät zu Schweden/etc. von GOTT zugeordnete Englische Wagenburg* (s.l., s.n., 1632). Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 6, P-1627; VD17 39:129997R. USTC 2206042.

23 Siegfried Fiedler, *Kriegswesen und Kriegführung im Zeitalter der Landsknechte* (Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1985) p. 192.

bottom of the sheet, a brief poem narrated the picture's content: Gustavus is to receive force through the Holy Cross. It draws upon the established lion-image of the king. Eleven biblical quotations provide explanation of the image. Framing the picture are quotations from the Book of Psalms, dealing with the power of angels and their divine spirit (Psalms 91: 11–12; Hebrews 1: 14). At the bottom we find a series of quotations, reminding the reader of the power of prayer (James 5: 16) and God's promise to help the righteous in their time of need (Psalms 145: 18). Within the illustration, five biblical quotes refer to the scenery. From the left, Catholic forces are closing in. A quotation from Isaiah 59: 5 reminds readers of the failure of the Israelites. Henitz appropriated it to denounce the approaching Catholic clergy. A quotation from Psalms 35: 5 accompanies the angel in the right corner, stating '[a]nd let the angel of the LORD chase them'.²⁴ The angel, fending off attacking soldiers, served as the visual translation of the quotation. Immediately below Gustavus, the author cited Psalms 34: 7 'The angel of the LORD encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them'.²⁵

The broadsheet is part of the Swedish propaganda campaign that sought to create an image of Gustavus under God's protection. He appears in the centre of the image, framed in a network of biblical quotations that have been appropriated for his actions. One Anti-Protestant lampoon ridiculed this fashion of placing Gustavus within God's plan.²⁶ It responds to the Protestants by appropriating the same rhetorical tools. The *Refutation of the Augsburg Confession and collapse of the monument erected by the Lutherans* demonstrates how generic such an interpretation could be, and how easily it could be given a diametrically opposite meaning. The quotations in the latter broadsheet come from different places: devotional texts from the Psalms, the blessing of King David. None of them is specific to the prophecy of a coming saviour, and the Catholic author of the *Refutation* mocked his Protestant opponents when he used the same technique to create an anti-Protestant broadsheet demeaning Gustavus.

The King Deadly Wounded. Depicting Gustavus' Death

When Gustavus died, the crown legally fell to the five-year-old Christina, Queen of Sweden. Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, familiar with Gustavus' political agenda, effectively took over command of the army. For the public

24 'der engel des herren stosse sie weg'.

25 'Der Engel des Herrn lagert sich umb die her, so ihn forchten, und er hilft ihnen auß'.

26 Paas, 'The Changing Image', pp. 243–244.

and the German allies, the death had to make sense.²⁷ When the king died on 6 November 1632, it looked as if all Protestant hopes would be dashed. Shocking as it was, it brought no halt to the barrage of broadsheets. Moreover, they continued to depict him in the traditional manner: as the saviour of the German Protestants.²⁸ His death may have left parts of Germany in despair, yet broadsheets expressed hope that Gustavus and his spirit would become immortal.²⁹

The Swede's death stirred enormous public interest. Nine different accounts of the battle appeared after the event. Most reported the course of the battle in sober terms: the Protestant victory was neither hailed nor mourned. Most broadsheets focussed on factual reporting rather than propagandistic exaggerations. The *Actual Depiction of the Great and Bloody Battle* introduces the rapid advance of the Swedish army from Nuremberg towards Saxony and left Gustavus unsure when to attack the Imperial troops.³⁰ After a council of war, held on 4 November, Gustavus decided to move from Naumburg to Lützen to confront the Imperial army. Intercepted letters, informing him about Wallenstein's efforts to build fortifications and to rest in Saxony over the winter, were partly responsible for the rushed decision.

Each of the eleven illustrated broadsheets features a detailed account of events on the battlefield. Slight variations in the text set them apart, suggesting that they emanated from different print workshops across the Empire. Reports that featured a narration of the battle and an accompanying copperplate engraving became popular in the seventeenth century.³¹ The image showed how the battle unfolded.³² In the broadsheet, Gustavus' death appears to be the result of a perhaps too successful attack. 'His Royal Majesty, accompanied by squadrons at least thrice the size of the enemies, attacked with his right wing the enemies left and landed such a distinct blow, that not only the enemy

27 Mörke, 'Der Schwede lebet noch', p. 90.

28 Zschoch, 'Größe und Grenzen', p. 43.

29 Harms, 'Gustav Adolf als christlicher Alexander', pp. 291–292.

30 Anon., *Eigendliche Abbildung und Warhafftige Beschreibung der grossen und blutigen Schlacht* (s.l., s.n., 1632). VD17 23:676214S. USTC 2205856.

31 Jutta Schumann, 'Das politisch-militärische Flugblatt in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts als Nachrichtenmedium und Propagandamittel', in Wolfgang Harms (eds.), *Das illustrierte Flugblatt in der Kultur der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998), pp. 137–150.

32 For a description of the mechanics of capturing a process in an image see Jörn Münker, *Eingreifen und Begreifen. Handhabungen und Visualisierungen in Flugblättern der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2008), pp. 192–203.

riders fled the battleground ...but also the Majesty was left for dead'.³³ The corpse was 'found deadly wounded, covered with quite a few wounds and five bullet holes'.³⁴ Following an account of the battle, the text closes wishing for a Swedish victory and perpetual peace.

In Augsburg, Daniel Manasser (†1637) wrote one of the few Catholic accounts of the battle.³⁵ The *Short Description of Ferdinand's Victory* presents an interesting exception to the Protestant accounts.³⁶ The rarity of its Catholic standpoint makes this broadsheet especially interesting. Catholic and anti-Swedish propagandists remained almost completely silent during the early 1630s. Manasser's work is also the only known broadsheet on Gustavus translated into Italian. It appeared in Naples in 1633 as *Terza Breve Descrittione della Vittoria della Sacra Cesarea Maesta Ferdinando*.³⁷ The text presents a neutral description of Gustavus' death, differing from the *Short Description* by noting that a bullet 'hit Gustavus in the armpit and another one in the hip'.³⁸ The Catholic stance surfaces towards the end of the text when Manasser draws conclusions from the event. He hopes that 'God [may] award the victory to the Holy Roman Emperor and push back the rebels, and that the Roman Empire

33 'Es hat auch Anfangs alsobald Ihre Kön. May. mit etlichen Squadronen Reitern [...] welch Squadronen aber aber gleichfals ihr/des Feindes/an Macht wol dreyimal ubertroffen/in dem rechten Flügel auff des Feindes lincken Flügel [...] getroffen/und denselben dermassen angefallen/das nicht allein der Hinderhalb [...] also bald durch solche furie geschreckt/durchgegangen/und die Flucht gegeben/sondern auch Ihr Kön. May. selbst/weil sie mit [...] als Schmaländern zu erst hinein gesetzt/tödlich beschädigt'.

34 'Und der königliche Körper zimlich spolirt/an welchem 5. Schösse und ezliche Wunden observirt'.

35 *Kurze Beschreibung, der von Herzogen zu Friedlandt rom. kay: may: Ferdinandi II, herrn Generallissimo, bey Leypsig, den 16. Nouembris Anno 1632 erhaltenen Victori*. Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 6, P-1872. For details on Manasser see Michael Grünwald, 'Vom Graphischen Kabinett zum Zentrum für Bildwissenschaften. Geschichte, Bestand und Systematik der Göttweiger Graphiksammlung bis zur Kooperation mit der Donau-Universität Krems 2002', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige*, 116 (2005), pp. 459–515.

36 A copperplate engraving was the basis for this sheet. It contains no moveable type. Strictly speaking, we may not call this a broadsheet. It served the same purpose as other broadsheets in question and I will therefore treat it similarly.

37 Anon., *Terza e Breve Descrittione della Vittoria poco fã ottenuta presso lipsia* (Naples: Giovanni Orlando, [1633]). Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 6, PA-303.

38 'Mit ainer Musquetten kugel erstlich in die achsel, [...] in der lincken hüft durchschossen'.

may find unity and peace'.³⁹ In the imprint, Manasser claims 'having unfortunately had to see the king of Sweden too often during his lifetime'.⁴⁰

For a propagandist, Manasser is relatively restrained, and there is little overt anti-Swedish polemic. The image shows the dead Gustavus in the foreground, lying peacefully with his left hand resting on his stomach, his right embracing the royal sceptre. Gustavus, stripped of his hat, shows no signs of wounds. In the background, we find a schematic depiction of the combat actions between the two armies.

The relative sobriety in reporting the death by both Protestant and Catholic authors is remarkable; other dead or defeated generals were not so lucky. Even so, Gustavus' death meant that Catholic propagandists could retaliate and celebrate (perhaps prematurely) the end of the Swedish military dominance. Protestant authors could have launched a campaign castigating the Imperial army for their brutality. Yet none of this happened. Authors of both confessions showed extreme restraint when it came to evaluating the repercussions of the battle of Lützen. Even Manasser noted the losses of Imperial flags to the Protestant army. He steered clear from holding Protestants responsible for atrocities. In the battle accounts, neither side offered an extended interpretation of the likely consequences of Gustavus' death. This left a gap that would inevitably be filled.

Many reports of the military actions appeared in the last weeks of 1632. They were similar in style and coverage to those discussed above. Most of the broadsheet accounts that offered a more extended interpretation of the meaning of the king's death came off the presses only in the following year. These frame Gustavus' death as a loss but interpret the battle as a victory.⁴¹ The vast majority of the sheets printed on the occasion are solemn memorials to Gustavus' achievements, praising the liberation of wide parts of Germany from Catholic control, as well as his sublime character.

'The falling of the hero causes us to fear and dread'.⁴² Thus, the school attendant and organist Georg Thalemann of Mehliß expressed his own sentiment at Gustavus' passing in the *Triumphant Agony* in 1633 (Fig. 12.2).⁴³ He cursed Wallenstein and Papenheim and held both responsible for Gustavus' death.

39 'Gott verleihe Rom: Kays: May: seineien (sic!) Sig, damit die Rebellen gedempft und das Römisch Reich einßmahl zor ainigkait und frieden gelangen möge'.

40 'welcher den König in Schweden layder mehr dan zu vielmal bey sein lebzeiten gesehen'.

41 Paas, 'The Changing Image', pp. 236–244; Mörke, 'Der Schwede lebet noch', pp. 83–85.

42 'Ob gleich des HELDEN fall uns machte angst und bang'.

43 Georg Thalemann, *Triumphirender Todeskampff Deß ... Herren Gustavi Adolphi* (Wittenberg: Roehner, 1633). VD17 3:626699N. USTC 2205609.

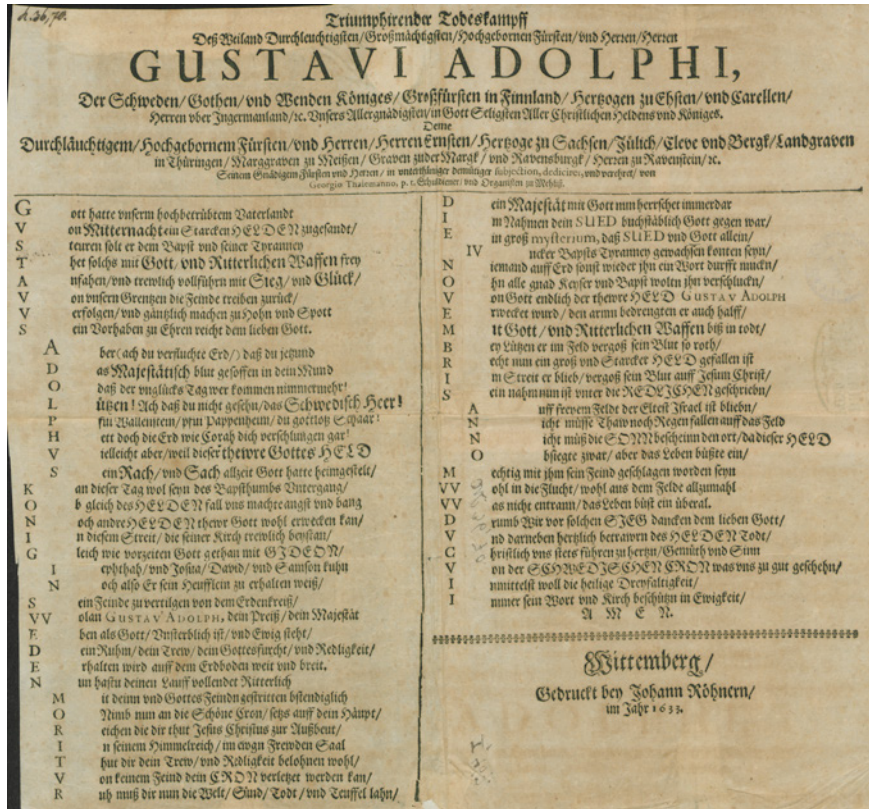


FIGURE 12.2 Georg Thalemann, *Triumphirender Todeskampff Des ... Herren Gustavi Adolphi* (Wittenberg: Roehner, 1633). USTC 2205609.

HALLE, UNIVERSITÄTS- UND LANDESBIBLIOTHEK, PON VC 4245, QK.

His intention was to perpetuate the memory of Gustavus' achievements and detach them from his physical presence. He interpreted the battle of Lützen as a grand victory for the Protestant cause and places Gustavus within the range of the biblical heroes, Jephthah, Joshua, David and Samson.

Thaleman stressed the just nature of Gustavus' fight and placed a strong focus on his exemplary status. Thus, '[y]our glory, your faithfulness, your piety, and your fidelity/Will be preserved in this world'.⁴⁴ Gustavus served his duty in a knightly manner and '[d]ied in battle, spilled his blood for Jesus Christ/ His

44 'Dein Ruhm/dein Trew/dein Gottesfurch/und Redlichkeit//Erhalten wird auff dem Erdboden weit und breit'.

name is now counted amongst the righteous before God'.⁴⁵ For Thalemann, Lützen meant the ultimate victory over the Catholic League, commonly denounced as 'his enemies',⁴⁶ and the Christian nation ought to '[t]hank the Lord for this victory/[a]nd besides that bemoan the hero's death'.⁴⁷

Thalemann put an emphasis on his personal sense of loss. But not all commemorative broadsheets followed the same principle. Some ponder the political repercussions of Gustavus' death. These authors recognised the importance of the loss of the strongest defender of the Protestant cause: the king's death deprived Germany's Lutherans of their greatest champion. The reason for this notion was fear. There was a realistic chance that the German princes within the Protestant League could lose faith in their endeavor and slide back into neutrality. The *Praise and Lamentation* presents an interesting case.⁴⁸ It depicts the embodied Augsburg Confession mourning the death of Gustavus Adolphus. The sheet falls back on established imagery, depicting Gustavus as protector and liberator of the Augsburg Confession.⁴⁹ Again, Gustavus has God's protection bestowed upon him. But to no avail, causing the Confession's '[i]mmense misery and distress'.⁵⁰ Now that he is dead, the Confession turns to his corpse to praise (*Lobspruch*) and mourn (*Klagspruch*) the Swede. In the illustration, the Confession leans towards Gustavus, rapt in prayer and grief. She thanks him for his service to 'liberate me [the Confession] from suppression' and that he had 'ridiculed and humiliated the enemy'.⁵¹ Allegorically, his death reverses the immense service of re-installing the Confession in her hereditary land of Augsburg following Gustavus' liberation of the city in April 1632.

Sorrow featured prominently in the text, but it also offered advice on how to deal with the loss. For this, the Confession turns to two groups in particular. Allegorically, she urges the entire Protestant population to mourn Gustavus' passing. At the same time, they ought to preserve the memory of Gustavus.

45 'Im Streit er blieb/vergoß sein Blut auf Jesum Christ//Sein nahm nun ist unter die REDLICHEN geschrieben'.

46 'Sein Feinde'.

47 'Drumb wir solchen SIEG dancken dem lieben Gott//Vnd darneben herzlich betrawrn des HELDEN Todt'.

48 Anon., *Lob- und Klagspruch/der Augspurgischen Confessio* (s.l., s.n., [1632]), Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 6, P-1871.

49 Wolfgang Harms, 'Kampf- und Kriegsbereitschaft in heilsgeschichtlichen Bezügen auf illustrierten Flugblättern von etwa 1570 bis 1632', in Heinz Schilling (ed.), *Konfessioneller Fundamentalismus. Religion als politischer Faktor im europäischen Mächtesystem um 1600* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007), pp. 47–65.

50 'O Weh der grossen Noth und Bschwerth (sic!)'.

51 'Deine Thaten so hochlößlich/Durch welche du erlöset mich'.

The message conveyed to the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire is much less pacific. The broadsheets petitioned the nobility to '[t]ake up arms, grudge no pains/ Defend me [the Confession] and yourself all at once/ Thus God will make you victorious'.⁵² We need to understand such sentiments in the context of real fear that the Protestant League would crumble and fall to pieces.

Turning the Land of Angels into the Devil's Land. Reporting Regicide

The long tribulation of Charles I of England naturally attracted far less attention in the German broadsheets. He only began to play a role as a distinctive historical person in the broadsheets upon his trial and execution. Key events of the English Civil War, the Personal Rule and Charles' surrender to the Scots attracted huge media attention in England.⁵³ In the Netherlands, the regicide inspired a barrage of cheap print aimed at agitating home audiences. Broadsheets, pamphlets and short treatises triggered violent debate amongst academics, officials and a wider audience interested in the fate of the House of Stuart.⁵⁴ The repercussions of the regicide in the German news market, however, were far less noticeable. The majority of the sheets are historical narrations of Charles' life and the events leading up to his beheading.

Much was at stake when Charles I appeared to answer charges of high treason in January 1649. His subsequent death created a void in which Oliver Cromwell replaced the monarchy with a Protectorate. The English knew about the consequences of regicide. Mary Stuart, Charles' grandmother, suffered a similar fate in 1587. Yet his case was radically different. His arrest, trial and execution all happened under the prying eye of the public. The Civil War caused the lapse of effective press control and an intensifying public debate over Charles' rule was the result of this.⁵⁵ A flood of publications, broadsheets, pamphlets and ballads of all political persuasions kindled the debate. Continental

⁵² 'Ergreift die Waffen spart kein Streich/Defendiert mich und euch zugleich'.

⁵³ Joad Raymond, 'Popular Representations of Charles I', in Thomas N. Corns (ed.), *The Royal Image. Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 47–73.

⁵⁴ Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic. Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 172–188.

⁵⁵ Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers. Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

Europe took equal interest in the drama of an anointed King placed on trial for his life, and subsequently executed.

In the publishing world in Germany, things were very different. Neither the English Civil War nor his personal fate stimulated the same level of interest as either Gustavus and his fate or the English print production of the 1640s. Only one single sheet dealing with the English Civil War and the Stuart king appeared in Germany before 1649.⁵⁶ His beheading was the subject of twelve broadsheets published in 1649 and two later narrations of this event of 1660.

The broadsheet *KlagMusica Der Ketzerischen Häupter/ uber ihre schwache erdichte falsche Ketzerey* of 1635 contains the first mention of Charles Stuart.⁵⁷ He appears in the illustrated broadsheet within a congregation of Protestant kings and rulers, depicted as minstrels in a marching band carrying the Protestant confession to its grave after the Peace of Prague (1635). This treaty brought the civil war on German soil to an end after Ferdinand II and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar agreed to return to the territorial division of 1627. The anti-Protestant broadsheet depicts Charles as lyrist and quotes him with the words '[o]ur heresy in the Empire has been weakened/ I may need to pull the wrong strings [off the lyre] to ease the Empire's disease'.⁵⁸ A broadsheet of 1645 dealt with the execution of the William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵⁹ Its author omits the many articles concerning religion brought against Laud by his accusers in parliament. He notes *Crimen laesae Majestatis* as the reason for his execution. The broadsheet served as a *memento mori* to the Christian nation. The sheet takes a moral stance and does not offer a particularly slanted confessional or political perspective. The anonymous author describes the Archbishop's fate as exemplary, concluding: '[t]herefore see the end of this learned man [and be aware] that no man can consider himself lucky before his death'.⁶⁰

The bulk of broadsheets focussed on historical narrations of Charles' life up to his execution. This set them apart from the reports on Gustavus' fate that accompanied almost every move of the Swedish king. The newswriter Johann

56 For a bibliography of all works relating to England, the Civil War and the Interregnum see Günter Berghaus, *Die Aufnahme der englischen Revolution in Deutschland 1640–1669* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989).

57 Anon., *KlagMusica Der Ketzerischen Häupter/uber ihre schwache erdichte falsche Ketzerey* (s.l., s.n., 1635) VD17 1:736039W. USTC 2205150.

58 'Unser Ketzerey im Reich ist zur Schwachheit kummen/Die falsche Sayten muß ich wol ziehen/soll ihr Kranckheit werden gnummen'.

59 Anon., *Warhafftiger verlauff und abbildung/von Wilhelm Laud* (s.l., s.n., 1649). Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 7, P-2159.

60 'Sihe also lieber Leser das End dieses hochgel[e]hrten Manns [...] das also kein Mensch vor seinem Todt sich glücklichelig zu schätzen'.

Georg Schleder is presumed to be the author of the *Contrafact and Historic Narration of the Birth, Life, and Death of Charles Stuart*, published in 1649, printed by Sebastian Furck in Frankfurt.⁶¹ The same text appears in another of Furck's broadsheets, the *Historical Narration*, this time with the more commonly used image of the beheading in front of Whitehall Palace.⁶²

Written from a staunch royalist perspective, the broadsheet took its cues from similar English sheets.⁶³ It lamented the beheading of Charles and denounced it as an unfathomable evil. It made little mentioning of the unfolding Civil War. It also omits the challenges and controversies during the Personal Rule. The report focuses on the involvement and fate of major political leaders, reporting for example '[o]n the 10th of January 1644 [actually 1645] the Archbishop of Canterbury, called William Laud, was executed with the executioner's axe' or the execution of Thomas Wentworth. A large part of the text reports Charles' odyssey after his second confinement with the New Model Army.⁶⁴

The report takes a clear stance, denouncing the army under Cromwell and Fairfax as instrumental in pursuing the king to destruction.⁶⁵ All of this suggests that Charles' fate had been pre-ordained before the trial. All those who opposed the king appeared in a bad light, regardless of their affiliation with Parliament, the New Model Army or the various religious pressure groups. The broadsheet condemned Cromwell and Fairfax as murderers and neither army nor Parliament fight for the good of the people. The author offered a highly simplified view of the conflict, omitting the various issues Charles had with the Presbyterians, the Irish Catholics, Quakers and Covenanters. The broadsheet focused on the king alone.

61 Anon., *Eygentliche Contrafactur samt Historischer Erzehlung/Von der Geburt/Leben und Tod/deß weyland Durchleuchtigen und Großmächtigen/Carl Stuarts* (Frankfurt am Main: Sebastian Furck, 1649). Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 8, P-2236; Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 8, p. 479. USTC 3039965.

62 Anon., *Historische Erzehlung/von Geburt/Leben und Todt/deß Weyland Durchleuchtigen und Großmächtigen/Carl Stuarts* (Strasbourg: Aubry, 1649). Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 8, P-2226. USTC 2185407.

63 *The Relation aus Londen vom 4. Febr. 1661* reports the public execution of Quakers and the exhumed corpse of Cromwell, stating these facts are 'Translated after the copy printed in London'; Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 8, P-2567.

64 'Anno 1644. den 10 deß Hornungs wurde dem Erz-Bischoffen von Cantelberg/Namens William Laud/der Kopf ebener massen durch das Beyl daselbst abgeschlagen'.

65 'Im Jahr 1645. ist Thomas Fairfax zum General/und Cromwell zu dessen General Leutenanten/über die ufführische/Independentsch/(das ist/selbst-herzlich) und kömigmörderische Armee verordnet worden'.

Even in the face of death, the report of Charles' trial elaborated on the moral superiority of Charles. His removal from Windsor Palace to London was an ordeal, presenting the king in a demeaning fashion:

[b]eing brought into London as if it was a triumph, his Majesty found himself between Fairfax and Cromwell, similar to Christ who went confined between two murderers to his place of execution.⁶⁶

There is little attempt to understand Charles's judges, and their exasperation with his stubborn refusal to acknowledge the authority of the court.⁶⁷ The anonymous author sided wholly with the king, reporting that:

After they have read out the accusations, his Majesty (graced by God with exceptional patience, acumen, superhuman intellect, and apprehension) answered to the judges in such a splendid and prudent manner, that the judges could not answer, condemning them to eternal shame and disgrace.⁶⁸

The report did not spare foreign attendees of the trial from attacks. It accuses members of a Dutch delegation of interfering with the unjust trial, causing their honour to be stained.⁶⁹

The attention given to the details of the execution amplified the notion of a spectacular event. Charles 'asks God that he may not rage over his accusers and judges', whose enemies inflict death upon him, thus making him a martyr who died for the good of the people of England.⁷⁰ Narrating the execution takes up

66 '[...] Seine Mayestät gleichsam als in einem Triumph/[...] Sie zwischen Fairfaxen und Cromwel (anders nit/als vor diesem der HerrChristus zwischen zweyen Mördern zur Schädelstätte wandern mußte)'].

67 John Morrill, 'Charles I, Tyranny and the English Civil War', in his *The Nature of the English Revolution* (London: Longman, 1993), pp. 291–292.

68 '[N]ach deme man Ihr dero Beschuldigung vorgelesen/haben Seine Mayt. (welche zeit dero Leydens mit sonderbarer Geduld/Scharfsinnigkeit/und ubernatürlichem Verstand von Gott begabt gewesen:) zu ihrer (der Richter) ewiger Schande und Schmach/sich dermassen trefflich und klugsinnig verantwortet/daß dieselben niches dargegen einzuwenden'.

69 The author possibly refers to Adriaen Pauw van Heenstede and Albert Joachimi, Dutch ambassadors sent by the States General to save the king from execution. See: Helters, *The Royalist Republic*, pp. 1–2.

70 'Er bitte Gott/daß er ihnen (seinen Richtern und Feinden) solches ja nicht zurechnen wolle'.

much space in the text. The author related every detail of Charles' exchange with the executioner over the right height of the scaffold. Fearing that a scaffold too low would compromise his royal honour, the king petitioned the executor for a higher scaffold before launching into a 'most favourable speech', styling himself as the martyr that has always dutifully served the English Nation.⁷¹

The 'most hideous' death of Charles' brought to an end a 'tragedy staged for six years'.⁷² The broadsheet leaves no doubt as to who is responsible for the end of his reign and the unfolding interregnum crisis. Blamed for this are 'Rebels', 'Independents' and 'treacherous murderers'.⁷³ The reason for their open confrontation of the king is their pursuit of an egoistic agenda, a craving for personal fame and gain. It is remarkable how decidedly royalist are the reports appearing in Germany of Charles' execution, leaving no doubt that they deem the trial and execution unjust. The sheets published on Charles' death in German spare no criticism of the King's opponents, most importantly Parliament, Cromwell, and Fairfax.

Most broadsheet accounts of the events drew heavily from English models. The [*Praise*] of the Noble English Sun/The most Christian King and Master, however, presumably published in 1649, claims that the outcome of the regicide is the nation's falling from God's grace.⁷⁴ The poem addresses the events leading up to the execution in a metaphorical language of a star (Parliament, New Model Army) threatening to block the rays of sunshine and ultimately extinguishing the sun (i.e. Charles) itself.⁷⁵

The country's sun and principal/saw from afar [...] How from false honour and malevolence/A star was born/a dreadful comet/[...] to diligently murder its sun and other stars.

The author blamed the Dutch government and its ambassadors for failing to show their support on Charles' behalf; a more elaborate version of an argument we have seen in the *Historical Narration*. Furthermore, it blames the Jesuits for 'having through long-sought opportunity//plotting to abolish Emperor, King,

71 'Thate darauf eine vortreffliche Rede'.

72 '[D]ieses [ist] der ganz abscheuliche Ausgang [der] über 6. Jahr gespielte[n] Tragödi'.

73 'Rebellen', 'Independenten', 'trügerisch'.

74 Anon., *Auf die Englische Edle Sonne/des AllerChristlichsten Königs und Herrn* (s.l. s.n., 1649). Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 8, P-2232.

75 Indications of the manner of speaking about kings in astronomical metaphors can be found in Henry Parker's *The true portraiture of the kings of England*, published in 1651 yet no direct English counterpart for this broadsheet could be found.

and Prince'.⁷⁶ Such accusations were rather generic, and popery, in particular, was a common accusation used by contesting parties in England for mutual denunciation.⁷⁷

The anonymous poet marks the consequences of such unjust actions with clear words: '[s]ee, where there are [multiple] leaders, there is strife/Discord will spare no county or town/the demise will follow with great moaning and pain'.⁷⁸ This text presents a strongly traditional opinion on political rule and the divine right of kings. The Civil War and the Interregnum and Protectorate overturned such concepts. Challenging established social order does not end well; unity cannot be found amongst the subjects and subsequently '[t]he rabble rank [causes] the shattering and downfall of people and the country'.⁷⁹ The text reminds the unruly population that '[t]he subject's business is of a different duty/requires actions oriented from God's word'.⁸⁰ For in the end, it is God who judges Charles' judges, and their extinction (the poem speaks vividly of a 'rou') will finally do the king justice.⁸¹

The upsurge in broadsheets published on the king's execution bears witness to the enormous interest stirred by these events. In Europe, the dramatic constitutional change from monarchy to commonwealth was not unprecedented. Long ago, Germany had experienced an interregnum from 1245 and 1273, but a radical shift from monarchy to a republic was yet to come. Publishers relied on English and Dutch material, the most important sources for news of the regicide. They made little effort to fashion their broadsheets to cater to their home audiences as they did with Gustavus.

The Good, the Bad and the Biased. Functions of Broadsheet Reporting

Despite their temporal proximity, the German reports on Gustavus and Charles could not have been more different. Both deaths had a deep impact on the

76 Der schlawe Jesuit hat auch vor langer Zeit//Durch allerhand Practic ersucht Gelegenheit//Die Keyser/Könige und Fürsten abzuschaffen'.

77 Nicole Greenspan, *Selling Cromwell's Wars. Media, Empire, Warfare 1650–1658* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), pp. 40–49.

78 'Schawt/wo Anführer sind/kompt bald Uneinigkeit://Vor Unfried ist alsdann kein Land und Stadt befreyt'.

79 'Ein pöbelischer Standt//Steht uns viel freyer an/und sollten Leut und Landt//Zu scheid und trümmern gehen'.

80 'Der UnterthanenAmpt hat eine andere Pflicht/Erfordert solches Thun auff Gottes Wort gerichtet'.

81 'die verfluchte Rott'.

leading political antagonists of the day, in Germany Protestants and Catholics, in England Royalists, Parliamentarians and Presbyterians. Germans heard both the Protestant and Catholic voice, albeit to various degrees. In contrast, broadsheets of the regicide report the event almost exclusively from a royalist perspective. This was against the backdrop of a multitude of broadsheets published and circulating in London that catered for all popular opinions in the three kingdoms; yet German readers found themselves supplied solely with reports that glorified Charles and denounced Parliament and the Army.⁸² This was by no means self-evident. The public in the neighbouring Dutch Republic took an equal interest in the regicide, but here contrary opinions were also heard, even though the general tenor of comment was strongly sympathetic to Charles; perhaps surprisingly so given the obvious political and religious affinity with the forces ranged against him.⁸³ The four German editions of the *Eikon Basilike* between 1649 and 1698 as well as other royalist publications suggest that the broadsheet reaction corresponds to the reaction in the broader printed media.

Political broadsheets offered a subtle blend of news reporting and interpretation. The newspaper, the most up-to-date medium of the time, made only modest efforts to frame understanding of events; their conventions and contemporaneity made it difficult to offer broader perspectives. Broadsheets, like pamphlets could take on a wider role, interpreting and giving meaning to events that appeared so devastating as to be incomprehensible. Cultural and political proximity played a role as broadsheets published in Germany elaborated the ramifications of Gustavus' unexpected death. Pro-Swedish accounts prevailed and not the least of their merits was in creating a long-lasting legacy for the king. With the exceptions of accounts of the battle, published very rapidly after the event, all the broadsheets we have considered here contained propagandistic undertones to various degrees. They functioned in the case of Charles to denounce Parliamentary and Cromwellian politics by proclaiming them as deviations from the natural order. Gustavus' death stimulated a wave of broadsheets that mourned his passing and most importantly persuaded the public both to honour his memory and not lose hope for the future. This was literature that combined a highly visual appeal with significant opportunities for reflection; the broadsheets attracted writing of great power and frequently great subtlety. Their role in shaping contemporary perception of tumultuous events should not be underestimated.

82 Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars. Kings and Commonwealth in England, 1603–1660* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 351–359.

83 Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, pp. 27–61.

Johann Georg Schleder (1597–1685), Journalist, Chronicler, and Broadsheet Author

John Roger Paas

The past half-century has witnessed a fundamental re-evaluation of the importance of broadsheets for our understanding of the early modern period. In libraries they were viewed for a long time as stepchildren; in print rooms they were considered second-class art at best; among scholars they were generally dismissed as having little literary or historical value. Today, however, broadsheets have become invaluable primary sources for in-depth studies of the early modern period, for either alone or as groups they can help us appreciate how people at the time thought and what they believed. They were one of the most frequently produced and widely available printed sources, and those that remain are essential cultural-historical objects.

Most broadsheets appeared anonymously, and although we may know the place of publication and the name of the printer or publisher, the true identity of the vast majority of authors remains unknown. We can assume based on style and content that the prose or verse texts for many sheets were written by pastors, lawyers, and other educated persons, but it is a boon when we know the name of the author and the context within which a sheet was produced. This is true for one Johann Georg Schleder, a long-forgotten Baroque personality who nonetheless deserves our consideration. Based on the various roles he played in the intellectual life of Frankfurt am Main around the middle of the seventeenth century he serves as a clear example of a respected professional journalist-chronicler, one not averse to writing for a more general audience. He was intimately connected to the publishing industry in his city and at the same time took part in the broader cultural and social life there through his activities as an occasional poet and broadsheet author.

Just as is the case for most occasional poets of the seventeenth century, we have for Schleder only limited personal information. Rather than being able to work from the inside – that is, through the use of such primary documents as letters and diaries – we are forced to look at him from the outside: through his published works and the clues they give us about his life and activities as a writer. Despite the obvious fact that specific details are unique to Schleder, he can be considered to be representative of the many educated Germans who

with varying frequency took up a pen to compose broadsheet texts. Although post-Romantic assessments of the occasional verses written by poets such as Schleder characterize these poetic efforts as workman-like and largely devoid of intense personal feeling, it is important not to overlook the important role these poets and their poetry played in early modern society. Few personal or public events of any significance among the more educated or well-to-do classes – births, deaths, marriages, christenings, name days, etc. – passed without being celebrated in verse. A significant subset of occasional verse included the poems of varying length written for broadsheets, printed portraits, maps, and prints in general. In composing such verse, poets like Schleder were in general capable of easily writing either in German or in Latin.

Schleder was professionally active solely in Frankfurt am Main, but throughout his life he stressed the fact that by birth he was a citizen of the free imperial city of Regensburg, which he referred to as “the city with the mightiest bridge”.¹ Many of his poems are signed “Johann Georg Schleder von Regensburg,” or more simply just “J. G. S. v. R.” The reference to Regensburg may have sprung not only from a sense of civic pride but also from a desire to indicate clearly his authorship of poems, for some of his fellow poets shared his initials: for example, Justus Georg Schottelius and Johann Georg Schoch.² One of them – Johann Georg Styrzel, a pastor in Rothenburg ob der Tauber – even collaborated with some of the same Frankfurt artists as did Schleder.

Church records from Regensburg reveal that Schleder was baptized there on 15 December 1597.³ In other words, he belonged along with Martin Opitz, Johann Michael Moscherosch, Paul Fleming, and Georg Philipp Harsdörffer – all of whom wrote verses for broadsheets and/or prints – to the first generation of German Baroque poets, who had a strong humanistic training but were interested in turning vernacular German literature into a mainstream European literature. As a young man, Schleder must have received a solid education, but Regensburg was a city without a university, and since employment opportunities there for a person of his intellectual ability were limited, it was natural for

1 This phrase appears in a dedicatory poem he wrote for Georg Greflinger's collection of secular poems: *Seladons Weltliche Lieder* (Frankfurt am Main: Caspar Wächtler, 1651), sig. Av^r. The Regensburg bridge in question, the Stone Bridge built in the twelfth century, was the first such bridge over the Danube and a reason for civic pride.

2 In at least one case of bibliographical confusion, Schleder's initials are incorrectly thought to be Schoch's, with the result that a 120-line alexandrine poem by Schleder is assumed to be the work of Schoch. See Gerhard Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1991), pp. 3724 (the initials) and 3732 (the poem).

3 Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern, PfA Regensburg, Taufen, 1588–1600, Mf.-Sign. 1–13, p. 492. Schleder's father was a tanner.

him to leave the city once he had reached maturity. Where he continued his studies at a university is not known for sure, although it has been suggested that he studied at Marburg and received his doctorate there.⁴ In any case, by sometime in the 1620s he had made his way to Frankfurt am Main and in the early 1630s applied for a vacant teaching position at the Latin school there. Although his application was rejected at least once,⁵ he was ultimately hired by the end of 1635 to teach the so-called *Humaniora*, for when he was granted citizenship in Frankfurt on 18 February 1636, his name was listed as “Georgius Schlederus von Regensburg, Praeceptor Classicus alhie.”⁶ Soon thereafter, the widower Schleder married the widow of the Frankfurt notary Hieronymus Olenschlager.⁷

The Protestant city of Frankfurt with its favorable geographic location for trade between the East and the West and with its ready access to type foundries and paper mills was one of the foremost centers of German printing and publishing. Active there were also competent printmakers, a number of whom had emigrated from Brabant to escape religious persecution. The city had the added advantage of hosting the biannual book fair, an event that helped to establish Frankfurt as a center of the international book trade. In addition to attracting publishers and booksellers, these book fairs were an important venue for international scholars, who mingled with the Frankfurt intelligentsia and thereby contributed to the general intellectual climate in the city.

From the time of Gutenberg, printers and publishers worked in an exceedingly competitive market with low profit margins. If one was to survive, one needed a sixth sense for accurately gauging the interests of potential customers as well as strong managerial skills to oversee an operation that worked efficiently, for speed was of the essence. In the absence of legal protection against piracy, publishers had only a short window of time in which to offer their product for sale before a competitor had a similar, if not identical, product on the market. By the seventeenth century most printmakers were involved in producing etchings, rather than the more laborious woodcuts or engravings. Although the use of etchings (and engravings) for popular prints

4 Franz Heiduk, ‘Georg Greflinger. Neue Daten zu Leben und Werk’. *Daphnis*, 9 (1980), p. 197. There is, however, no firm evidence of Schleder’s having matriculated at Marburg.

5 Frankfurt am Main, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Ratssupplikationen 1635 II, fol. 51–52 (14 May 1635) and Bürgermeisterbuch 1635, fol. 7^r. For this and subsequent archival evidence, I am indebted to Michael Matthäus of the City Archive in Frankfurt.

6 Frankfurt am Main, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Bürgermeisterbuch 1635, fol. 171^r and Bürgerbuch 9 (1634–1656).

7 Frankfurt am Main, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Heiratsbuch 4 (1635–1557), fol. 44^v.

required a two-step printing process – one for the letterpress in relief and one for the etching in intaglio – the turn-around time for production could be quite rapid. In real terms this meant that from start to finish a popular print could be ready for sale within a day or two. The fact that speed was so important, if one was to remain ahead of any competitors, is evident from the sloppy workmanship used to produce popular prints, which is often the norm rather than the exception. There are frequent typographic mistakes; illustrations are often printed askew (see Fig. 13.1); ink smudges are a common feature; and copperplates were now and then reused.

Within this competitive market reputable publishers in Frankfurt would have been interested in engaging authors and editors who could potentially increase their chances of success, and they would soon have been aware of Schleder's abilities. It is thus likely that as a skilled writer with an interest in contemporary political events he worked on the *Kurtze Wochentliche Historische Relation und Avisen*, published from Frankfurt in 1628.⁸ It was here that he would have gained some of the editorial skills he needed for his later work, and beginning in 1634 and continuing into the 1650s, he compiled the Frankfurt *Meßrelationen*, which appeared at the time of the book fairs and contained reports of the latest political and military events.⁹

During the 1640s Schleder's reputation as one of the most able journalist-chroniclers in Frankfurt was becoming firmly established, and through his journalistic activities he had close contact with leading artists like Sebastian Furck and printers and publishers like Eduard Schleich, Thomas Matthäus Götz, and Johann Gottfried Schönwetter. In this respect he was no different from the poet Sigmund von Birken in Nuremberg, who nurtured contacts there with the artist Jacob Sandrart and the publishers Paul Fürst, Michael Endter, and Johann Hoffmann.¹⁰ When Georg Greflinger, some 20 years younger than Schleder and also from Regensburg, spent several months in Frankfurt in 1643, Schleder appears to have introduced him to his circle of friends in the publishing business and thereby to have helped launch Greflinger's own career as a

8 Günter Berghaus, *Die Aufnahme der englischen Revolution in Deutschland 1640–1669*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), p. 72.

9 Despite the desire on the part of Schleder to maintain a neutral stance in his reporting, he did not always please those in power. In 1665, for example, Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, complained to the Frankfurt City Council about a passage in a *Meßrelation* compiled by Schleder. Frankfurt am Main, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Buchdruck und Zensur, Nr. 117.

10 See: John Roger Paas, 'Zusammenarbeit in der Herstellung illustrierter Werke im Barockzeitalter: Sigmund von Birken (1626–1681) und Nürnberger Künstler und Verleger', *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten*, 24 (1997), pp. 217–239 and 'Sigmund von Birkens anonyme Flugblattgedichte im Kunstverlag des Paul Fürst', *Philobiblon*, 34 (1990), pp. 321–339.



FIGURE 13.1 Execution of Charles I, 1649.
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, 669.F.12 (87).

journalist. When in 1651 Greflinger came to publish his collection of love poems entitled *Seladons Weltliche Lieder*, he chose to have it appear not in Hamburg, where he was working at the time, but instead in Frankfurt. The frontispiece to the volume was engraved by Sebastian Furck, and one of the dedicatory poems was written by Schleder, who in one stanza praises the immortal work of poets, musicians, painters, and engravers and emphasizes the seminal role played by book publishers in all of this. In the following stanza he introduces interesting personal details about the earlier social interaction between himself, Greflinger, the artist Sebastian Furck, and the printer Eduard Schleich:

Weist du wol / wo diß geschahe?
 Als ich dich bey Furcken sahe?
 Mit dem reingehertzten Schleichen /
 Nunmehr Selig / in den Reichen
 Aller Himmel. Da wir sassen /
 Da deß weichens wir vergassen:
 Da wir sprachten / da wir sungen /
 Da wir nach den Saiten sprungen:
 Da wir recht vertreulich lebten /
 Vnd in reiner Freude schwebten.¹¹

By 1650 Schleder was a major player in the publishing world of Frankfurt, and his work as a journalist-chronicler had brought him to the attention of the engraver-publisher Matthäus Merian the Elder, who since the mid-1630s had been publishing the ambitious *Theatrum Europeum*, an in-depth chronicle of European events beginning with the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.¹² When Merian died that year, it was Schleder, along with the Nuremberg poet Johann Klaj, the Jesuit poet Jacob Balde, and an earlier editor of the *Theatrum Europeum*, Johann Peter Lotichius, who contributed epicedia.¹³ Merian's heirs soon chose Schleder to be the new editor of the edition, and two years later his first volume of the *Theatrum Europaeum*, volume 6 – for the years 1647–1650 – appeared.

11 Do you remember where that happened? / When I saw you at Furck's place? / With the congenial Schleich, / Now deceased and in the heavenly / Realm. There we sat, / There we lingered, / There we talked and there we sang. / There we danced: / There we lived as trusted friends, / Together in pure joy.

12 By the time the final volume – volume 21 for the years 1716–1718 – appeared in 1738, this monumental edition comprised 21 folio-size volumes with over 700 maps, portraits, and plates.

13 *MEMORIA MERIANÆA. sive EPICEDIA* (Frankfurt am Main: Wolfgang Hoffmann, [1650]).

Volume 7 – for the years 1651–1657 – was printed eleven years later.¹⁴ By now Schleder was at the pinnacle of his career as a journalist, and working closely with publishers and printmakers; he was simultaneously also active writing texts for broadsheets and prints in general.

Because so many broadsheets appeared anonymously, it is impossible to say for certain when Schleder initially became involved in writing texts for broadsheets. The first broadsheet text that we can attribute to him (see Fig. 13.1) appeared in 1649 shortly after the execution of Charles I of England, an unprecedented event that sent shock waves through European society. Although the text is unsigned, Schleder mentions his authorship in the *Meßrelation* for the fall of 1649.¹⁵ The printmaker-publisher Sebastian Furck sought to pique the interest of potential buyers of the broadsheet by depicting the most gruesome moment of the execution in front of Whitehall Palace: the executioner holds the king's head on high, while blood spurts from the king's severed neck. There was clearly public interest in reading about the execution, for pirated editions were soon issued twice in Strasbourg by the printmaker-publisher Peter Aubry.¹⁶ Hoping to increase his profit by keeping down the costs of production, Furck himself subsequently re-used Schleder's text on a new sheet, this time with a small portrait of the deceased king's wife.¹⁷

These first broadsheets were followed by an apparent hiatus of several years, and when Schleder returned to political material for the popular market, it was not with Sebastian Furck but with a different Frankfurt printmaker-publisher: Abraham Aubry. Almost all of the sheets which came from this new

14 Because these two volumes appeared several years after the actual events, Schleder had time to check his sources carefully, and Lucas Heinrich Wüthrich, the leading scholar on Merian, considers Schleder's two volumes among the best of the entire series. See *Matthaeus Merian d. Ä.: Eine Biographie* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2007), p. 331.

15 The text was also reprinted in the same year in pamphlet form: *Historische Erzählung Von Geburt Leben und Todt deß Weiland Durchleuchtigen und Großmächtigen Carl Stuarts* (s.l. s.d., 1649). The text also appeared in a longer work: Sigismund Waremund [pseud.], *Divortium sive metamorphosis Regnis Anglicani* (s.l. s.d., 1649), pp. 128–133. A similar situation occurred several years later when Schleder wrote a prose text for a sheet published by Abraham Aubry in 1664, at the time of the Christian siege of Nagykanizsa (see no. 8; reproduced in: Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 9, P-271). In the text there is a reference to a pamphlet written by Schleder and published by Aubry: *Mercurius Seriniano-Hohenloho-Turcicus*.

16 These broadsheets are reproduced in: John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 8 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), P-2226 and P-2227. Furck's illustration also served as a model for illustrations on other broadsheet reports of the execution: P-2228, P-2229 and P-2230.

17 Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, P-2236.

collaboration had verse rather than prose texts, the first appearing in 1657 in connection with the death of Emperor Ferdinand III (see no. 5).¹⁸ The interest of German readers in events not only inside but also outside the Empire led Schleder and Aubry to collaborate when Louis XIV married Maria Theresa of Spain in the summer of 1660 (see no. 6), and when the following year the French royal couple celebrated the birth of their first child, Aubry again issued a sheet with verses by Schleder (see no. 7).¹⁹

The second half of the seventeenth century was a period of almost constant warfare in Europe, and about the time that Schleder was completing his work on the seventh volume of the *Theatrum Europaeum* (1663), the Ottomans, who for years had been a negligible threat in the East, assembled a massive army and invaded Hungary. Against unfavorable odds the ill-prepared Christian forces were able to stop the Ottoman advance in the summer of 1664, and during these months of intense military confrontation along the eastern edge of the Empire, a flood of broadsheets, portraits, pamphlets, and books appeared on the German market. Among them were several large, elaborate portraits engraved by Aubry with verses by Schleder that were intended to give people accurate images of the major players in political events at the time. One is of Miklós Zrínyi, the flamboyant governor of Croatia and one of the heroes of the Christian forces (see no. 31; Fig. 13.2).²⁰ It is part of an unnumbered series of portraits that includes Leopold I (see no. 21), Louis XIV (see no. 22), Sultan Mehmed IV (see no. 23), Pope Alexander VII (see no. 14), and Adam, count Forgách, the commandant of Nové Zámky (see no. 17).²¹ To save on the production cost of each portrait, Aubry simply reused the copperplate of the floral frame, to which he then added a new portrait with new verses by Schleder. In contrast to the longer prose and verse texts on broadsheets, which at times are interpretative, the six lines of conventional alexandrine verse at the bottom of each portrait are descriptive, and mildly propagandistic.

Since Schleder was by profession a journalist-chronicler, it was natural for him to write verses for prints about current political events and personages,

18 Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 13, P-4026.

19 Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 8, P-2548 and P-2577.

20 In a market lacking any sense of copyright, Schleder's verses were copied by publishers in other towns and issued anew on an equestrian portrait of Zrínyi published in Augsburg and under a portrait of Zrínyi, which appeared in a detailed account of the military conflict published in Nuremberg in 1665 by Paul Fürst. See Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 9, P-2600 and PA-493.

21 These portraits are reproduced in Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, vols. 8, 9 and 13: Alexander VII (P-4021), Adam, count Forgách (P-2637), Leopold I (P-2429), Louis XIV (P-2547) and Mehmed IV (P-2758).



FIGURE 13.2 Miklós Zrínyi, Hungarian statesman and military leader.
 WOLFEgg, ART COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF WALDBURG-WOLFEgg,
 TOME 116 (412).

but he was also the educated product of a European culture which accepted two authorities without any question: the classics and the Bible. This is reflected in the German verses that he composed for several print series published by Aubry, most likely in the 1660s. The one which focuses on classical times is a

series of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Beginning with the Hanging Gardens of Babylon (see no. 34) and ending with the Lighthouse of Alexandria (see no. 40), each print in the series has 16 lines of German alexandrine verse by Schleder at the bottom.

From about the same time and with a similar artistic style are two series with Old Testament themes. One is of the Twelve Old Testament Priests and Prophets from Moses (see no. 41) to Zachariah (see no. 52), again each with 16 lines of German alexandrine verse. A second series is of the Twelve Old Testament Kings of Judah from Saul (see no. 53) to Zedekiah (see no. 64). In engraving his portraits, Aubry closely copied earlier portraits published in Paris by Jean le Blond, while Schleder composed completely new verses. In addition to this Old Testament material, Schleder and Aubry also collaborated on a series from the New Testament: Parable of the Ten Virgins (entitled here “Die 5. Klugen und 5. Thörichten Jungfrauen”; see nos. 65–71). For the seven prints in the series Aubry again simply copied French prints, this time those by Abraham Bosse.²² Although the theme is biblical, the visual details are clearly mid-seventeenth century French. For each print in this series Schleder chose not to compose 16 German alexandrines but, rather, 24 lines of trochaic German verse.

In addition to the classical and biblical themes, Schleder – again in collaboration with Aubry – also turned his attention to social ones. His “Schantzen und Wag-Spiel” deals with the ritual of courting and marrying a woman as a type of bowling game without a satisfactory prize (see Fig. 13.3). Reflecting contemporary misogynistic attitudes, all five women fall short of the male ideal: the first is rich but old, the second is pretty but unfaithful, the third is chaste but shrewish, the fourth is virtuous and honest but only outwardly so, and the fifth usurps the initiative in courting. The verses end with a reference to a decidedly anti-matrimonial German proverb, which states that in connection with loving women, there are but two happy moments: the first, when the man weds the woman, and the second, when he lays her in the grave. Schleder and Aubry also produced an equally misogynistic companion sheet entitled “Seltzame Vorspiele des Ehewesens” (see no. 12).²³ These two broadsheets appear to have had a certain broad appeal, for Johann Hoffmann, a major publisher in Nuremberg of popular prints issued very close copies of both sometime in the 1660s (see nos. 11 and 13).

22 Carl Goldstein, *Print Culture in Early Modern France. Abraham Bosse and the Purposes of Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

23 Reproduced in: Kristina Bake, *Spiegel einer Christlichen vnd friedtsamen Haußhaltung: Die Ehe in der populären Druckgraphik des 16. und 17. Jaharhunderts*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, 49 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), illus. 25.

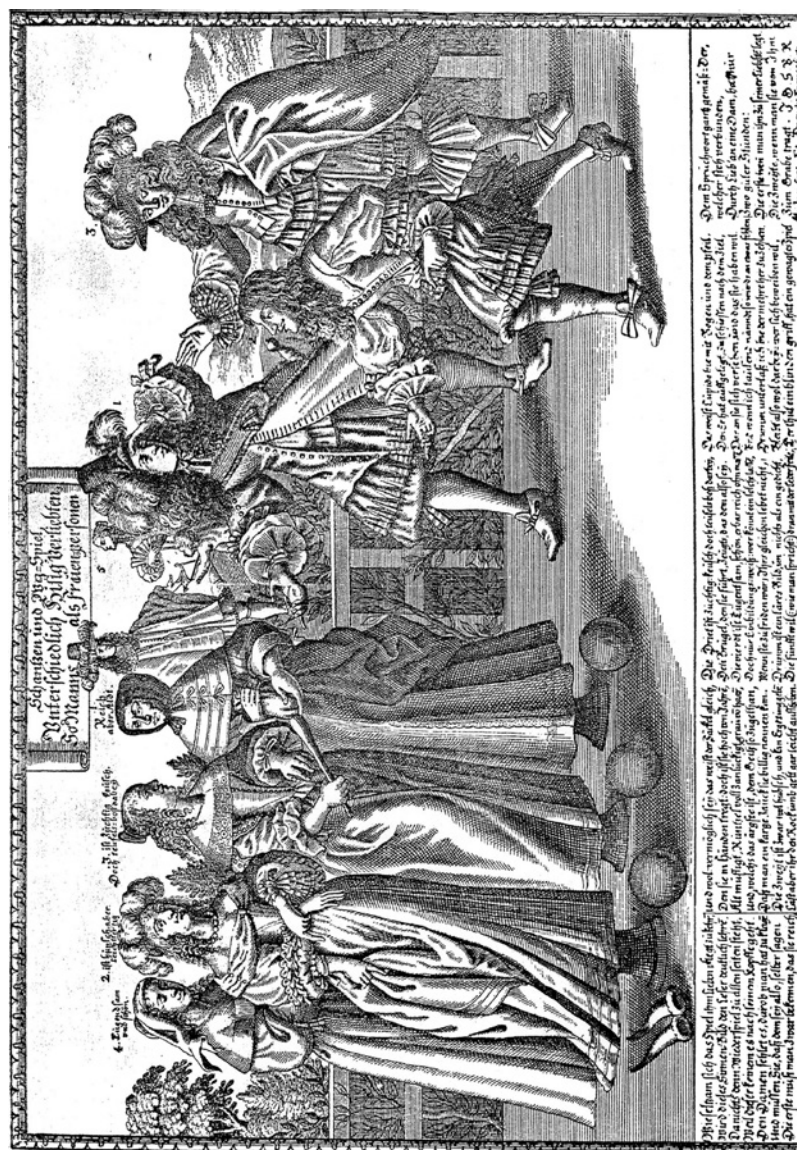


FIGURE 13.3 The ritual of courting and marriage.

NUREMBERG, GERMAN NATIONAL MUSEUM, HB 17846/1294.

Although Hoffmann's sheets were clearly pirated copies, one should not overlook how interconnected German poets, artists, and publishers in different cities were throughout the seventeenth century. Georg Schöbel in Breslau, for example, engaged the noted Augsburg printmaker Philipp Kilian to engrave portraits of the town councilors in Breslau;²⁴ the Nuremberg publisher Paul Fürst engaged Abraham Aubry to engrave the frontispiece to the first German translation of Abraham Bosse's treatise on etching.²⁵ Schleder's contacts with printmakers were not much different, if we consider the verses he wrote for printed portraits. As is to be expected, portraits exist which illustrate Schleder's collaboration with Frankfurt artists. An equestrian portrait of Heinrich Johann von Dünnewald with verses by Schleder was, for example, engraved in Frankfurt by Martin Hailler ca. 1664 (see no. 16), and a portrait of the Frankfurt pastor Michael Wigand was engraved in 1667 by Schleder's son-in-law, Christoph Metzger (see no. 30). Schleder, however, also collaborated with printmakers outside Frankfurt, exclusively from Augsburg. Philipp Kilian, one of the most sought-after German portrait engravers in the second half of the seventeenth century, engraved the portrait of the Frankfurt pastor Conrad Schudt (see no. 25), and his brother Bartholomäus (who had studied for three and a half years with Matthäus Merian) engraved that of Johann Conrad Sonderhausen, another Frankfurt pastor (see no. 28). A portrait of the army commander, Heinrich Jönson, with six Latin verses by Schleder was engraved by yet another Augsburg artist, Melchior Küsel (see no. 19).

By the late 1660s Schleder appears to have stopped writing verses for broadsheets and prints, although he did continue to contribute epicedia (often in Latin) to funeral pamphlets, the last one appearing in 1675 for Nicolaus Feiner, a former student of his.²⁶ The last evidence we have for Schleder is his last will and testament, dated 20 August 1685.²⁷ Considering the respected position that Schleder held in Frankfurt, it is surprising that we have neither an engraved portrait of him nor a collection of epicedia celebrating his life. Perhaps

24 John Roger Paas, 'Zur überregionalen Auftragsarbeit eines Augsburger Kunststechers: Philipp Kilians Beitrag zu *Germanvs Vratislaviae Decor* (1667)', in John Roger Paas (ed.), *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas: Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2001), pp. 79–92.

25 *Kunstbüchlein handelt Von der Radier- und Etzkunst*, trans. Georg Andreas Böckler (Nürnberg: Paul Fürst, 1652). Schleder also collaborated with Fürst, when he published Daniel Wülffler's *Himmlische Engel-Freud / Das ist: Seelige Bus eines reuigen Sünders* (1659). To explain the six engraved plates in the work, Schleder was engaged to write a sixteen-line stanza for each.

26 Johann Benedict Carpzov, *Ein feiner Student* (Frankfurt: Blasius Ilßner, 1675). This *Leichenpredigt* contains a couplet, a sonnet, and 88 Verses by Schleder, all in German.

27 Frankfurt am Main, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Testamente 1685, Nr. 17.

such funerary celebrations were in fact published, and have simply not survived. This is far from unlikely, given the very low number of copies that have come down to us of publications of this sort, including Schleder's own.

In judging the verses written by Schleder over the years, there is no denying that he was a lesser poet like thousands of others in the seventeenth century. In the disdainful opinion of the Earl of Shaftesbury in the early eighteenth century, these poets were an "insipid race of mortals...whom we moderns are contented to call poets," yet it was precisely these poets and writers who formed the bedrock of poetic activity throughout the century. They were the ones through whom the general public learned of important events and were kept abreast of various developments in Europe and farther afield. Though long forgotten as poets, Schleder and his fellow poets and poetasters cannot be overlooked, if within a broader cultural-historical context we wish to fully understand the production of broadsheets and prints in the early modern period.

List of Prints

Locations

Braunschweig, HAUM	Duke Anton Ulrich Museum
Budapest, OSK	National Széchényi Library
Coburg, KS	Veste Coburg Art Collections
Copenhagen, SM	National Gallery of Denmark
Durham, DU	Duke University Library
Gotha, SM	Castle Museum
Halle, M	Moritzburg Museum
London, BL	The British Library
Münster, LM	Westphalian State Museum for Art and Cultural History
Nagykanizsa, TGM	Thúry György Museum
Nuremberg, GNM	German National Museum
Paris, BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
Strasbourg, BNU	National and University Library
Stuttgart, SG	State Art Museum
Warsaw, NM	National Museum
Windsor, RL	The Royal Library
Wolfegg, FK	Art Collection of the House of Waldburg-Wolfegg
Wolfenbüttel, HAB	Duke August Library

Broadsheets

1. *Historische Erzehlung / Von Geburt / Leben vnd Tod / deß weyland Durchleuchtigen vnd Großmächtigen / Carl Stuarts / Königs in Groß Britannien / Franckreich vnd Jrreland / etc.* (58.0 × 28.7; 19.1 × 29.7 cm)
Unsigned prose text in two columns.
Franckfurt / bey Sebastian Furcken zu finden.
London, BL: 669.f.12 (87).
2. *Historische Erzehlung / Von Geburt / Leben vnd Todt / deß Weyland Durchleuchtigen vnd Großmächtigen / Carl Stuarts / Königs in groß Britan-nien / Franckreich vnd Jrreland / etc.* (53.9 × 28.7; 18.5 × 28.3 cm)
Unsigned prose text in two columns.
Straßburg / bey Peter Aubri dem Kupfferstecher.
Nuremberg, GNM: Mp 3798^b.
3. *Historische Erzehlung / Von Geburt / Leben vnd Todt / deß Weyland Durchleuchtigen vnd Großmächtigen / Carl Stuarts / Königs in groß Britan-nien / Franckreich vnd Jrreland / etc.* (52.2 × 29.2; 18.0 × 28.3 cm)
Unsigned prose text in two columns.
Straßburg / bey Peter Aubri dem Kupfferstecher.
London, BL: 1750.c.2 (24); Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Xb FM 194.
4. *Eygentliche Contrafactur samt Historischer Erzehlung / Von der Geburt / Leben vnd Tod / deß weyland Durchleuchtigen vnd Großmächtigen / Carl Stuarts / Königs in Groß Britannien / Franckreich vnd Jrreland / etc. Wie auch Der von Gottes Gnaden Hochgebornen Frauen / Frauen Henritta Maria von Borbonia Königen in Engelland Schottland vnd Jrreland etc. nunmehr höchstbetrübten Fr. Wittib.* (38.0 × 30.0; 10.2 × 9.1 cm)
Unsigned prose text in three columns.
Erstlich gedruckt zu Franckfurt bey Sebastian Furcken.
Windsor, RL: 601994.
5. *FERDINANDVS III ROMANOR IMPERATOR OBIIT II. APR. 1657.* (34.3 × 26.7; 18.5 × 28.6 cm)
Signed: *I. G. S. R.* (12 Latin verses); *J. G. S. v. R.* (24 German alexandrines).
Franckfurt am Mayn / bey Abraham Aubry Kupfferstechern in der Mayntzergassen zu finden.
Wolfegg, FK: Tome 104 (380).
6. *Beyder Großmächtiger Königreiche / Franckreichs und Hispanien / Vom Himmel glücklich erhörter Wundsch: Den getroffenen Frieden / und gleich damit folgenden Königlichen Heyrath belangend.* (43.9 × 37.4; 29.5 × 37.4 cm)
Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.* (32 German alexandrines)

- Franckfurt am Mayn / bey Abraham Aubry Kupfferstechern / in der Mayntzergassen zu finden.
Nuremberg, GNM: HB 24131/1220; Wolfegg, FK: Tome 33 (216).
7. *Das Triumphirende Franckreich: über der glücklichen Geburth deß Königlichen Printzen Dophins.* (44.1 × 37.1; 28.2 × 37.5 cm)
Signed: J. G. S. (62 German alexandrines).
Franckfurt am Mayn / bey Abraham Aubry Kupfferstechern / in der Mayntzergassen zu finden.
Paris, BN: Hennin XLV, 4111; Copenhagen, SM: Mappe 414, 45–46.
8. *Wahre Vorbildung der gewaltigen Vestung Canischa in Crabaten: Neben einem kurtzen Bericht: Wie dieselbe im April deß 1664. Jahrs / unterm Haupt-Befehl Sr. Excell. Herrn Niclas Grafen von Serin belagert worden / und was bis auff den 5. und 6. deß Mayen / darvor denckwürdig vorgegangen.* (40.5 × 28.6; 18.8 × 29.8 cm)
Unsigned prose text in two columns.
Franckfurt am Mäyn / zufinden bey Abraham Aubry / in der Mäyntzergassen.
Nagykanizsa, TGM: K.55.46.
9. *Schantzen und Wag-Spiel. Unterschiedlich hitzig Verliebten, So Manns alß Frauen Personen.* (28.0 × 39.2 cm)
Signed: J. G. S. V. R. (34 German alexandrines).
Abraham Aubry. fecit, et Excudit. Francofurti.
Halle, M: F 377.
10. *Schantzen und Wag-Spiel. Unterschiedlich hitzig Verliebten, So Manns als Frauen-personen.* (27.8 × 39.1 cm)
Signed: J. G. S. V. R. (34 German alexandrines).
AAübry fecit. Et Excudit Francofurti.
Nuremberg, GNM: HB 17846/1294.
11. *Schantzen und Wag-Spiel. Unterschiedlich hitzig Verliebten, So Manns alß Fraißen Personen.* (26.6 × 38.2 cm)
Unsigned.
Johann Hofmann Ex.:
Nuremberg, GNM: HB 24761/1295.
12. *Seltzame Vorspiele deß Ehewesens.* (27.8 × 39.7 cm)
Signed: J. G. S. V. R. (38 German alexandrines).
Abraham Aubry. fecit. et Excudit Francofurti.
Nuremberg, GNM: HB 15003/1294.
13. *Seltzame Vorspiele deß Ehewesens.* (26.9 × 38.8 cm)
Unsigned.
Johann Hofmann, Excudit.
Nuremberg, GNM: HB 24759/1293.

Portraits

14. Pope Alexander VII (1599–1667)
Bust, facing right, in oval within an ornate floral frame (37.8 × 27.1 cm).
Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.* (6 German alexandrines).
Abraham Aubrj fecit, et Excudit Francofurti.
Paris, BN: N2, D 071941.
15. Anna Maria Dimpfel (1611–1650)
Half-length, facing left, in oval frame (17.7 × 12.0 cm).
Signed: *Johann Georg Schledern gebürtig in Regensburg* (8 German alexandrines).
Nuremberg, GNM: Mp 5646.
16. Heinrich Johann von Dünnewald (1617–1691)
On horseback, facing right; engraved by Martin Hailer (30.2 × 25.0 cm).
Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.* (8 German alexandrines).
Durham, DU: Jantz Collection, 2849.
17. Adam, count Forgách (1601–1681)
Bust, facing right, in oval within an ornate floral frame (37.8 × 27.1 cm).
Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.* (6 German alexandrines).
Jn Franckfurt, Bey Abraham Aubrj, zu finden.
Braunschweig, HAUM: P-Slg. 3.1176.
18. Jacob Marquard von Glauberg (1602–1650)
Bust, facing left, in oval frame; engraved by Sebastian Furck (19.2 × 14.4 cm).
Signed: *I. G. S. fecit.* (6 Latin verses).
Strasbourg, BNU: grav. in-8°; Wolfegg, FK: Tome 117 (462).
19. Heinrich Jönson (fl. ca. 1670–1680)
Bust, facing left, in oval frame; engraved by Melchior Küsel (19.4 × 13.6 cm).
Signed: *J. G. Sleder. R.* (6 Latin verses).
Coburg, KS: I,355,338.
20. Johann Septimius Jörger von Tollet und Götzersdorf (1594–1662)
Half-length, facing left, in oval frame; engraved by Sebastian Furck (17.3 × 12.2 cm).
Signed: *J. G. S. f.* (5 Latin verses).
Nuremberg, GNM: P 3024.
21. Leopold I (1640–1705)
Bust, facing left, in oval within an ornate floral frame (37.8 × 27.7 cm).
Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.* (6 German alexandrines).
Abraham Aubrj. fecit et Excudit Francofurti.
Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Portr. III/408.2.
22. Louis XIV (1638–1715)
Bust, facing left, in oval within an oval ornate floral frame (37.8 × 27.1 cm).

- Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.* (6 German alexandrines).
 Abraham Aubrj. fecit et Excudit. Francofurti.
 Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Portr. III/559; Wolfegg, FK: Tome 116 (409).
23. Mehmed IV (1641–1692)
 Bust, facing right, in oval in ornate floral frame (37.8 × 27.1 cm).
 Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.* (6 German alexandrines).
 Abraham Aubrj. fecit. et Excudit. Francofurti.
 Braunschweig, HAUM: P-Slg. 3.2517.
24. Johann Balthasar Ritter the Younger (1645–1719)
 Half-length, facing right; engraved by Elias Heinzelmann (30.0 × 21.4 cm).
 Signed: *J. G. S.* (4 German alexandrines).
 Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Portr. II/4522.2.
25. Conrad Schudt (1624–1680)
 Half-length, facing right; engraved by Philipp Kilian (30.2 × 29.0 cm).
 Signed: *Johann Georg Schleder, gebürtig von Regensburg* (12 German alexandrines).
 Nuremberg, GNM: Mp 21743a.
26. Johann Balthasar Schupp (1610–1661)
 Bust in oval frame; engraved by Sebastian Furck (16.9 × 13.5 cm).
 Signed: *Jan-Georgius Schlederus, Ratisponâ* (4 Latin verses).
 Münster, LM: C-600799 PAD.
27. Copy by Jacob Sandrart (15.3 × 8.5 cm).
 Unsigned.
 Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Portr. I/12252.
28. Johann Conrad Sonderhausen (1632–1704)
 Half-length, frontal view; engraved by Bartholomäus Kilian (32.7 × 22.8 cm).
 Signed: *Johann Georg Schleder von Regensburg* (4 German alexandrines).
 Wolfenbüttel, HAB: Portr. II/5185.
29. Copy by Pieter Schenck (28.5 × 21.1 cm).
 Signed: *Johann Georg Schleder von Regensburg* (4 German alexandrines).
 Strasbourg, BNU: grav. in-4°.
30. Michael Wigand (1636–1667)
 Three-quarter length, facing right; engraved by Christoph Metzger (21.2 × 14.8 cm).
 Signed: *Joannes Georgius Schleder. è Ratisbona* (6 Latin verses).
 Braunschweig, HAUM: C. Metzger, AB 3.3.
31. Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664)
 Bust, facing left, in oval in ornate floral frame (37.3 × 26.9 cm).
 Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.* (6 German alexandrines).

- Beÿ Abraham Aubrÿ zu finden. Jn Francofurt.
 Braunschweig, HAUM: P-Slg. 3.4143; Wolfegg, FK: Tome 116 (412).
32. Copy by Lucas Schnitzer (19.3 × 10.5 cm).
 Unsigned.
 Strasbourg, BNU: grav. in-8°.
33. Miklós Zrínyi
 On horseback, rearing to the right; engraved by Jeremias Renner
 (35.2 × 25.8 cm).
 Unsigned.
 Beÿ Marx Anthoni Hannes zu finden Jn Augspurg.
 Budapest, OSK: App. M 486; Münster, LM: K 75-144 LM.

Print Series

- 34-40. Seven Wonders of the Ancient World
 Size: 36.8 × 21.9 cm; each print with 16 German alexandrines.
- i. SEMIRAMIS.
 Beÿ Abraham Aubrÿ Kupffersteher in Franckfurt. Zu finden.
 - ii. THEAGENES.
 - iii. PHARAO.
 - iv. ARTEMISIA.
 - v. ANTIOPE.
 - vi. SPHIRON.
 - vii. PTOLEMÆVS.
 Signed: *J. G. S. V. R.*
 Warsaw, NM: Gr. Obc. N. 1225-1231; Gotha, SM: F.-7.1-7.7.
- 41-52. Twelve Old Testament Priests and Prophets
 Size: 36.5 × 26.0 cm; each print with 16 German alexandrine verses.
1. Moses.
 Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.*
 Beÿ Abraham Aubrÿ Kupfferstecher in Franckfurt. Zu finden.
 3. Elias.
 Signed: *J. G. S.*
 4. Elisa.
 Signed: *J. G. S.*
 5. Esra.
 6. Jonas.
 7. Daniel.
 8. Jeremias.

9. Hesekiel.

Signed: *J. G. S.*

10. Esaias.

Signed: *J. G. S.*

11. Amos.

Signed: *J. G. S.*

12. Zacharias.

Warsaw, NM: Gr. Obc. N. 1195–1206.

53–64. Twelve Old Testament Kings

Size: 36.7 × 26.1; each print with 16 German alexandrine verses.

1. König Saul.

Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.*

Beÿ Abraham Aubrÿ Kupfferstecher. zu finden in Franckfurt.

2. König David.

3. König Salomo.

4. König Assa.

5. König Josaphat.

6. König Joram.

7. König Jehu.

8. König Hißkia.

9. König Manasse.

10. König Josias.

11. König Joiakim.

12. König Zidekia.

Warsaw, NM: Gr. Obc. N. 1207–1218; Wolfegg, FK: Tome 104 (20–31).

65–71. The Five Wise and Five Foolish Virgins

Size: 27.0 × 32.8 cm; each print with 24 German trochaic tetrameters.

Die 5. Klugen Jungfrauen (“Was die hohen Glaubens Sachen”);

Die 5. Klugen Jungfrauen (“Nichts, was Jrrdisch ist zu nennen”);

Die 5. Klugen Jungfrauen (“Geht die Brunst der reinen Liebe”);

Die 5. Thörichten Jungfrauen (“Denk doch was in Lumpen-dingen”);

Die 5. Thörichten Jungfrauen (“Schlafen, und an statt des Wachen”);

Die 5. Thörichten Jungfrauen (“Ô wie schmerzlich muß geschehen”);

Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.*

Die 5. Klugen, vnd 5. Thörichten Jungfrauen (“Wie der Menschen Thuen und wesen”);

Signed: *J. G. S. v. R.*

Abraham Aubry fecit et excudit. Franckfurti.

Gotha, SM: F.-7.9 a-g; Stuttgart, SG: A 36216–36222; Wolfegg, FK: Tome 235 (57–63).

PART 5

Broadsheets in the Academic World



Function in Form: Single-Sheet Items and the Utility of Cheap Print in the Early Modern German University

Richard Kirwan

As centres of learning orientated towards the study of authoritative, canonical texts, universities were natural beneficiaries of print. When it came to this form of communication, the requirements of universities and scholars were many and diverse.¹ These ranged from a set of core needs, relating to learning and tuition, to less fundamental, more indulgent requirements for bureaucratic or occasional print. University tuition was centred on the reading of curricular texts. These were produced in a variety of formats, including those designed to facilitate the taking of notes within the classroom, a niche product of limited value outside of the university.² Print was also used to capture and disseminate the intellectual output of university scholars in the form of scholarly treatises and orations. Another notable example of this type of publishing was the printing of academic dissertations, the production of which expanded significantly over the course of the sixteenth century.³

As the sixteenth century progressed, demand for print within universities diversified beyond the material required for teaching or the expression of scholarly ideas. This corresponds to and was part of the general boom in academic

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- 1 On the character of the academic book market see Ian Maclean, 'The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in Northern Europe, 1570–1630', in Ian Maclean, *Learning and the market place. Essays in the history of the early modern book* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 9–24.
 - 2 See, for example, an edition of Aristotle, *Ethica ad Nicomachum* (Leipzig, 1500), a page from which is reproduced and discussed in Ulrich Johannes Schneider (ed.), *In pursuit of knowledge. 600 Years of Leipzig University* (Leipzig: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, 2009), pp. 36–37.
 - 3 See the chapters by Saskia Limbach and Malcolm Walsby in this volume; Ulrich G. Leinsle, *Dilinganae Disputationes. Der Lehrinhalt der gedruckten Disputationen an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Dillingen 1555–1648* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2006); Hanspeter Marti, 'Dissertation und Promotion an frühneuzeitlichen Universitäten des deutschen Sprachraums. Versuch eines skizzenhaften Überblicks', in Rainer A. Müller (ed.), *Promotionen und Promotionswesen an den deutschen Hochschulen der Frühmoderne* (Cologne: S.H. Verlag, 2001), pp. 1–20.

publishing which occurred between 1560 and 1630.⁴ This diversification occurred in two significant areas; occasional ephemera and bureaucratic print. Bureaucratic print comprised institutional administrative matter requiring public expression such as ordinances, rulings (especially disciplinary judgments), and notices of ceremonies and events. A fashion for occasional print took hold in universities in the 1560s.⁵ This encompassed material produced to celebrate various events in the lives of scholars such the award of degrees and other prizes, appointments, and also social occasions such as weddings. The printing of commemorative texts such as funeral orations or elegiac poetry also became popular in this period. At an institutional level, occasional print was produced to mark important university ceremonies and festivals. University jubilees, for example, generally led to the printing of a diversity of celebratory and monumental texts including festival books, university histories, and biographical dictionaries.⁶

Universities, of course, pre-dated the invention of print and had availed themselves of effective systems for the production and supply of texts in manuscript form for centuries.⁷ As such the adoption of print was not an entirely necessary development. When it came to learned and pedagogical texts, it is clear that print offered greater efficiency and reliability than manuscript reproduction. That might also be said of occasional ephemera, although in this case the use of print for such matter was more a luxury than a necessity. Due to low print runs, manuscript remained relevant for the production of bureaucratic matter and continued to be used alongside print for this purpose. The use of manuscript was particularly efficient when it came to the production

4 On the boom in academic publishing see Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, commerce, religion. The learned book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), esp. pp. 211–234.

5 See Richard Kirwan, 'From individual to archetype. Occasional texts and the performance of scholarly identity in early modern Germany', in Richard Kirwan (ed.), *Scholarly self-fashioning and community in the early modern university* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 79–102; Richard Kirwan, *Empowerment and representation at the university in early modern Germany: Helmstedt and Würzburg, 1576–1634* (Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, 46; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009).

6 See Richard Kirwan, 'The paper monument. University histories and the fashioning of institutional prestige in early modern Germany', in Anthony McElligott, etc. (eds.), *Power in history. From the medieval to the post-modern world* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011), pp. 83–108.

7 See Nikolaus Weichselbaumer, '“Quod Exemplaria vera habeant et correcta”: Concerning the distribution and purpose of the pecia system', in Richard Kirwan & Sophie Mullins (eds.), *Specialist markets in the early modern book world* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 331–350.

of small quantities of shorter occasional or bureaucratic texts in single-sheet form. In spite of this, the mid-sixteenth boom in the production of occasional and bureaucratic publishing incorporated broadsheet print.

In this chapter I will examine the expansion of print into bureaucratic and occasional niches at German universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I will focus specifically on the use of the single-sheet format which continued to lend itself to efficient manuscript production well into the seventeenth century. Through an exploration of the usage and popularity of broadsheets, which constituted the most disposable and ephemeral type of bureaucratic or occasional print, I will seek to understand why university men turned so readily to this format for the production of such material.

Patterns of Production

It is difficult to reconstruct fully the range of matter published in single-sheet format by German university printers for their academic clients. This is due in part to the fact that the disposable and ephemeral nature of such print has led to low survival rates. It also due to problems of visibility in the relevant catalogues. The fact that VD16 does not record single-sheet items makes statistical research on sixteenth century German broadsheet publication particularly difficult.⁸ Resources such as the USTC and the 'Einblattdrucke der frühen Neuzeit' database of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB) are of some use in attempts to compensate for this deficiency. Unlike its sister catalogue for the sixteenth century, VD17 incorporates single-sheet items for the seventeenth, which makes quantitative analysis much more reliable for this period.

The broadsheets listed in these various catalogues inevitably reflect the collection and library records upon which they are based. As such they correspond to the concerns, interests and biases of the original collectors. With regard to university print, the various catalogues suggest that certain types of material were privileged by libraries or in other book collections when it came to collection and preservation over the centuries. It is revealing, for example, that occasional ephemera constitute 50% of the single-sheet items recorded in VD17. It is also notable that university administrative ordinances and notices are far less common (see below). This type of bureaucratic print is

8 For a discussion of the visibility of sixteenth century German broadsheets in catalogues and databases see Julia Odenbreit, *Einblattdrucke des 16. Jahrhunderts in Gedächtnisorganisationen. Erfassung und Erschließung* (Berlin: Institut für Bibliotheks- und Informationswissenschaft der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2014).

extant, however, in university archives. These items tend not to be catalogued individually in the relevant inventories and are generally submerged within larger collections of files pertaining to divisions, areas, or subjects of university administration where the archival description relates to content or function rather than format.⁹ Given these circumstances, a reliable survey of extant material is not currently possible. That is an undertaking that could only occur following an extensive survey of university archives.

In spite of these limitations, meaningful quantitative analysis of broadsheet publication at and for German universities remains a viable enterprise for the seventeenth century due to the large quantities of broadsheet publications incorporated into VD17. This catalogue can be interrogated in order to uncover or suggest patterns of production and consumption in a period when the range of material emanating from university presses had expanded and stabilised following the innovation of the mid-to-late sixteenth century. The identification of academic print in VD17 is not a straightforward process. The most useful VD17 search categories for the purposes of identifying print published by and at universities are '[GAT] Gattung/Form' and '[KOR] Körperschaft (Stichwort)'. Within the category '[GAT] Gattung/Form' one can search for 'Hochschulschrift', a sub-category which returns a large quantity of university print. One can combine these records with the results of a search for the keyword 'Universität' within the search category '[KOR] Körperschaft (Stichwort)' to provide a more complete list of university print recorded in VD17. This search yields 69,246 items.¹⁰ For the purposes of clarity, I shall call this 'Filter A'. As useful as these combined searches are, they do not return all relevant titles due to the fact that some records do not contain the necessary metadata. In order to provide a sense of where the upper ceiling might be for quantities of university print in VD17 one can also integrate Filter A with a '[TIT] Titel (Stichwort)' search for 'Academi*'. Although the majority of the books returned by a '[TIT] Titel (Stichwort)' search for 'Academi*' (hereafter 'Filter B') will connect in some way to the output of universities, it is important to note that this term will also throw up results with a tenuous or possibly no connection to universities. When combined, Filter A and Filter B return a total of 76,322 items (this combination will hereafter be described as 'Filter C'). This provides an

9 For a discussion of the range, character, and location of archival sources for early modern universities see Ulrich Rasche (ed.), *Quellen zur frühneuzeitlichen Universitätsgeschichte. Typen, Bestände, Forschungsperspektiven* (Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 2011).

10 All searches were conducted using the VD17 online catalogue (www.vd17.de) on 25 June 2015. Due to the dynamic nature of the catalogue, the search results are accurate for this date only.

indication of where the upper total of university print might be but cannot be regarded as an entirely reliable figure. In the following analysis, ranges (figures and percentages) will be provided to project the possible number of academic books that extend beyond the solid total returned using Filter A.

Using this method we are able to determine that the total number of academic publications in broadsheet format, recorded in VD17, is situated between 4,104 (using Filter A) and 5,058 (Filter C). Using these figures the percentage of academic publications printed in broadsheet recorded in VD17 is in the range of 5.93% to 6.63%. The percentage of broadsheet publications in VD17 that are academic in nature is in the range of 20.18% to 24.87%.

VD17 also allows us to determine which of these books are occasional publications. These can be identified through the use of the metadata filter 'Gelegenheitsschrift' which is a sub-category of '[GAT] Gattung/Form'. Using this method the total number of 'Gelegenheitsschriften' in VD17 is returned as 62,386. When combined with Filter A to identify the number printed by or for universities, a total of 11,953 is returned. This rises to 15,316 when calculated using Filter C. That suggests that between 19.16% and 24.56% of all occasional print recorded in VD17 are university publications. When the filter for single-sheet forms is applied we find that between 3,310 (Filter A) and 4,215 (Filter C) academic occasional publications are printed in broadsheet format, i.e. 27.69% and 27.52% of the totals respectively. Using the appropriate filters we can also determine that the total number of occasional publications recorded in VD17 that were printed in broadsheet format is 10,254 (16.44%). We can also calculate that the percentage of broadsheet occasional publications in VD17 that are university publications ranges between 32.28% (Filter A) and 41.1% (Filter C).

It is much more difficult to identify academic bureaucratic publications in VD17 due to the variety and complexity of search terms and filters that might be applied. In addition, as noted above, the survival and visibility of academic bureaucratic print in library catalogues is quite limited. The analysis of VD17 returns for university proclamations is the most reliable and illustrative of searches that can be performed for bureaucratic print. A total of 3,186 items are returned by VD17 when a search for 'Programma*' is entered in the Title field. Between 2,533 (Filter A) and 2,671 (Filter C) of these *programmata* emerged from universities, i.e. between 79.5% and 83.83% of the total number of *programmata* in VD17. When combined with the filter for single-sheet items we find that the number of university *programmata* that are published in single-sheet form ranges from 22 (Filter A) to 46 (Filter C), i.e. 0.87% and 1.72% respectively. These rather miniscule figures contradict impressions from personal use of archival holdings. This suggests that while such materials are extant in university archives, they are rarely recorded in standard book

catalogues such as VD17. This point has a wider application, namely that the exclusion of the print contents of archives from VD16 and VD17 can have a seriously distorting effect on the viability of these datasets as representative of the overall print production of Germany during these centuries.

While it may not be possible to enumerate the extent of broadsheet publishing by and for German universities in the sixteenth century, or to do so accurately or comprehensively for the seventeenth, given the relative scarcity of bureaucratic print in VD17, the available catalogues can provide an indication of the range and characteristics of single-sheet items produced. Academic broadsheet print reflects the span of general production undertaken by university printers.¹¹ University broadsheet print may be categorised as pedagogical, occasional, or bureaucratic in nature. With regard to pedagogical uses, broadsheet was typically employed where a summary or notice of content was of benefit, for example, in a lecture catalogue or in the listing of academic theses.¹² The bureaucratic uses of broadsheet print may be broadly categorised as representational or legal.¹³ With regard to the former, single-sheet print was most utilised for the purpose of providing notice of or extending general invitations to university events and ceremonies. With regard to legal uses of broadsheet, the employment of the format when publicising the pronouncements of university authorities was particularly common. I have not yet encountered the use of single-sheet print for non-public, internal bureaucratic purposes. This would suggest that the preference for print over manuscript for bureaucratic ends was primarily dictated by the intended use rather than motivations relating to cost. In this context it would appear that print became the preferred medium for outward and public communication. The most common use of

11 On the characteristics of single-sheet print and its production, beyond and including academic uses, see, for example, Volker Honemann, 'Zu Wesen und Bedeutung des textierten Einblattdrucks im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert', in Hagen Keller, Christel Meier & Thomas Scharff, *Schriftlichkeit und Lebenspraxis im Mittelalter. Erfassen, Bewahren, Verändern* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink 1999), pp. 333–348; Volker Honemann, Sabine Griesse, Falk Eisermann & Marcus Ostermann (eds.), *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000).

12 See, for example, the first Jesuit lecture catalogue of the University of Dillingen which was printed as a broadsheet in 1563. This is reproduced in Ulrich G. Leinsle, *Dilinganae Disputationes*, p. 30. For examples and discussion of printed Dillingen dissertations see *ibid.*

13 On the administrative uses of broadsheets see, for example, Falk Eisermann, 'Auflagenhöhen von Einblattdrucken im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert', in Volker Honemann, Sabine Griesse, Falk Eisermann & Marcus Ostermann (eds.), *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), pp. 143–177; pp. 158–173.

broadsheet was for the production of occasional ephemera. This conforms to patterns evident in the production of university print more generally where there is a significant growth of occasional publication from the 1560s onwards.

Occasional Print

A fashion for occasional print took hold in German universities from the 1560s.¹⁴ Indeed the fashion significantly altered the output of university printers, both in terms of character, the balance of offerings, and also the scale of their production. Since occasional print was highly responsive to everyday, local events it required speed and efficiency of production. These requirements were most easily met by local printers. Where a printer held a monopoly over university publishing he or she inevitably came to influence the character and design of printed output; stimulating, responding to, and directing typographical interests.¹⁵

University scholars availed themselves of occasional print to mark events of institutional, communal, and individual importance. Institutional occasions celebrated in this way ranged in scale from multi-day inauguration or centenary festivals to graduation ceremonies or significant dates in the semester calendar. At the level of individual and community, scholars made use of occasional print to congratulate scholars upon the award of degrees or other prizes, to celebrate the weddings of scholars or their progeny, or to commemorate the recently deceased through funeral orations and sermons, commemorative poetry, or in official proclamations. The catalogue searches described above indicate that the bulk of this academic occasional material was produced in multiple-sheet format and that the use of broadsheet was less common at 27.52% to 27.69% of the total. This is nevertheless significantly higher than the percentage of publications across the spectrum of academic print produced in single-sheet format which ranges from 5.92% to 6.63%.

The following examples of occasional broadsheets printed in Ingolstadt in the 1560s and 1570s are representative of general patterns of design and usage.

14 See, for example, Kirwan, 'From individual to archetype'.

15 The University of Rinteln had a female official printer from 1656 to 1665 in Agnes Lucius. See footnote 33 below. Another notable case of a female official printer was Katharina Gerlach who was the first to hold the office at the Altdorf Academy; see Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), pp. 5, 761–762.

The first example is that of a laud for Rudolph Clenck published by brothers Alexander and Samuel Samuel Weißenhorn upon the occasion of his *promotion* in Theology at the University of Ingolstadt in 1563.¹⁶ The author of the work, Johannes Lyresius, employs the artifice of an echoed response to his poetic utterances. The typographical layout of the sheet facilitates the representation of this effect and the large format provides a suitably-sized frame for the call and response device. The length of the text seems sufficient within the framework of the single sheet, whereas it might have appeared disjointed and overly brief had it been produced in a pamphlet format.

The second example is of a commemorative text printed by the Weißenhorn brothers in 1562 upon the death of Hieronymus Ziegler, who had been Professor of Poetry and History in Ingolstadt.¹⁷ A long title sets out the details of Ziegler's academic position, the date of his demise, and elaborates upon the character of the text. The body of the text contains a set of epitaphs in memory of Ziegler. A large font is employed to identify the author of each poem which serves as its 'title'. The epitaphs underneath are in a smaller font. The purpose and content of this publication are well served by the broadsheet format. The typographical arrangement draws attention to the fact that Ziegler is mourned by a community of learned men as represented by the authors of the epitaphs. The broadsheet format allows the purpose of the publication to be detected upon a cursory glance and with maximum impact. Similarly, it conveys readily the most crucial information about the deceased and allows for easy comprehension of the network of individuals who publically mourn his loss. The details of their concerns can then be appreciated through a closer reading of the poetry; which is again readily available to the interested reader. The visual impact of this text would not have been as profound if it had been printed across multiple sheets.

16 *Echo Elegiaca Ioannis Lyresii Clivani* (Ingolstadt: Alexander & Samuel Weißenhorn, 1563). A digitised copy is available via the 'Einblattdrucke der frühen Neuzeit' database of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB): http://bsbipad.bsb.lrz.de/nas/einblattdrucke/300001495_o_r.pdf. For a biography of Clenck see Carl von Prantl, 'Clenck, Rudolf', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 4 (1876), pp. 322–323; online edition URL: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/ppn119642840.html?anchor=adb>.

17 *Epitaphia, De obitu Clarissimi viri, D. Hieronymi Ziegleri Rotenburgensis* (Ingolstadt: Weißenhorn, 1563). A digitised copy is available via the BSB 'Einblattdrucke der frühen Neuzeit' database: http://bsbipad.bsb.lrz.de/nas/einblattdrucke/300000048_o_r.pdf. For a biography of Ziegler see Johannes Bolte, 'Ziegler, Hieronymus', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 45 (1900), pp. 173–175; online edition URL: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/ppn128679913.html?anchor=adb>.

A third example from Ingolstadt, printed by the firm of Weißenhorn, commemorates Nicolaus Everhard, professor of law at Ingolstadt.¹⁸ The broadsheet is published in 1573, three years after the subject's death. The broadsheet is adorned with a printed portrait of Everhard, centrally positioned. It includes poems from 13 separate authors. Those of professorial rank at Ingolstadt are displayed most prominently in the arrangement. This commemorative broadsheet incorporates the general design features of Wessenhorn's 1562 sheet described above with the striking addition of the printed portrait. As in the 1562 broadsheet, the most important information (biographical information on the deceased, the names of the poets) is emphasised through the careful and selective use of large font sizes and capitals. The use of the broadsheet format again allows for easy communication of the purpose of the text and ready apprehension of the status of the individual commemorated (conveyed through information on the deceased but also through the quantity and status of the contributors).

In each of these examples the suitability of the single-sheet format to occasional celebratory and commemorative uses is evident. The broadsheet format offered a visually arresting means of describing the essential details of the event being celebrated or commemorated. This included the identification of those participating in the celebration or commemoration. These were the fundamental functions of occasional print. The broadsheet then was the most direct and immediate form of occasional print available to scholars and academic printers.

Bureaucratic Print

Another significant development of the sixteenth century was an increased use of print for administrative purposes at German universities. In this regard, print was primarily utilised for the dissemination of official notices and ordinances. Broadsheet was particularly suited to such ends since it allowed for the easy apprehension of the contents, could be visually arresting, and could be pinned, lost and replaced at minimum cost. Bureaucratic print was used for

18 *Epigrammata, in Effigiem D. Nicolai Everhardi* (Ingolstadt: Weißenhorn, 1573). A digitised copy is available via the BSB 'Einblattdrucke der frühen Neuzeit' database: http://bsbipad.bsb.lrz.de/nas/einblattdrucke/300000049_o_r.pdf. For a biography of Everhard see Theodor Muther, 'Everhardus, Nicolaus', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 6 (1877), pp. 435–437; online edition URL: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/ppnug386283.html?anchor=adb>.

public communication rather than internal administrative purposes. Official notifications were not always produced in printed form, however. Single-sheet pronouncements in clear and elegant manuscript were issued with frequency, and often survive without any corresponding printed text. The widespread persistence of manuscript notices into the age of print points to their efficiency as a form of official communication. Conversely, it also suggests something of the limitations of print.¹⁹

One area of bureaucratic concern that necessitated public pronouncements was that relating to student discipline. In this regard, university authorities often sought to communicate their policies and decisions to various publics within and outside the university. Printed notices were often used for such communication. The following examples of bureaucratic print relate to an instance of student indiscipline at the University of Königsberg in 1686. The three printed notices discussed below are located in a file on the incident in the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (GStPK) in Berlin which houses a large segment of the university's archive. The archival inventory describes the file on the incident but does not note the presence of printed notices within. For reasons such as this, inventories of university archives are generally of limited use when it comes to the identification of printed matter. Happening upon the examples of bureaucratic print in the GStPK accords with my personal experiences in other university archives. The suggestion that the following examples of bureaucratic print are representative of general trends is based on such experience rather than statistical analysis. As noted above, a reliable quantitative survey would be a major undertaking.

The series of broadsheet notices in question were published by the Rector and Senate of the University of Königsberg in late 1686. They serve as an illuminating example of how university authorities sought to communicate their positions on issues of social concern. Three printed notices survive; dated 22 September, 24 November, and 15 December 1686 respectively.²⁰ These related pronouncements concern a disturbance in the city that occurred when university students attended a wedding celebration without invitation and became involved in a brawl. The first notice was published in the immediate aftermath of the incident (Fig. 14.1).²¹ The notice expresses the Senate's disgust at the

19 On the bureaucratic uses of broadsheets in general see Eisermann, 'Auflagenhöhen von Einblattdrucken', pp. 158–173.

20 GStPK, XX. HA Historisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Etatsministerium: Abteilung 139 Universität Königsberg, J: Judicialia, Nr. 10: ff. 7–9. The description of this folder in the inventory is as follows: 'Oberräte und Kurfürst wegen der Studentenkrawalle 1686/87'.

21 *Rector et Senatus Academiae Regiomontanae L.S. ... P.P. d. 22. Septemb. 1686* ([Königsberg]: s.n., 1686).

RECTOR ET SENATUS ACADEMIÆ REGIOMONTANÆ

L. S.

Divini Numinis imitatore Dæmonem esse, & quicquid illud sibi ex meritis tribuit, hunc sibi injustissimè arrogare, alias diduximus copiosè. Nunc *DEUS* O. M. numero, ut loquitur Poëta, *impare gaudet*, & in omnibus Tria concupiscit: non aliter Dæmon, ubiq; trigeminam impellit ad improbitatem! Impulit eheu! & studiosam nostram Juventutem & inflamat ad tria nefanda crimina, quæ integram per urbem & R. P. sunt conclamata. Primum enim excusso omni pudore, quidam perfrictæ frontis nostrorum Civium, publicis, non invitati, se nuptiarum solennitatibus ingerunt, accumbunt mensis, ducunt choreas, & quod pejus rixas & jurgia movent, ex quibus tumultus, verbera, vulnera sequuntur. O Nefas! Itane Canes æmulamini, qui non rogati sub tricliniis repunt, immeritis rodunt carnes & ossa, mox publicos parietes latratibus implent, aut ululatu. Itane brutescant, in quibus sana ratio, omnes ante elucescere debebat? Ita decorum ordinem, & honestatem migrent, quibus, modestis actionibus, nihil prius esse debebat aut antiquius? Si culpa est rebus se non attinentibus misceri, quam vetitum nefas epulis & eduliis & conviviis, os impudenter ingerere. Hæc parasitis indoles, quibus vos turpiores, cum impudentiam tumultuosâ exasperatis crudelitate. Nec minus delictum vestrum est, quod improbi quidam ex vestro ordine, ubi Baccho litarunt strenuè, tempore nocturno per plateas grassantur, stentoreis vociferationibus cœli fornices implent, publicam quietem interturbant, quin excubitores & vigiliis pro publicâ securitatis custodiâ locatos, vexant, exagitant & ad consilium provocant & sollicitant. Vah! ubi pudor? itane decet studiosum modestiæ, cum imâ plebis hominibus commisceri. Ubi Magistratûs summi, imi reverentia, cum illius militi insultatis? Vilis vobis vigiles conditionis videntur? Vos viliores, aut pares certè illis, dum ferro cum illis decernere, non erubescitis. Et viles sint, Isidis tamen illos sacra ferre, expendere debebatis. Quanquam vigilantis & pro vobis & pro tranquillitate omnium militiæ, quæ indignitas esse potest? Hæc autem quæ protervia, quod nocturni grassatores, saxi & lapidibus, sænestras innocuas temerè excutitis, & damna multa, ex quibus ne mica utilitatis vobis accedit, Civitati infertis. Sed cum in omnibus crescentibus in R. P. delictis exasperandæ pœnæ sint, vos tot concumulata delicta posthac non impunè designabitis. Severè enim, ut ab his tribus capitalibus abstineatis criminibus edicimus & interminamur, sine ullâ exceptione nos publicâ Relegatione illos esse proscripturos: qui vel non invitati nuptiarum se festivitatis civium miscuerint, qui Vigiliis turbaverint, qui quater sænestras fuerint deprehensi. Sunt illæ minæ, quæ certè per relegationum fulmina in capita fontium detonabunt. P. P. d. 22. Septemb. 1686.



FIGURE 14.1 Pronouncement of the Rector and Senate of the University of Königsberg, 22 September 1686.

BERLIN, GEHEIMES STAATSARCHIV Preußischer KULTURBESITZ, XX.
HA HISTORISCHES STAATSARCHIV KÖNIGSBERG, ETATSMINISTERIUM:
ABTEILUNG 139 UNIVERSITÄT KÖNIGSBERG, J: JUDICIALIA, NR. 10: F. 7.

behaviour of the students (they are compared to dogs) and is used to issue a stark warning how the university will deal with these infringements, i.e. through public banishment of those implicated. The second notice in the sequence, dated 24 November, is a curious document.²² It constitutes an attempt to intimidate the student body and particularly those involved in the wedding unrest. The notice makes it clear that Elector Frederick William was considering taking the matter into his own hands. His soldiers, the students are informed, patrol the streets and are likely to inflict the harshest of punishments should they apprehend the culprits. The guilty parties are encouraged to come forward before it is too late to avail themselves of the protection afforded by the university's statutes and privileges. The final broadsheet in this series signals the resolution of the matter (Fig. 14.2).²³ The Senate's investigation, it is claimed, has uncovered the guilt of Johannes Christian Jünger, a student from Dresden. The severity of his transgression, the reader is informed, is compounded by the fact that he would have been aware of the university's prohibitions when he attended the wedding without an invitation. The notice announces a sentence of banishment, not just from the university and city but from the province as a whole. It justifies this harsh sentence, stating that it is the product of reason, not passion, and by citing examples from the natural world where malign elements are purged in the common interest.

These three printed notices were targeted primarily at the student body which the university authorities sought to instruct, coerce, and discipline. However, it is clear that the Senate also had other audiences in mind when publishing these pronouncements. Most obvious among these were those most directly affected by student indiscipline, the burghers of Königsberg. Reference to Frederick William suggests that the professors also had the Great Elector in mind when publishing these notices. The jurisdictional independence of universities, typically asserted in statutes and privileges, was often a source of discontent among academics and burghers.²⁴ It was widely believed that universities were overly lenient or uninterested in prosecuting students

22 *Rector et Senatus Academiae Regiomontanae L.S. ... P.P. d. 24. Novembr. 1686* ([Königsberg]: Reusner, 1686).

23 *Rector et Senatus Academiae Regiomontanae L.S. ... P.P. d. 15. Decemb. 1686* ([Königsberg]: Reusner, 1686).

24 On the interactions between town and gown in the early modern period see, for example, Erich Maschke & Jürgen Sydow, *Stadt und Universität im Mittelalter und in der früheren Neuzeit* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1977).

RECTOR ET SENATUS, ACADEMIÆ REGIOMONTANÆ

L. S. D.



O pœnarum irrogatio spectat, ut fontes & sibi & aliis meliores reddantur non sine castigatione quidem, sed, sine irâ. Nimirum Judex Medicum agit, qui nunquam irascitur, cui medetur. Et videtur quidem sævitia, cum exulceratas partes Machaonia manus urit & secatur; cum illa tamen proficiat ad sanitatem. Par emolumentum à judicis pœnâ est. Dixit hæc meus Seneca, cum scripsit: *Numquid membra sua odit, tunc cum abscondit? non est illa ira, sed misera curatio.* Rabidos affligimus canes, trucem ac immanisvetum bovem cædimus & morbidis pecoribus ne gregem polluant, ferrum demittimus, portentosos fœtus exstinguimus, liberos quoque, si debiles monstrosique editi sunt, mergimus. Non ira sed ratio est à sanis inutilia secernere. Nihil minus quam irasci punientem decet, cum eo magis ad emendationem pœna proficiat, si judicio lata est. Laudat hoc justitiæ exercitium, quod sine felle est & irâ, Claudianus in suo Principe:

*Quin etiam fontes expulsâ corrigis irâ
Et placidos delicta domas nec dentibus unquam
Instrepis borrendum fremitu nec verbera poscis,
Qui fruitor pœnâ servus est legumque videtur
Vindictam præstare sibi, cum viscera felle
Canduerint: ardet stimulis ferturque nocendi
Prodigis, ignarus cause Diis proximus ille est,
Quem ratio non ira movet, qui facta rependens*

Consilio punire potest. Hæc nobis in animo, quoties in improbitatem animadvertendum est; ut bene Civibus omnibus cupientes, ob publicam totius corporis Academici salutem, sine ullâ malevolentia tamen, pœnas dictemus iudices, quas necessitas exposulat. Illa pœna non à nobis, sed est à delictis. Plerique enim, (ut Agrippa apud Dionem Cassium loquitur) non admonitionibus, non exemplis in alios statutis emendantur: sed necessitas exigit, ut ignominia, aut exilio, aut morte mulctati coerçantur. Nos quam severe monuimus, ut ne quis civium, non legitime invitatus Nuptiarum se ingereret solennitatibus. Hoc assecuti sumus, ut præstita non fuerit Paritio, sed Programma nostrum à maleferiatis quibusdam injuriâ sit affectum & pedibus conculcatum. Tu vero, Johannes Christiane Jünger, Dresdensis Saxo., inter recentia nostræ inquisitionis, cum diffiteri non potueris, non invitatum te Hospitem Nuptiis miscuisse, insuper cum ex Statutorum nostrorum tenore, ex juramenti declinatione reum te, conculcati nostri Programmati reddideris: hinc te in perpetuum relegamus & ante Solis occasum hæc Urbe, & totâ deinceps Provinciâ amotum esse jubemus. P. P. d. 15. Decemb. 1686.



PRÆLOREUSNERIANO.

FIGURE 14.2 Pronouncement of the Rector and Senate of the University of Königsberg, 15 December 1686.

BERLIN, GEHEIMES STAATSARCHIV PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, XX.
HA HISTORISCHES STAATSARCHIV KÖNIGSBERG, ETATS MINISTERIUM:
ABTEILUNG 139 UNIVERSITÄT KÖNIGSBERG, J: JUDICIALIA, NR. 10: F. 8.

who had inflicted injury on townsfolk.²⁵ In the case of the Königsberg wedding unrest of 1686 it is clear that the university sought to reassure the citizens that they would take the necessary steps to curtail unruly student behaviour. These notices then served to bear witness to the operation of university justice and its commitment to the welfare of the Königsberg burghers. They had, therefore, both representational and legal functions. With regard to the latter, the notices state and enact regulations to be observed by the student body and they promulgate the legal decisions of the university senate. They are artefacts of the university's authority. The preference for print over manuscript points to its value in expressing authority and indicating permanence.

Bureaucratic uses of single-sheet print ranged beyond the legal and disciplinary arena. The format was often adopted to advertise important events such as university festivities and ceremonies or to give notice of academic funerals. The representational character of such official notices is revealed in a set of broadsheets published to advertise graduation ceremonies at the University of Würzburg in 1591 and 1592.²⁶ Notice is given of the date and locations of the ceremonies, the names of the *promotor* and graduands, the latter listed by degree type and, in the case of the Jesuits, by clerical affiliation. The notices also list the questions set for the public examination. Each notice is heavily ornamented with devices characterising the piety and learning of the university and a display of the arms of Prince-Bishop Julius Echter. As a format, the large single-sheet permits such a range of text and image to be displayed coherently and in an arresting fashion. Notices of this type demonstrate the representational potency of broadsheets and the advantages of the format over multi-sheet printing or indeed over manuscript when it came to official communication.

25 On the question of student discipline and the jurisdiction of universities see especially Stefan Brüdermann, *Göttinger Studenten und akademische Gerichtsbarkeit im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990). On the character of student society in Königsberg see Hans-Georg Balder, *Das Korporationsleben in Königsberg. Studenten an der Albertina 1544 bis 1945* (Hilden: WJK, 2010), pp. 106–114.

26 *Idibus Februarii, in aula maiore Kilianei, ex infra scriptis adolescentibus ... publica senatus philosophici auctoritate ... pronuntiabit ... Ioannes Möllhusinus* (Würzburg: Aquensis, 1591), Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, signature: M.ch.f. 259 and *Deo opt. max. bene favente Nonis Februar. anni MDLXXXII ... Ioannes Deun Bussidius, ex his, quorum nomina subiecta sunt, philosophiae candidatis ... renuntiabit* (Würzburg: Fleischmann, [1592]), Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, signature: M.ch.f. 259. These broadsheets are also discussed and reproduced in Kirwan, *Empowerment*, pp. 104–105, 326–327. For a very similar *promotion* notice from the University of Dillingen published in 1577 see Leinsle, *Dilinganae Disputationes*, p. 80.

The Role of the University Printer

The relationship between printers and universities could have considerable influence on the range and character of academic publishing at a particular institution. As noted above, certain materials required by scholars such as learned or curricular texts – for which there was a more general demand – could be obtained from booksellers and fairs. Other niche products were less easily sourced, however. This led universities to engage the services of printers directly. For universities situated in major cities and printing centres such as Leipzig it was not difficult to find suitable and willing printers to meet their specialist requirements. In these settings, certain printers were preferred and granted a monopoly over production. The appointment of a specific university printer was much more necessary in smaller cities or towns which did not already support printing businesses. For peripheral universities the task of attracting suitably qualified printers could be difficult and necessitated the offer of attractive terms of employment. Peter Lucius I, for example, was granted a salary of 50 Taler per annum and accommodation in the university building upon appointment to office of ‘university printer’ at the University of Rinteln in 1622.²⁷ Such conditions had a bearing on the nature of academic print production and stimulated the fashions and demand for certain products, among them specific forms of broadsheet publishing.

The family firm of Jakob Lucius provides an instructive example of how relationships between university and printer sustained and encouraged certain kinds of production. Lucius and his heirs served as printers to various universities between 1555 and 1639. Jakob Lucius’s first university-related employment was as an illustrator for Kaspar Heltai, printer and humanist, in Cluj-Napoca.²⁸ In 1555 he migrated to Wittenberg to work for the printer Hans Lufft. In 1556 he established himself as an independent wood engraver and printer. Lucius migrated once more in 1564 to Rostock where he was installed as printer to the university (i.e. in the newly established university print works). He migrated again in 1579 to the recently established University of Helmstedt, a move that corresponded to that of many of Helmstedt’s new professors. According to Hans Lülfling, Lucius’s departure from Rostock was also precipitated

²⁷ Reske, *Buchdrucker*, p. 858.

²⁸ On Jakob Lucius (and heirs) see Jakob Franck, ‘Lucius, Jakob’, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 19 (1884), pp. 352–354, online edition URL: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/ppn123129885.html?anchor=adb>; Hans Lülfling, ‘Lucius, Jakob der Ältere’, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 15 (1987), pp. 279 f., online edition URL: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/ppn123129885.html>; Reske, *Buchdrucker*, pp. 366–368, 795.

by difficulties in his relationship with the university. Lucius obtained, following petition from Helmstedt's professors, a 10-year privilege against reprints in Braunschweig lands.²⁹ Lucius remained at Helmstedt until 1597 when he died from the plague along with his wife and eight of his 13 children.³⁰ Upon his death one of his 13 children, also Jakob, took over the family firm, being granted the post of university printer in Helmstedt in 1600. This he held until his death in 1616. The firm came under the supervision of the factor, Henning Müller, on behalf of the 'Erben Jacobi Lucii'.³¹ In 1634 Jakob Lucius III, son of Jakob Lucius II, assumed control of the firm.³² He died in 1639 and his heirs sold the firm to Henning Müller. In 1640 Rebecca Lucius married the son of the factor, also Henning Müller, who absorbed and replaced the Lucius Helmstedt imprint.³³

The relationship between the University of Helmstedt and the family Lucius was mutually beneficial. The dynamics of the exchange – social, cultural, economic – between printer and institution had a significant bearing on the type of print produced by Lucius and his heirs. By the time he arrived at Helmstedt, Lucius was an accomplished and proven printer of academic matter from learned texts and dissertations to festive and commemorative books. Indeed his first publication for the university, the *Historica Narratio de Introductione Vniversitatis Iuliae* (Helmstedt, 1579), a record of the inaugural festivities, brought together these various strands of expertise.³⁴ Given his many years of experience as an academic printer in Wittenberg and then Rostock, Lucius would have been an attractive proposition for the Helmstedt professors. The professors were anxious, as was their patron Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, to secure the reputation of the fledgling university by importing

29 Reske, *Buchdrucker*, p. 367.

30 Franck, 'Lucius, Jakob' (online edition); Reske, *Buchdrucker*, p. 367.

31 Franck, 'Lucius, Jakob' (online edition); Reske, *Buchdrucker*, p. 367.

32 Ibid., p. 368.

33 Another dynastic firm of printers bearing the surname Lucius operated in the University of Rinteln. It is not known whether these firms were related by blood although the suspicion can be entertained. Peter Lucius I was the first person to hold the office of university printer in Rinteln and was installed by the Rector and patron Graf Ernst von Holstein-Schaumburg in 1622. After Peter died in 1656, the firm was managed by his wife Agnes until her death in 1665. She was succeeded by her son Petrus Lucius II, born in 1628, the second son of Peter Lucius I, who obtained a privilege after the Rinteln professors lobbied on his behalf. See Reske, *Buchdrucker*, pp. 858–859.

34 For a detailed discussion of Lucius' *Historica Narratio* see Kirwan, *Empowerment*, pp. 68–81.

academic staff, structures and practices from elsewhere.³⁵ The acquisition of an academic publisher like Lucius was part of this process.

Lucius brought the latest fashions of academic print to Helmstedt. In particular he promoted a fashion for occasional ephemera. Indeed from his early years at Helmstedt a significant proportion of his output was occasional print. The publication of bureaucratic print in single-sheet format by Lucius is less visible in the relevant catalogues (the USTC contains six broadsheets published by Lucius at Helmstedt) although examples of such print can be found in the archives of the university.³⁶ This follows the general pattern of survival and visibility described above. We can speculate about the reasons for the proliferation of these niche products from the Lucius press. It may have been the case that the printer encouraged a fashion for such material among his academic customers. This of course would have made very good business sense and the balance of output from the Helmstedt press in the early years suggests that it was necessary to make the firm viable. It was also the case that the university authorities commissioned the production of occasional works to express corporate sentiment. The use of print for such purposes may in part have been stimulated by the need to justify and sustain the office of university printer in the fledgling and geographically remote institution. Indeed the petitioning of the professors in favour of Lucius when it came to the grant of the privilege for the Braunschweig lands demonstrates the extent to which they were concerned about the viability of his business. In small university towns like Helmstedt, where social ties within the academic community were narrow and tight, the ability to build strong social networks was particularly important.³⁷ These networking practices extended to the families of printers. In this context support of a printer's business was social and personal as well as economic. The printed output of these university printers reflected these interconnected social and economic dynamics.

35 Richard Kirwan, 'Scholarly reputations and institutional prestige. The fashioning of the public image of the University of Helmstedt, 1576–1680' in *History of Universities*, XXV/2 (2011), pp. 51–79.

36 The archives of the former University of Helmstedt are located in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Wolfenbüttel (signature: 37 Alt) and the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Hannover (signature: Calenberg Briefarchiv 21).

37 On the Protestant 'family' university see, for example, Matthias Asche, 'Über den Nutzen von Landesuniversitäten in der Frühen Neuzeit – Leistung und Grenzen der protestantische "Familienuniversität"', in Peter Herde & Anton Schindling (eds.), *Universität Würzburg und Wissenschaft in der Neuzeit. Beiträge zur Bildungsgeschichte gewidmet Peter Baumgart anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages* (Würzburg: Schöningh, 1998), pp. 133–149.

Conclusion

The nature of broadsheet publication at and for German universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflects the character of academic publishing more generally. As was the case with multi-sheet volumes, broadsheets were published to fulfil a diversity of academic specialist requirements from the production of books facilitating the core functions of the university to items that were less essential to university teaching. These non-essential items were published with greater frequency from the 1560s and as such their production contributed to the general expansion in academic publishing that commenced in this decade. In particular the period from 1560 to 1630 witnessed a boom in the publishing of occasional works and an increase in the production of bureaucratic print. These developments are reflected across formats. Broadsheet was the most disposable and least permanent of forms. In cases where few copies were required, manuscript could be as, if not more, efficient than print in terms of cost and labour. The use of single-sheet print, therefore, was often at the soft end of necessity, particularly when it came to occasional and bureaucratic matter. Due to the limitations of size and space, broadsheets were suited to succinct and direct communication. They encapsulated and brought to the fore the representational intentions of their producers. For these various reasons, the study of broadsheets reveals much about the forces and ambitions that drove the general growth in the production of academic print in this period. It suggests that it was driven by an increased awareness of the utility of cheap print. As a representational medium, print was highly reproducible and conveyed a monumental sense of permanence. It expressed and represented authority in an elegant, forceful, and seemingly controlled manner. The diversification of print production beyond learned and curricular texts also served certain local economic and social agendas. With the proliferation of universities following the Reformation, which were often founded to serve particular confessional orthodoxies in peripheral regions, the need for an institutional printer became increasingly important. It is likely that scholars commissioned less essential publications, such as bureaucratic broadsheet print, in an effort to ensure the viability of the office of university printer. This would have been particularly important in out-of-the-way universities like Rinteln or Helmstedt. For their part, university printers were likely to have encouraged certain fashions that would have increased their income. These various factors and forces stimulated innovation, in both single- and multi-sheet formats, which in turn accelerated the boom in academic cheap print.

Cheap Print and the Academic Market: The Printing of Dissertations in Sixteenth-Century Louvain

Malcolm Walsby

The survival of single sheet items printed in the sixteenth century owes much to chance. Their inherent fragility meant that their use often involved exposing them to damage that eventually entailed their destruction. In most instances, when they are known today, it is because a single copy has somehow avoided destruction. Cases such as the broadsheet printed for the town of Troyes which survives in no fewer than twenty-two copies are very much the exception rather than the rule; here we seem to have the remaining stock of copies that were not required for distribution.¹ Such haphazard survival was complemented by acts of conscious collecting – as is demonstrated by the ephemera produced during the Catholic League gathered together by Pierre de L'Estoile in the 1580s and 90s.² At first glance, this seems also to be true for the case presented here. The Louvain dissertations that are the object of this study survived because they were methodically collected and bound into a single volume.

Despite this careful attempt to preserve these imprints, all knowledge of their existence had been lost and none of the editions were listed in the specialist bibliographies of printing in the Southern Low Countries in the sixteenth century prior to the publication of *Netherlandish Books*.³ Part of the reason for this neglect was the way in which they were catalogued. Though they are preserved in one of the world's major rare book collections, the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, very little attempt had been made to describe them properly.

1 *De par monsieur le baillly de Troyes ou son lieutenant* (27.04.1589), (Troyes : [Jean Moreau], 1589), USTC 59290, Archives Municipales de Troyes, Layette 20. See also chapter one, for examples from Antwerp.

2 On L'Estoile's collecting see Tom Hamilton, *A Storehouse of Curiosities: Pierre de L'Estoile and his World in the Wars of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

3 Elly Cockx-Indestege and Geneviève Glorieux, *Belgica typographica, 1541–1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1968–1994). Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby, *NB: Netherlandish Books. Books Published in the Low Countries and in the Dutch Language Abroad Before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

As is the case with a surprising number of composite volumes or *Sammelbände*, the librarian who should have listed all the items separately simply resorted to giving a general title to the volume. This was then mis-transcribed when the on-line catalogue was created, which left the editions regrouped under the mangled title “Quoestio theologica”.⁴

The lack of consideration with which these items were treated is not untypical of the wider disregard for unillustrated single sheet items, as is demonstrated by their exclusion from some large scale bibliographies such as the German VD16. Being written in Latin and dealing with some of the theological issues that preoccupied the sixteenth-century Catholic Church, the dissertations were undoubtedly not considered to be particularly interesting by the time they were catalogued. The composite volume preserved in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* contains 226 items that represent 214 different editions. From the dates given on the sheets, they range over twelve years from 1577 to 1588, though almost a third do not have any indication as to the date at which they were published. Each text presents the work of a theology student enrolled at the University of Louvain in the form of an academic dissertation addressing an aspect of Catholic doctrine.

Despite the manifest lack of interest from scholars, their examination is very revealing of the academic market for cheap print that developed in early modern European universities. Furthermore, their analysis helps us better to understand some of the practices of the University of Louvain and its theology students. As some of the sheets bear the marks of their readers, we can also gain some insight into how the items were used and how they were collected and preserved. This suggests, as will be argued here, that the point at which they were gathered together into the bound volume marks the end of their useful life, after a period of fluid and dynamic use where the dissertations went through several earlier stages of collection and consultation.

Printing Academic Broadsheets

The bibliographic information provided on the dissertations is in most cases very limited. Only 16 of the 214 editions bear the name of the printer's workshop in which they were produced. In all, there are three printers named: Reinerus Velpius the younger (active 1573–1577, 12 editions), Andries Corthoudt (1576–1577, three editions) and Jacob Heyberghs (1567–1596, one edition). Though there is no indication of the place of publication, all these printers

4 <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb33570635d>, accessed 11 February 2016.

were active in Louvain. In the context of the production of such short pieces which required only limited investment, a local printer was a logical choice. It enabled the university to keep a close eye on what was being produced and build a relationship with a local workshop. There are, however, instances of such dissertations being published in nearby towns. In Nantes, for instance, a quarrel between one of the university's bookseller-printers and one of the colleges revealed that the cost of printing the dissertations was the subject of much disagreement. The better price offered by the printers of another university town, Angers, showed that printing the items in the immediate vicinity was not necessarily an automatic choice.⁵

Where were the remaining 198 editions printed? Not only did the vast majority of these items fail to indicate the name of the printer, they also did not share the same characteristics as those with an imprint. The types used were not the same size whilst the ornate letters and typographic ornaments were of different styles. It is also notable that the typographic habits of the workshop were at odds with those that did bear a printer's name: the large bulk of the dissertations, indeed, seem to have been the work of a single unnamed workshop. The editions published by Velpius, for instance, vary considerably in their choice of woodcut ornaments, of type and in the layout of the text compared to the unsigned editions. This greater variety can perhaps be seen as reflecting a more assertive approach mirrored in his decision to include his name on the sheets. Despite these variances, there were many shared similarities between the different editions. Most notably, all three printers chose to insert the imprint details at the bottom of the page, mimicking in this the layout of traditional title pages.

This adoption of patterns traditionally used on the title pages of books is consistent throughout the composite volume. Each edition included, first of all, information about the content of the work, generally in the form of a generic short title. In most cases this was "Quaestio theologica", often separated from the rest of the text and made more visible by the use of an ornate frame or a filet. The question that was to be resolved then followed with the response that occupied, in most cases, approximately two thirds of the printed page. Then came the student's name indicated in the middle of the page and in many cases separated from the preceding part by the use of a filet or a typographical ornament. Finally, at the bottom of the page, there were either the

5 See Malcolm Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany, 1480–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2011) pp. 121–123 and Léon Maître, 'Une procédure universitaire au collège de Nantes contre le monopole des libraires au XVI^e siècle' *Annales de Bretagne*, XXII (1907) 224–238. The original document is in the AD Loire-Atlantique.

commercial details on the printing of the work or information on where and when the dissertation was to be defended. This mirrored the division of the title page into the title, contents, intellectual authority and commercial details that became the norm on title pages in the francophone world in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.⁶

Analysis of the typographical choices tells a similar story. In a number of the unsigned imprints, the printer chose to highlight the name of the student by the use of a different set of type. In some cases this involved the insertion of characters taken from a set of *bastarde* type resembling *civilité*. This font originally devised by Robert Granjon in France had never been fully adopted by printers in the Low Countries. Its use remained occasional and, by the final decades of the sixteenth century, it was typically only employed as a visual device.⁷ This was usually on the title page, as is demonstrated by the imprints of contemporary printers as varied as Julien du Clos in Rennes or Christophe Plantin in Antwerp.⁸ In this way, the typographical choices, just like the layout of the dissertations, imitated the prevalent presentation of title pages.

Almost all the sheets used a frame to encase the dissertation's text. The adoption of borders was equally reminiscent of many title pages. After having been introduced at the end of the incunabula age, they became particularly popular during the following decades.⁹ Though they never became habitual in the francophone world, in Germany as in England, they remained popular throughout the century.¹⁰ In the dissertations, the borders remained of simple design, made up of a series of small floral typographical ornaments. This was more reminiscent of the English rather than the more decorative German model. Taken as a whole, the design, layout and typographical choices sought to facilitate reading. They made these items easy for contemporaries to

6 The breakdown and evolution of the French title page is analysed in Malcolm Walsby, 'La circulation et l'économie du livre imprimé en France pendant la Renaissance', *Habilitation à diriger des recherches*, Université Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2015.

7 On the development of this type by Robert Granjon see Rémi Jimenes, *Les caractères de civilité: typographie et calligraphie sous l'Ancien régime, France, XVIe–XIXe siècles*, (Gap: Atelier Perrousseaux, 2011).

8 Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany*, p. 127 and Louis Van den Eede, Roland De Winter and Marijke Helleman, *Letters proeven, Prenten smaken: dubbeltentoonstelling Plantin-Moretus en het Prentenkabinet* (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus and Stad Antwerpen, 2004) pp. 76–77.

9 Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page, its early development 1460–1510* (London: British Library, 2000) pp. 131–134.

10 See in particular the examples given in A.F. Johnson, *German Renaissance Title-Borders: Facsimiles and Illustrations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929).

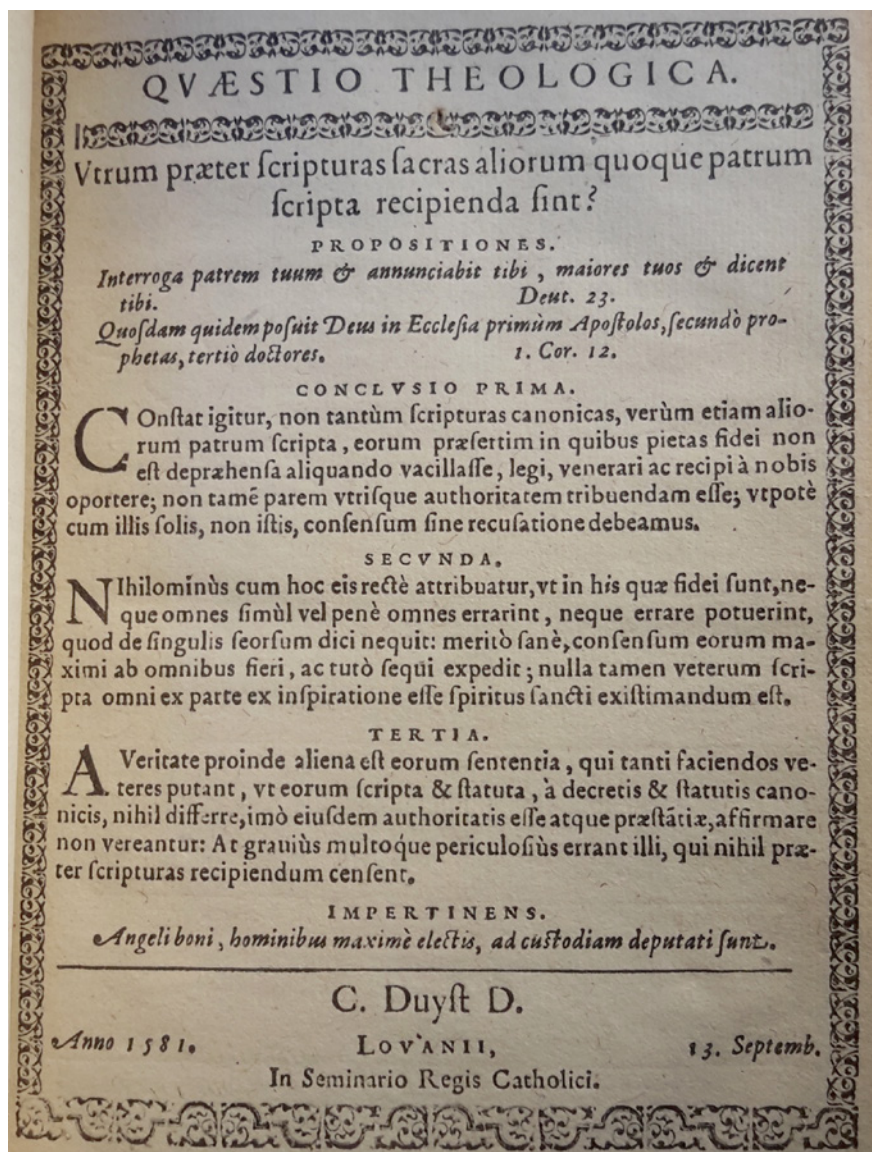


FIGURE 15.1 Cornelius Duyt, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum præter scripturas sacras aliorum quoque patrum scripta recipienda sint?* 13.09.1581 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1581], showing typical layout of the dissertations. USTC 442482. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, D 9526 (10).

decipher. The formulaic nature of their presentation would have been familiar to the sixteenth-century reader.

This familiarity of style and layout was reflected in the manner in which they had been produced. In every case, the paper was placed so as to have the main chain-lines running horizontally, as with a quarto. This choice is interesting: it mimicked the format of pamphlets, royal ordonnances and, more generally, the majority of ephemeral output in the Low Countries. The imprints in the volume are, however, slightly smaller than would have traditionally been the case with a quarto (a cut height just under 19.5 cm) but retain much the same proportions.¹¹ As such, it offered itself to the reader in what could be considered as a conventional format that he would have easily associated with the medium of ephemeral print.

As we have noted, most of the dissertations did not give any indication of their printer's identity. This anonymity was, however, superficial. Unlike the attempts of publishers involved with polemical texts who actively sought to hide their association with an imprint, this was anonymity by default.¹² The anonymous printer simply decided not to include his name on an often already crowded page. Since other workshops inserted these details we may infer that this was the printer's decision. This suggests that it was in no way a university requirement. It would also seem to indicate that the printer was likely to be a more modest figure than men like Reinerus Velpius, who was both a printer and an active publisher as well as being the son of the well-established and successful bookseller Rutger Velpius.

This supposition is borne out by typographical analysis. The type as well as the ornate letters and other woodcut ornaments tell us that the anonymous printer was Joannes Masius, or Jan Maes, a figure who has attracted very little scholarly attention. Not only is he absent from general works about printing in the Southern Netherlands, he does not even figure in the study of books in Louvain sponsored by the University of Louvain itself.¹³ Born in Louvain, he had

11 Philip Gaskell estimates uncut height of a quarto at a minimum of 19.5 cm, see his *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) p. 86.

12 On the different levels of anonymity see Malcolm Walsby, 'L'auteur et l'imprimé polémique et éphémère français au seizième siècle' in Martine Furno & Raphaële Mouren (eds) *Auteur, traducteur, collaborateur, imprimeur... qui écrit?* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013) 35–56 at pp. 47–54.

13 Christopher Coppens (ed.), *Leuven in books, books in Leuven: the oldest university of the Low Countries and its library* (Louvain: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1999). A very brief summary of his career is given in Pierre Delsaert, *Suam quisque bibliothecam: boekhandel en particulier boekenbezit aan de oude Leuvense universiteit, 16de-18de eeuw* (Louvain: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2001) p. 389.

moved to Antwerp where he worked for Plantin before returning to his home town in 1567. A sworn printer of the University, he sometimes undertook his own publishing ventures, but his output was dominated by works he published for other local booksellers such as Velpius and Petrus and Philippus Zangrius. Though he is only credited with printing “plusieurs dizaines d'ouvrages” by Rouzet's dictionary of printers and publishers, the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* acknowledges him as the printer of over 200 imprints apart from the dissertations attributed to him here.¹⁴

Close inspection shows that three different sizes of type were used by the printer of the unsigned dissertations: a Small Pica (R 70) for the main text, a Pica (R 80) and a Great Primer (R 118).¹⁵ An identical Roman Pica is to be found in the core text of Masius's version of Jacobus Janssonius's *In sacrum Missae Canonem, quo Romana utitur Ecclesia, expositio*, as well as in Jean de Lens's *De fidelium animarum purgatorio libri duo*, which also employed an identical Great Primer to print the dedication.¹⁶ Finally, the Small Pica appears in the five lines that constitute the second approbation of a *Catholici ecclesiastae instructio*.¹⁷ As for the *bastarde* type, this was used by Masius in his edition of Antonius Sexagius's treatise on the Dutch language *De orthographia linguae Belgicae*.¹⁸

The ornate letters provide further confirmation. Several different alphabets were used by the printer, in particular a large unframed floral set (22 by 22 mm), which also appears in all of the works produced by Masius discussed above. Less common in Masius's other imprints, were a group of historiated initials with a bestiary theme and a double frame (20 by 20 mm), which was probably from an older, less fashionable set. This could have been initials that he mainly used in ephemeral print, keeping his better alphabet for more

14 See Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1975) p. 143.

15 The precise sizes (converted into 20 line measurements) are in millimetres: [R 70] 70 x 1.8: 2.5; [R 80] 80 x 1.8: 2.8; [R 118] 118 x 2.4: 3.9. The formula follows the convention developed by Hendrik D.L. Vervliet in his *The Paleotypography of the French Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) I, pp. 3–5, and his *French Renaissance Types. A Conspectus* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 2010) pp. 54 and 59.

16 Jacobus Janssonius, *In sacrum Missae Canonem, quo Romana utitur Ecclesia, expositio* (Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1586), USTC 440794, and Jean de Lens, *De fidelium animarum purgatorio libri duo* (Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1584), USTC 402617.

17 *Catholici ecclesiastae instructio* (Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1586), USTC 403609, on aiv.

18 Antonius Sexagius, *De orthographia linguae Belgicae, sive de recta dictionum Teutonicarum scriptura, praesertim Brabantorum, pronuntiandi usitatam rationem* (Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1576) USTC 412057 on A7v, for instance.

important or prestigious commissions.¹⁹ Certainly, the printer does not seem to have made much of an effort to ensure that his workshop maintained the high quality workmanship for the dissertations that was on display in his larger endeavours.

The speed and relative lack of care with which Masius printed these dissertations is betrayed by the layout of some of the examples in the Paris collection. In one case the setting up of the page was so poor that the compositor was unable to organise the text effectively with the frame. As a result the borders were not aligned correctly, giving the impression of amateurish work.²⁰ This impression of sloppy work is reinforced on a number of copies by the presence of ink smudges consistent with the ink used in the printer's workshop rather than any later manuscript annotations.²¹ This is far more common than in the case in more important undertakings: the copies of his books I have consulted bear no such marks.

The unwillingness to invest adequate amount of time and care in this work is further underlined by the paper used. Though the quality of the material seems reasonable, on a number of occasions the form has been placed too close to the edge of the sheet. This means that it was impossible to have both a decent margin and a well cut leaf. In one case it even affected what should have been the printed area.²² This means that the text was undoubtedly printed

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- 19 For the use of cheaper typographical material in ephemeral works see my comments in Malcolm Walsby, 'Les premiers temps de l'imprimé vernaculaire français', in Pierre Aquilon and Thierry Claerr (eds.), *Le Berceau du livre imprimé. Autour des incunables* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 43–54 at p. 45.
- 20 Guilielmus Lucas, *Quaestio theologica. Justane ratione, prudentique consilio Christus post tam longa tempora venerit?* 26.01.1584, [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1584], USTC 442533.
- 21 See Johannes Leestius, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum anima sensitiva traducatur cum semine?* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.], USTC 442525; Johannes Cornelii, *De peccato originali. Quaestio theologica. Utrum peccatum originale sit primi parentis actuale peccatum?* 08.11.1581 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1581], USTC 442457; Lambertus Gilzius, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum humanum genus sub diaboli tyrannide servitutem peccando incurrerit?* 08.06.1583 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1583], USTC 442496; Johannes vanden Ouwenhoven, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum semper fuerit ecclesia Christi visibilis?* 01.08.1584 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1584], USTC 442557; Johannes Cornelii, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum mortis Christi tempore permanserit Ecclesia visibilis? Et qua ratione dicatur visibilis?* 16.08.1584 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1584], USTC 442638 and Godefridus Thienwinckel, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum baptisma Joannis contulerit peccatorum remissionem, uti baptisma Christi?* 11.07.1582 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1584], USTC 442598.
- 22 I.V. Xanthensis, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum divinae personae conveniat mitti? Et utrum a Deo omnia quae sunt creata sint?* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.] USTC 442607.

on paper left over from other jobs rather than new sheets. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the pages were not printed following a standardised format. Rather the space they occupied varied in function of the content. In some cases this meant that the text was calibrated to cover a wide surface, in others very small.

The poor visual quality of the dissertations and their lack of physical standardisation were not their only defects. Errors in the composition of the text were too frequent for this type of scholarly endeavour. Critically, these errors sometimes involved the fundamental proposition that was central to the subject of the dissertation. Some of these mistakes also suggest limited theological knowledge. Thus in one instance a Biblical quotation taken from the Acts of the Apostles was incorrectly rendered.²³ Such mistakes were particularly galling and many were corrected by readers: the hands are the same as those that annotated the dissertations. The limitations of the workshop were also marked by the absence of any Greek or Hebrew type: all relevant citations were systematically translated into Latin.

The overall impression is one of a job executed rapidly with little real care either for the presentation or the content of the dissertations. In this context, that Joannes Masius chose not to include his name on these imprints could be seen as an indication of the lack of regard he had for this enterprise. Yet this must have been a lucrative contract, not least as it was undoubtedly exclusive. This was certainly the case in other towns, as the lawsuit brought by rival printers and booksellers in Nantes revealed. There, the local printer Pierre Doriou was able to charge dialecticians of the local university no less than two and a half *écus* for printing their theses despite the fact that they only required a sixth of a sheet – his opponents contended that it could have been done for a third of that price. His exclusive right to print the texts allowed him to set a price and declare “qu’il aimeroit mieux s’en torcher le derriere que de les bailler à moindre prix”.²⁴

That a similar system of exclusivity existed in Louvain is suggested by the fact that Masius dominated the market despite the presence of other workshops active in the city at the same time. In an article devoted to the Velpius dynasty, the nineteenth-century bibliophile Van Even noted that both Reiner Velpius

23 Johannes a Porta, *Quaestio theologica. Quisnam sit effectus, atque minister confirmationis?* 01.08.1582 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1582], USTC 442564. The passage in question is Acts 8: 14.

24 “That he would prefer to wipe his behind with them than sell them at a lower price”. His critics also remarked witheringly that even at a third of the price they could have been “beaucoup plus nettement imprimé”. Maître, ‘Une procédure universitaire’, p. 233.

the elder and his son published large numbers of theses for the university.²⁵ The institution was certainly a vital market for the younger Velpius as in 1574 he chose to relocate close to Winckel College where he remained for the rest of his career.²⁶ But after 1577, Velpius disappeared and it probably after this that Masius was able to work for the university. Masius's relationship with the institution was strong: by the 1590s he was even entrusted with the printing of the university's privileges.²⁷

Though Masius's proximity to the university and his position of exclusivity resulted in a certain lack of care on his behalf in the production of the dissertations, it also had its advantages. The institution had at its disposal a printer who understood its workings. The layout of Masius's imprints shows that he grasped the relative importance of the different elements, highlighting the initial proposition that was to attract students and the time and place of the event. This suggests that the imprints were used as flyers to promote the defence of the thesis that was contained in the text. Such tactics were certainly employed to attract students in other universities such as Paris where flyers were distributed to advertise papers given by well-known authors.²⁸

This knowledge of the university market also had a practical implication for the publication of the dissertations. When setting up the form, Masius was conscious that he needed to leave wide margins on either side of the printed text. By the second half of the sixteenth century, it had become accepted practice for students to follow lessons book in hand, annotating their copy as they went. Many surviving manuals are covered in copious annotations, sometimes translating words, but often inserting the comments of their teachers.²⁹ This was equally true for short ephemeral pieces like these dissertations.

25 They printed "une masse de Thèses pour la Faculté de théologie de l'Université de Louvain": Van Even, 'Les imprimeurs Velpen (1539–1680)', *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, 1X (1852), 313–319 at pp. 315 and 317. Unfortunately, the author does not give a reference for these remarks, though he had clearly seen some of the theses.

26 Ibidem, p. 317.

27 *Privilegia academiae Lovaniensi, ab apostolica sede, imperatoribus, regibus, aliisque principibus, concessa* (Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1597) USTC 413413.

28 See the tract for the lessons on Aristotle's *Ethica* and the catalogue entry by Nicolas Petit in Frédéric Barbier (ed.), *Paris, capitale des livres. Le monde des livres et de la presse à Paris, du Moyen âge au XXe siècle* (Paris: Paris bibliothèques et les Presses Universitaires de France, 2007) p. 118.

29 For the copying of annotations see the examples given by Owen Gingerich in his *The Book Nobody Read. Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus* (London: Penguin, 2004).

The Dissertations and University Usage

The Louvain dissertations in this volume have numerous marks that bear witness to this practice. Though some remained unannotated, others have heavy marginalia all over the recto and spilling over onto the blank verso. The system of annotation is interesting: the use of strokes linking the words and sentences of the printed text to the relevant remarks shows how the student readers tried to organise their notes, probably as they listened.³⁰ That this was sometimes done at the time of the defence is suggested by some of the absent-minded doodling that adorns some of the theses.³¹

The better organised, and more attentive, students worked with other sheets of blank paper on which to take their notes. This is shown by the ink splodges to be found on the recto or verso of some of the items that do not correspond to any manuscript notes on the following pages.³² The clumsy transfer of some of these notes onto dissertations illustrates how they inadvertently pressed the pages of their handwritten sheets against the printed text as they copied down remarks.³³ This work with an adjacent piece of paper was organised by a different system of annotation to the rapidly placed strokes linking the marginalia to the relevant word. The relationship between printed and manuscript page was indicated by the introduction of numbers that would have linked the commentary to the abstract of the argument.³⁴

30 Carolus de Kersmakere, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum unus homo possit alterum docere?* (Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.), USTC 442520.

31 Petrus Leo, *Quaestio theologica. An inter angelos, unus illuminet alium, eique loquatur?* ([Louvain]: Reinerus Velpius, s.d.), USTC 442526 and Martinus Matthaei, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum ad veram beatitudinem consequendam sit aliqua in Deum necessaria fides?* 29.02.1584 (Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1584), USTC 442541.

32 Petrus Guilielmi, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum trinitas separabilis dici debeat? Et an naturali ratione cognosci possit?* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.], USTC 442501.

33 Petrus Guilielmi, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum anima hominis sit res subsistens, et incorporea?* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.], USTC 442500 and Petrus Proveners, *Quaestio theologica. Possitne justitia naturae viribus acquiri?* 17.01.1582 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1582], USTC 442568.

34 Theodorus Meinhardi, *Quaestio theologica. Sitne utriusque speciei communio divino jure omnibus necessaria?* 12.07.1586 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1586], USTC 442545 and Alexander Rotarius, *De missae ac communionis ceremoniis. Quaestio theologica. Sitne caeremoniarum in eucharistiae sacramento seu offerendo, seu sumendo approbandus ecclesiae Romanae usus.* 26.07.1586 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1586], USTC 442583.

As suggested above, the manner of some of the annotations and haste with which they were inserted points to many such notes being made during the defence. But in other cases it is clear that the additional text must have been copied out, either after the event or by a student who was lagging behind in his notetaking. Thus, in one instance the annotator corrected a word he had mistakenly transcribed as “culpa” with the word “clausa” – an error that is inconceivable had he been listening to the defence, but which seems far more plausible if he was not blessed with good palaeography (especially as the latter word was written with a long s).³⁵

The presence of all this marginalia does not just indicate how the students worked; it also tells us about the process of printing these single-sheet items. It confirms that the items were not printed off as celebrations of a successfully defended argument, but were produced prior to the event. It also suggests that the pages, despite their layout, were not simply created as posters to be pinned up in strategic locations, but were also handed out as flyers either to promote the event or to those attending as they entered the room. Their very existence is therefore important to our understanding of university processes and the institution's interaction with the presses. This is all the more true as this type of imprint is particularly rare for Catholic institutions.

Schools and universities were one of the main markets for cheap books in the sixteenth century. Thousands of students throughout Europe bought short grammars and other educational books that sustained printers' workshops in many regions – and this was certainly the case in Louvain.³⁶ Furthermore, the staff and more senior students of the universities also commissioned the printing of many texts. By the second half of the century, the doctoral students of many universities began to have short summaries of their dissertations published locally by their institution's assigned printers. This phenomenon seems to have been particularly developed in Protestant faculties. Thus there are a number of extant copies of printed theses produced in Copenhagen. There, doctoral students prepared sometimes quite substantial works that were

35 Jakob Fischer, *Quaestio theologica. Quodnam sit originalis peccati subjectum, carone an anima* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.], USTC 442492.

36 On the attractiveness of the University of Louvain for booksellers and printers see Hubert Meeus, 'Printing in the Shadow of a Metropolis', in Benito Rial Costas (ed.), *Print Culture and Provincial Cities in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 147–170 at pp. 156–159.

published and sold.³⁷ But the defence and main thesis of the dissertation were often also communicated in broadsheet format.³⁸

In the Low Countries, the Protestant faculties followed suit. Students of the University of Leiden (founded in 1575) soon adopted this tradition of printing the main arguments of their dissertation. The two volumes of *Netherlandish Books* enumerate no fewer than 753 editions published between 1582 and the end of the century.³⁹ This remarkable production of academic material mainly involved short quarto pamphlets as well as 59 broadsheets. The imprints that rolled off the presses of Franciscus Raphelengius and Jan Paets Jacobszoon dominated the genre. The Academy of Franeker also encouraged the publication of theses and disputations. The institution was founded ten years after Leiden and printed 127 dissertations between 1588 and 1600. This much more modest output still seems to have dwarfed the production of many other cities, if current survival is to be taken as a trustworthy indication, and this was particularly the case for Catholic centres of print.

Perhaps the most famous Catholic faculty of them all, the Sorbonne in Paris does not seem to have required its students systematically to print their dissertations in the sixteenth century. In the entire kingdom of France, we have so far been unable to find any extant copies of Catholic printed dissertations. The only known examples come from the Protestant faculty set up in Orthez and Lescar at the end of the century.⁴⁰ But this was not simply a case of Protestant versus Catholic tradition. Archival evidence indicates that in other some Catholic universities students did have their texts printed locally. In Toulouse, in south western France, we know that theses were printed in the city thanks to the accounts of some of the journeymen printers interrogated by the Spanish inquisition.⁴¹ In Nantes, a lawsuit confirms that students reading at the local

37 Niels Hemmingsen, *Themata theologica, quæ publice die secundo Iunii defendunt ... Iohannes Thomas, Erasmus Catholmius, Christophorus Knoff, presidente Nicolao Hemmingio* (Copenhagen: Laurentius Benedictus, 1572), USTC 303216. This represented 32 leaves in octavo.

38 Hans Thomesen Guldsmid, *Themata ad quæ publice respondebunt honesti et eruditi aliquot juvenes pro gradu baccalaureatus in philosophia, presidente Johanne Aurifabro Collegii* (Copenhagen: Johannes Stockelman and Andreas Guttermvuitz, 1575), USTC 303074.

39 See the entries listed in Pettegree and Walsby, *NB: Netherlandish Books*.

40 Louis Desgraves, 'Les premières thèses de l'Académie protestante d'Orthez et de Lescar (1585–1592)', *Revue de Pau et du Béarn*, v (1977) 153–154.

41 This is mentioned by Clive Griffin in his *Journeymen-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 163. The reference is from the trial of Pierre de Rinz.

university also habitually printed their dissertations.⁴² But the absence of surviving copies from any of these three French institutions means that our understanding of the phenomenon is limited.

In the Catholic Netherlands, the University of Louvain suffered from a similar problem. Prior to this discovery only two printed dissertations were known. Such a small sample gave only a few indications about the manner in which the university worked. We are now much better placed to infer certain practices by examining the editions in this volume. The dissertations presented a heavily abbreviated form of the thesis. It was often split into two parts. First there was a concise *propositio* which laid out an idea or an argument on a specific question. This was followed by a *conclusio* in which the student laid out his thesis (a part sometimes subdivided into prior and posterior parts) along with the final *impertinens*. This system was not an invention of the Renaissance university; it was built on the scholastic method developed throughout Europe in the late mediaeval era.⁴³ Despite this general consistency in the layout of the dissertation there could be significant variations in the format of the text. Thus in some instances there were multiple conclusions, rather than just a single logical outcome.

The conclusions were often presented in the form of a citation from a prominent text of Catholic theology. By reaching a well-accepted point of doctrine through this type of debate, the orator sought to bolster orthodoxy in a time of religious controversy. If the coherence of the argument and the manner in which a case was presented were perhaps the crucial elements of the intellectual game, the conclusion was nevertheless important for it stressed the strength of the Catholic faith. In this regard it is interesting to note the prominence of quotations taken from the acts of the Council of Trent. Widely promoted by Philip II both through the medium of print and through other means, Tridentine doctrine was, outside France, seen as a vital part of the response to Protestantism.⁴⁴ This was mirrored in the fact that no fewer than forty-nine dissertations quoted the acts with references to the council (with session number and canon) virtually always appearing in the conclusion. This repeated presence of the acts emphasises the role of such educational institutions in spreading the rulings of Trent.

42 Maître, 'Une procédure universitaire'.

43 Cf. the description given in Lambertus Marie de Rijk, *La Philosophie au Moyen âge* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 100–101.

44 See Ignasi Fernández Terricabras, *Felipe II y el clero secular: la aplicación del concilio de Trento* (Madrid: Sociedad estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000).

The impact of this effort to strengthen the Catholic Reformation would have mainly touched the Low Countries. Analysis of the geographic origins of those who defended the theses shows that, despite the undoubted prestige and international standing of the institution, the university's appeal was mainly regional. Over three quarters of the dissertations featured a student from the Netherlands. Two thirds of these originated from the Southern Low Countries. In other words, they mainly involved individuals who attended their local Catholic university. Only eight of the authors can be formally identified as coming from further afield.

The importance of the local authors was not simply statistical. In the sample we possess, they were clearly the most active members too. A number of them presented a series of theses: Martinus Matthaeus was thus named on 7 imprints, whilst Joannes Cornelius was the most productive with 10. This emphasises that the publication of the dissertations did not mark the award of a degree.⁴⁵ Despite such recurrences, it is unlikely that the author was one of the main draws for prospective auditors. Their name was often indicated

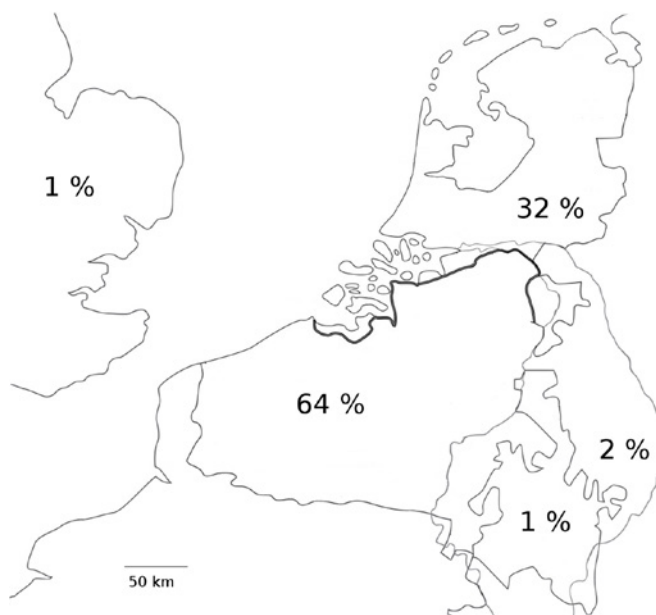


FIGURE 15.2 Known geographic origins of those named in the Louvain dissertations.

45 This is one of the four principal purposes for such publications identified by Joseph S. Freedman in his 'Dissertations in Europe in the Early Modern Period' in Douwe B. Breimer, *et al.*, *Hora Est! On Dissertations* (Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 2005), pp. 30–50, here pp. 30–32.

prominently, though this might have been more to do with accepted presentational formula. This is suggested by the authorial anonymity of some of the dissertations. Six were thus published without any indication of their author, whilst others were presented semi-anonymously with the inclusion of their initials. This might well have involved some students who had indicated their names on other imprints: the three initials (first name, second name, place of birth) correspond in some instances to those of other authors (Henricus Vermeulen, Albertus Dansius, Cornelius Duyst, Guilielmus Lucas).

A final question surrounds the institutions that were involved in the publication of the dissertations. Did the dissertations all emanate from the same institution or were they printed for students from a selection of different colleges? Almost half of the imprints give no information on where the theses were to be defended. For the others, the presence alongside the date of the indication "In seminario regis catholici" was the most common. In other cases, the mention of educational institutions referred to the strategic geographic placement of the printers' workshop rather than to where the authors of the dissertations were educated.⁴⁶ The fact that the same authors (such as Augustinus Balet, Antonius Hulselmans, Carolus de Kersmakere, Martinus Matthaëus, Joannes de Moorzele, Arnoldus Mutsaerts and Alexander Rotarius) had theses advertised both with and without an indication of where they were defended suggests that the remaining imprints were also produced for the royal college. Founded by Philip II, the college sought to defend the faith against Protestant attacks.⁴⁷ To achieve this aim, the seminary sought particularly to teach "la methode par les disputes".⁴⁸ This along with the high profile given to Tridentine doctrine in the conclusions of the dissertations certainly corroborates the idea that the imprints were undertaken for the college's students.

Collecting the Dissertations

This careful examination of how the dissertations were produced and how they were used offers important insights into the world of the Catholic university in the second half of the sixteenth century. It stresses the importance of

46 "Prope Colleg. Winckels." for Reynier Velpius, "e regione Gynasii Lili" for Jacobus Heybergius and "juxta paedag. Lili" for Andreas Corthout.

47 This was already a major concern of the university before the foundation of the college: see Jésus Martinez de Bujanda, *Index de l'Université de Louvain, 1546, 1550, 1558* (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université de Sherbrooke, 1986), p. 30 et seq.

48 Jean Nicolas de Parival, *Louvain, très-ancienne et capitale ville du Brabant* (Louvain: George Lips, 1667), p. 148.

Tridentine doctrine, but interest in such ephemeral theological imprints should have waned after they had served their purpose. And yet they were methodically collected and preserved, posing the question of how and when they were gathered together in this *Sammelband*. The volume they are bound in today offers few clues as to the early history of the survival of these broadsheets. The binding is made out of cheap brown speckled sheepskin – a material typical of the low quality leather used in seventeenth and eighteenth-century workshops throughout France. The front and back boards remained without decoration of any sort. Attempts to improve the volume's appearance were limited to the spine where the spaces between the raised bands were decorated with some gold tooling and the short title "Quaest. Theolog.". As a whole it is clear that the volume was not the subject of much attention.

The provenance information is equally unhelpful with regard to the early history of the dissertations. The undated manuscript *ex libris* inscribed at the top of the first broadsheet indicates that the book had entered the collection of the Parisian convent of the Recollects at some point in the late seventeenth century (if the handwriting is to be trusted). It undoubtedly stayed in this religious library until their books were seized at the revolution and taken to the large warehouse set up in "rue Saint-Honoré" in 1790.⁴⁹ For the most part, their volumes were integrated into the collections of what is now the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*. The later fate of the volume is therefore easy to follow. But if the provenances and binding provide few indications as to what happened before the book's arrival in the library of the Recollects, the items themselves bear the marks of early use.

One of the noticeable physical peculiarities of the imprints is the presence of holes in the upper half of the pages. Positioned centrally, they clearly have nothing to do with the current binding or with the process of annotation. Interpreting such marks is difficult. On the one hand, the holes could be consistent with the idea that the dissertations were being posted up as advertisements rather than being handed out to prospective attendees. The presence of corrosion marks on the paper surrounding the holes could have been due to the use of nails. This is strengthened by marks on some items that show both slight ripping and compacting of the paper that seem to be mainly above the marks.⁵⁰ Both these phenomena could have been caused by the fact they were left hanging for some time.

49 Alfred Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris: églises, monastères, collèges, etc.* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1867–1873), II, pp. 297–300.

50 See for instance Ludovicus Handtsamus, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum habitus intellectuales speculativi sint virtutes?* ([Louvain]: Reinerus Velpius, s.d.), USTC 442502 for ripping

However, this conjecture does not stand up to further investigation. In some instances there is not just one hole, but two, three or even four.⁵¹ It seems inconceivable that this type of ephemeral print used to advertise a precise event would be hung up a number of different times. Furthermore, this process could not have been systematic since, though such tears are commonplace throughout the volume, there are a number of items that bear no such marks. Also, the holes did not just obliterate printed letters: in some cases they affected words that had been handwritten on the verso during the defence.⁵² This means that they must have been made after and not before the event had taken place. In other words, the holes cannot be attributed to the use of the sheets as posters.

The perforation seems more consistent with a manner of gathering and filing the different items. They were collected after the event and preserved by punching a hole with a nail or a large pin in a manner common to late mediaeval and early modern archiving of material. The multiple holes would be consistent with the use and reuse of items in these piles of dissertations. Once consulted, the reader would simply gather together the papers and stick the pin through the stack once more, thus sometimes creating new holes. The slight ripping and compacting of the paper could be attributed to the fact that readers could have tried to consult an item without removing the pin, naturally pulling the main part of the text towards them as they did so. The holes are thus the proof of the existence of a prior state of conservation of the dissertations, a kind of rudimentary *Sammelband*, which could be made and unmade at will.

The presence of multiple holes also tells us that these dissertations continued to be actively used after the defence of the thesis. They were consulted and collected over a number of years in this format before they were bound into a more formal volume. This is also suggested by the fact that the marginalia and notes on the verso of the items were made in a series of different hands, sometimes on the same sheet.⁵³ These successive annotators are proof that the useful lifespan of these ephemeral imprints was longer than perhaps could

and Tilman Vosmer, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum sint aliqui angeli mali?* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.], USTC 442626 for compacting.

51 Both the following example has four holes: Johannes Candreisch, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum consilium sit inquisitio? Et utrum consensus sit actus appetitivae virtutis?* ([Louvain]: Andreas Corthoudt, [1577]), USTC 442452, as has the example given in fig. 15.3.

52 Jakob Fischer, *Quaestio theologica. Quodnam sit originalis peccati subjectum, carone an anima* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.], USTC 442492 and Guilielmus Tilborch, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum peccatum causam aliquam habeat?* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.], USTC 442600.

53 See Petrus Leo, *Quaestio theologica. An inter angelos, unus illuminet alium, eique loquatur?* ([Louvain], Reinerus Velpius, s.d.), USTC 442526.

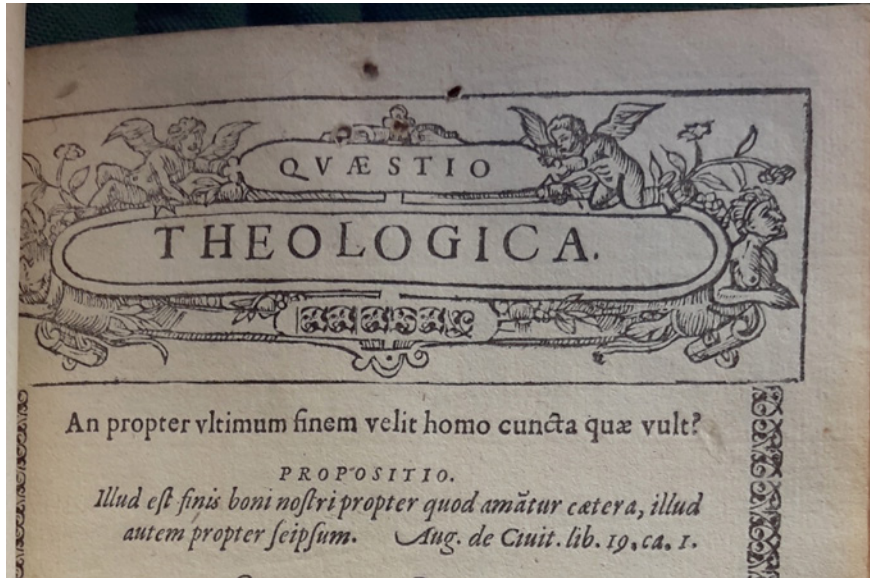


FIGURE 15.3 Samuel Loyaerts, *Quaestio theologica. An propter vltimum finem velit homo cuncta quæ vult?* ([Louvain]: Reinerus Velpius, s.d.). Showing multiple holes at the top of a dissertation. USTC 442532.
PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, D 9526 (69).

be expected. Despite their brevity, the propositions they expounded retained their interest.

The variety of hands is not the only evidence that indicates that these sheets were not all initially owned by the same person but that they must have been collected subsequently. Other clues point in the same direction. The first of these is the presence of duplicate copies: twelve of the dissertations are included twice in the volume. Furthermore, some of the annotations were made on the inside margin, in places that would necessarily be integrated into the inner hinge when the items were bound.⁵⁴ Clearly the first owners had not intended to have these pieces gathered into a single volume. This is underlined by the fact that some of them were initially folded rather than preserved flat to facilitate the binding process. The time that elapsed between the printing of the dissertations and their insertion into this *Sammelband* is emphasised by the dirt on the back of a number of pages.⁵⁵ Some copies had been left lying

54 *Quaestio theologica. An daemones sint in diversis ordinibus constituti?* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.], USTC 442573.

55 For instance on *Quaestio theologica. Utrum virtutes morales sibi invicem sint connexae?* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.], USTC 442578.

around before being gathered together and given the protection of a hardback binding.

Despite the fact that the dissertations were in the end preserved in a proper volume, very little care or interest seems to have accompanied this process. The binding work itself was sloppy. The pages were cut with little regard for the original format of the dissertations, truncating the text when they were too wide or too large compared to the smaller copies.⁵⁶ Though the texts seem to have been broadly gathered together and organised by theme, the volume contains, in some instances, two copies of the same edition with one inserted immediately after the other.⁵⁷ Thus though they were ordered methodically, the work was done without checking or reading the dissertations already present.

This later seventeenth-century attempt at creating a coherent corpus was therefore done without due care or, at least, without much regard for future readers. The lack of interest displayed is mirrored in the absence of any later marginalia or proof that the book was read or used after it was put into its current binding. This impression is reinforced by the lack of a manuscript index or any attempts to number the imprints. With over two hundred items, using this type of *Sammelband* without any guidance as to the position or the content of a given dissertation would have been very difficult. It suggests that the goal of their insertion into this volume was to preserve knowledge rather than to use it.

Conclusions

The suggestion that the moment that the dissertations were bound marked the end of their useful life is intriguing. The volume state certainly appears less dynamic than the primitive but effective manner of holding them together with a pin. In this original state, the order in which the texts were kept could be re-arranged. They could also be removed to permit a more comfortable way of reading and, if need be, allow the taking of further notes without

56 Stephanus Cottin, *Quaestio theologica. Utrum actus humanus recti ractionem habeat aut peccati in quantum bonus est vel malus?* [Louvain]: Andreas Corthoudt, [1577], USTC 442468 and *Quaestio theologica. Utrum creatura corporalis, administretur per angelos?* [Louvain: Joannes Masius, s.d.], USTC 442574.

57 One example is Johannes Cornelii, *De haeresi libertinorum. Quaestio theologica. Utrum salva professione nominis Christiani quiduis de religione sentire liceat?* 05.10.1583 [Louvain: Joannes Masius, 1583], USTC 442456.

having to hold a volume open. It is also possible that in this state, some of the dissertations were kept with the accompanying manuscript sheets the existence of which is demonstrated by the methods of annotation we have identified. When they were integrated into the codex format they lost their modular capacity. They formed part of a rigid classification, a single volume that sought to record rather than facilitate use.

This interaction between format and use helps us understand the evolution that occurred over time. The imprints were initially conceived as flyers to be distributed and to advertise a forthcoming event. During the event, they became a prop for the audience to follow the defence, a prop on which they could also take notes. After this, they became a reference tool, gathered together in order to serve as a repertoire of theological ideas of the Catholic Reformation. Finally, once bound, they became evidence of past procedures and debates. This evolution in the use of these items marks a profound disjuncture between their original intended use and the real use to which they were later put. Though some facets seem to have been in part anticipated by the printer (with the incorporation of wide margins to allow for annotation, for example), for the most part this later life of the imprints illustrates the complex, multifaceted and unpredictable nature of single sheet item use over time.

The insertion of the dissertations into a single volume is undoubtedly the main reason for their survival. But, as we have demonstrated, this was only the final stage in what might seem an unlikely evolution in the use of these items. They were particularly vulnerable during the years spent unbound. They could have easily been destroyed through lack of care or, once their utility as a reference tool had come to an end, been reemployed as envelopes or blotting paper.⁵⁸ That this volume offers over two hundred copies of Louvain University dissertations when previously only two were known emphasises the importance of the shadow economy of the book: a trade in ephemera difficult to quantify that makes the analysis of such unlikely survivals all the more important.

⁵⁸ This was often the fate of ephemera that was no longer considered useful. See Porret to Jan Moretus, 18 September 1582. Letter 989, in Max Rooses and Jan Denucé (ed.), *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, (Nendeln: Kraus, 1968), VII, pp. 61–64.

Advertising Medical Studies in Sixteenth-Century Basel: Function and Use of Academic Disputations

Saskia Limbach

Disputations and lectures were the twin pillars of academic teaching in the early modern period.¹ In sixteenth-century Europe students and professors of all subjects defended their theses in public disputations. These academic events were usually chaired by a *praeses* who sat at a lectern slightly higher than the others.² In the German university system, the dean of the candidate's faculty as well as two professors joined the *praeses*, and together the scholars challenged the candidate by asking him questions.³ In addition, professors and students in the audience were permitted to contradict the candidate.

In Basel, medical disputations had to follow a tight protocol which defined the respondent's behaviour in great detail.⁴ At the start of the disputation the candidate had to welcome the audience and briefly present his theses. He then had to listen to the *contra* arguments and refute them respectfully. At the end of the disputation, usually no later than eleven o'clock in the morning, the respondent had to thank the audience. If the candidate failed to obey any of these rules, it was the duty of the dean to intervene.⁵

In his journal, Felix Platter, the renowned sixteenth-century physician, offers us a more personal recollection of a mid-sixteenth-century disputation in Basel.⁶ During the debate the candidate faced several professors who contradicted his statements. Among them were the dean of the medical

1 Rainer A. Müller, 'Studentenkultur und akademischer Alltag', in Walter Rüegg (ed.), *Geschichte der Universität in Europa: Von der Reformation zur Französischen Revolution. 1500–1800* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996), pp. 270–271.

2 Ewald Horn, *Die Disputationen und Promotionen an den deutschen Universitäten, vornehmlich seit dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1893), p. 3.

3 Werner Allweiss, 'Von der Disputation zur Dissertation', in Rudolf Jung and Paul Kaegbein (eds.), *Dissertationen in Wissenschaft und Bibliotheken* (London: Saur, 1979), p. 18.

4 Albrecht Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät zu Basel, 1460–1900* (Basel, Reinhardt, 1917), p. 367.

5 Edgar Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 1460–1960* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1960), p. 85.

6 Felix Platter, *Tagebuch*, ed. Valentin Lötscher (Basel: Schwabe, 1976).

faculty, Oswald Baer, and the professors of practical and theoretical medicine respectively, Johann Huber and Isaak Keller.⁷ They were joined by Heinrich Pantaleon, Philipp Bech and Johann Jacob Huggelin who also challenged Platter's theses.

To invite scholars like Huber, Keller and Huggelin to such events, documents – also called disputations – were produced prior to the event. These documents were given to potential visitors as well as pasted on doors and walls to announce the event. Towards the end of the century, such printed disputations were increasingly used as advertisement to praise the medical education in Basel. Produced in dozens of copies, the documents could easily be sent to friends, family members but also to scholars outside the university town. This additional function of printed medical disputation becomes obvious in their design. It changes significantly over the course of the sixteenth century. The survival of over five hundred medical disputations from the sixteenth century indicates just how important a role they played in the corporate life of the university.⁸

Despite their abundance, however, these numerous medical disputations have received almost no attention from scholars, in particular from historians. Previous studies, carried out by doctoral students of medicine, primarily focussed on the topics of disputations.⁹ These studies were also essentially limited to those disputations in which a student defended his theses to obtain a degree. This was not, however, the only motivation for scholars to dispute in public. Debates were often undertaken as practice – students could improve their rhetorical skills before they moved on to obtaining their degree. Professors who had obtained their doctoral degree at a foreign institution and wanted to work or teach in Basel also had to defend theses in public.

The seemingly dry documents reveal much more information than just the topics discussed in the sixteenth century. A close study of these disputations reveals details about the methods of teaching, the organisation, and the reasons why professors attended medical disputations. Some visitors even used the broadsheets for their own academic purposes – either to take notes or to prepare their arguments.

7 Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät*, p. 438.

8 Fritz Husner, *Verzeichnis der Basler Medizinischen Universitätschriften von 1575–1829* (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Sonderdruck, 1942), pp. 4–5.

9 Cäcilia Burri, 'Zahnmedizinische Themen in den lateinischen Disputationen der medizinischen Fakultät zu Basel 1575–1829' (PhD dissertation, University of Zurich, 1992); Dubravka Deanovic, 'Basler anatomische Dissertationen 1578–1800' (PhD dissertation, University of Basel, 1990).

Disputing at the Medical Faculty in Basel

In 1500, students who intended to study medicine could only pursue a degree at a handful of universities such as in Basel.¹⁰ Located on the river Rhine, Basel was one of the most important trading centres south of the Alps. It was here that one of the earliest paper mills in Europe was built, which greatly facilitated the production of books. In the early sixteenth century Basel withdrew from her allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire and became a member of the Swiss Confederation. Sheltered by ten other cantons, Basel would establish itself as a leading centre for scholarly publishing.¹¹ Eminent scholars such as Erasmus and Andreas Vesalius would make long journeys to publish their works in the city on the Rhine.

In 1459, Basel embraced academic teaching and founded the first Swiss university. The central institution was housed in the former residence of a noble widow.¹² The house was located close to the Rhine just a short walk away from Basel's cathedral, the heart of the city. It provided enough space for seven lecture theatres, as well as lodging for a number of professors and students. During the Reformation the city council took over the Augustinian monastery and gave it to the university in 1532. In addition to these two university houses, academic training also took place in the houses of professors. Therefore it was not unusual that Platter's medical knowledge was thoroughly tested in the dean's house before the candidate was allowed to dispute in public.¹³

From its very beginning the institution included a medical faculty.¹⁴ At first, however, this medical faculty was not able to compete with the distinguished centres of medicine in Montpellier and Padua.¹⁵ Although the university had a promising start, it soon fell foul of the religious tension associated with the Reformation. Many Protestant professors and students fled the conservative

10 Laurence Brockliss, 'Lehrpläne', in Walter Rüegg (ed.), *Geschichte der Universität in Europa: Von der Reformation zur Französischen Revolution. 1500–1800* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996), p. 486.

11 Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 67–69.

12 Bonjour, *Universität Basel*, p. 55.

13 Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Beggar and the Professor. A Sixteenth-Century Family Saga* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 319.

14 Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät*, p. 5.

15 Andrew Cunningham, 'The Bartholins, the Platters and Laurentius Gryllus: The Peregrination Medica in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Jon Arrizabalaga (eds.), *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500–1789* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 4.

Catholic university. Due to the lack of members, the institution even had to close for several years in the late 1520s.

Despite these difficulties, the University of Basel was ultimately able to establish itself as a leading centre for medical training. By 1600, Basel was one of the most important medical centres in Europe. As the personnel at the university had become more liberal and was strongly influenced by humanism, the institution attracted both professors and students of different faith. As Basel was also one of the most significant printing centres in Europe, academic staff could easily obtain books urgently needed for their training. The scholars in Basel were able to purchase not only books in Latin but also in Greek and even Hebrew.¹⁶ What further fostered the reputation of the medical faculty was the fact that many printers specialised in publishing scientific and medical books.¹⁷ This encouraged numerous scholars to go to Basel and have their work printed by one of the foremost printers in Europe. Among them was Andreas Vesalius who came to Basel in 1543 to publish his epoch-making *De humani corporis fabrica*.¹⁸

Basel owed its excellent reputation also to the relentless efforts of two professors, Theodor Zwinger and Felix Platter. Together the two professors restructured the study of medicine: their new regime included a regulation to integrate anatomy into the medical curriculum. Although for many of Platter's and Zwinger's contemporaries anatomy formed the basis for medical studies, it was taught at only a very few universities, such as Paris.¹⁹ With their restructuring of the medical curriculum, Platter and Zwinger improved the quality of medical teaching considerably. Thanks to their ambition, Basel soon attracted a large number of students not only from the Swiss Confederation and Germany but also from France, Poland, Italy and England.²⁰

To study medicine in Basel, students had to have a master's degree from the arts faculty. This meant that they had to study at least five years before they were able to obtain their doctoral degree.²¹ Graduating, however, was a costly matter. Students had to cover the fees for their exams as well as make payments to various university administration offices. On top of that the candidate had

16 Bonjour, *Universität Basel*, p. 121.

17 Urs Leu, 'The Book and Reading Culture in Basel and Zurich during the Sixteenth Century', in Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 304.

18 Bonjour, *Universität Basel*, p. 171.

19 Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät*, p. 10.

20 Bonjour, *Universität Basel*, p. 221.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

to invite his professors to several dinners and even provide them with presents (a practice which was fortunately abandoned in modern times).²² Before Felix Platter defended his theses in public he had already entertained his examiners three times in the space of only one week.²³ With his public disputation the student could demonstrate his rhetorical skills as well as his ability to defend his opinion against professors and fellow students; just like Platter did when he defended his theses against several of the leading medical authorities of the age.²⁴

By the time a medical student in Basel took his degree, he was no stranger to disputations. During his previous studies at the arts faculty, the doctoral candidate had to attend disputations and probably even take part in them. Visiting such disputations was of vital importance for academic training in the early modern period. Therefore these events were compulsory for all students. Without attending any disputations a student could not take his final exams.²⁵ During the restructuring of the medical faculty in Basel, Platter and Zwinger also integrated practice disputations into the curriculum of medical students. Introduced in 1576, the 'lex de disputationibus' prescribed one practice disputation every month.²⁶ This way, the professors could ensure that students expanded their medical knowledge, as well as honed their debating skills before they embarked on their doctoral disputation.

For their disputation, medical students could choose from a variety of topics. The many foreign scholars who came to Basel introduced new subjects for discussion. Until these foreign visitors appeared in Basel, most of the theses presented in disputations were based on works of ancient authors like Galen and Hippocrates, in particular Hippocrates' aphorisms. This reveals the fairly conservative and theoretical character of the study of medicine in Basel at that time. By the mid-sixteenth century, however, some disputations already dealt with modern influences such as Paracelsianism.²⁷ In one disputation the candidate referred to sulphur, mercury and salt, which according to Paracelsus were the elements that constituted the human body (in contrast to Galen's four

22 For a detailed overview on the costs a doctoral student had to pay in order to receive his degree: Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät*, p. 403.

23 Le Roy Ladurie, *The Beggar and the Professor*, p. 321.

24 Karl Mommsen, *Katalog der Basler juristischen Disputationen: 1558–1818* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1978), p. 18.

25 Bonjour, *Universität Basel*, p. 85.

26 Husner, *Verzeichnis der Basler Medizinischen Universitätsschriften*, p. 9.

27 See below.

humors).²⁸ Although the thesis denies the importance of sulphur, mercury and salt, it nevertheless shows that Paracelsus' ideas were discussed at that time.

From the mid-sixteenth century, medical studies in Basel were also increasingly influenced by other modern concepts. Some theses were clearly influenced by humanism, not least in their references to transmission errors in the Latin translations of the Greek originals. In 1558, Johann Jacob Huggelin, who had obtained his doctorate in Montepellier, discussed translation mistakes concerning blood-letting.²⁹ This reflects the controversy on blood-letting initiated in the 1520s by Pierre Brissot.³⁰ In Brissot's opinion Galen and Hippocrates both stated in their Greek works that blood should be let from the side of the body afflicted by the disease. When translating them into Latin, Avicenna had not captured the precise meaning of the Greek texts and wrongly stated that blood-letting should be carried out from the opposite side. Other candidates discussed inconsistencies in the works of ancient authorities. The Italian Protestant Guglielmo Gratarolo pointed to such a mistake with his disputation printed in autumn 1558.³¹ He stated that in Hippocrates' aphorisms the author believed that the old have fewer complaints than the young. However in his work on diet Hippocrates affirmed that the older are weaker.

Another thesis that reveals modern influences is that of Heinrich Pantaleon, a doctor of medicine from the University of Valence in France. In his disputation he criticised the inspection of urine, one of the main tools of diagnosis. In 1558, Pantaleon stated that uroscopy might impress the common people but at the same time reveals the doctor's ignorance to those with a basic medical understanding. Over the centuries, physicians had relied on this procedure and did not question its importance for medical treatment.³² Pantaleon was one of the few learned men who turned their backs on ancient and mediaeval traditions and embraced a new, modern approach to medicine.

Despite these few disputations that were influenced by modern ideas, medical disputations in the mid-sixteenth century remained rather theoretical and

28 USTC 751652; Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 100.

29 USTC 751701; Frank Hieronymus, *Theophrast und Galen – Celsus und Paracelsus: Medizin, Naturphilosophie und Kirchenreform im Basler Buchdruck bis zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (4 vols, Basel: Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 2005), p. 1235.

30 Andrew Wear, 'Medicine in Early Modern Europe 1500–1700', in Lawrence I. Conrad (ed.), *The Western Medical Tradition: 800 B.C.–1800 A.D.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 252.

31 USTC 751684.

32 Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 58.

only very rarely dealt with specific diseases. One might have assumed that disputations discussed diseases like syphilis and the plague which frequently tormented the population of Basel. Yet, only three respondents dedicated their theses to the plague, pleurisy or fever. Again it was the foreign scholars who introduced these new topics, most notably Theodor Zwinger and Caspar Bauhin. Both of them were influenced by their studies at foreign universities, Padua and Montpellier respectively, which stressed the practical side of medicine to a greater degree than was common in Basel at that time.³³ After Bauhin and Zwinger had joined the medical faculty in Basel, this practical influence continued to grow and later disputations focussed much more on specific diseases. From 1575 onwards, numerous respondents discussed particular conditions in great detail: including arthritis, fever, phrenitis, headache, melancholy and toothache.³⁴

The Changing Faces of Medical Disputations

In the course of the sixteenth century, printed disputations provided the reader with an increasingly detailed overview of the topics discussed at the university. Whereas the broadsheets from the 1550s usually contained short theses such as “natura morbus curat”, later disputations were much more elaborate.³⁵ On the broadsheet of Jean de Superville’s disputation from 1587, a single thesis contains a total of sixty words.³⁶ The length of the theses can, however, vary quite significantly even in a single disputation. In the same disputation there is also a thesis that contains only fourteen words. On average, theses in the later decades of the sixteenth century cover more than three lines and contain about twenty-five to thirty words. They are much more detailed than their mid-sixteenth-century predecessors. Similarly, the number of theses multiplies on the later broadsheets. There are no longer disputations that employ the space-consuming question and answer form commonly used in the 1550s (Fig. 16.1). On average the later disputations list fifteen theses, in contrast to the average of ten theses on the broadsheets from the mid-sixteenth century.

Furthermore the type of theses changed as well, which allowed the reader to get a good impression of what exactly was taught in Basel. In the first twenty

33 Karcher, *Theodor Zwinger und seine Zeitgenossen*, p. 15; Hieronymus, *Theophrast und Galen*, p. 1247.

34 Husner, *Verzeichnis der Basler Medizinischen Universitätsschriften*, no. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8.

35 USTC 751652.

36 USTC 751742.

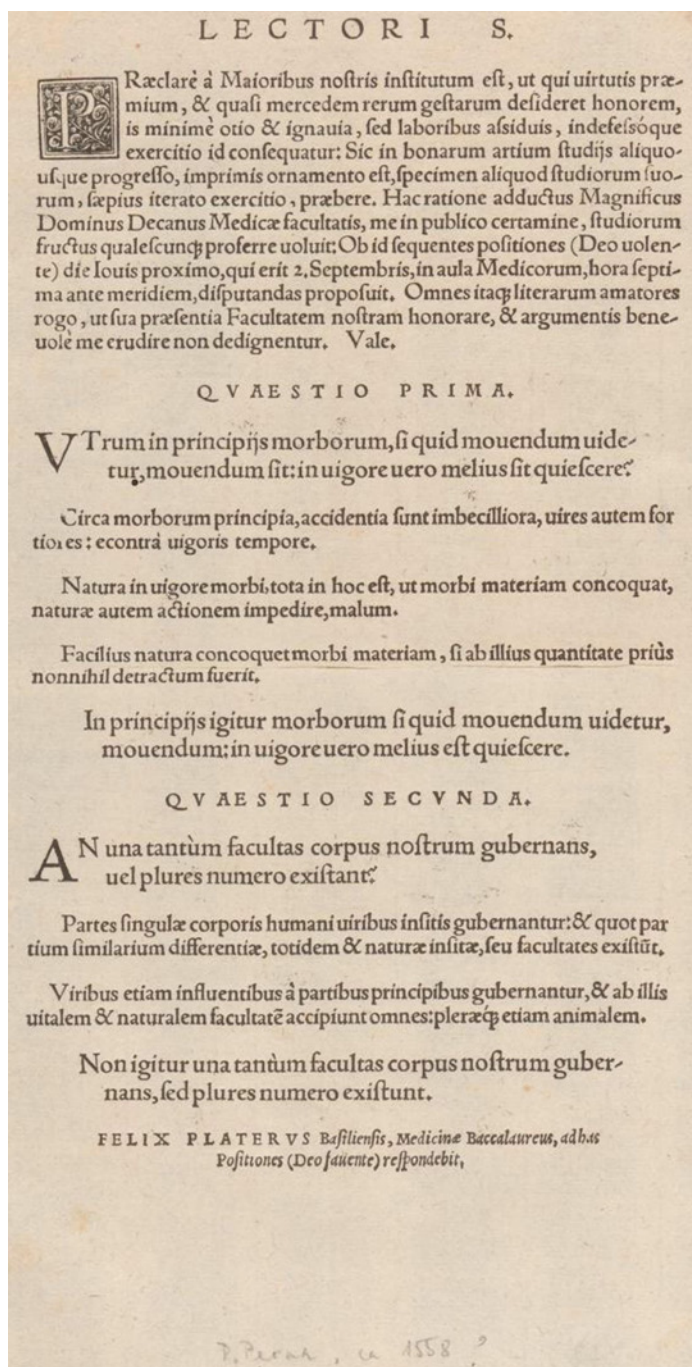


FIGURE 16.1 A copy of Felix Platter's disputation, *Positiones*, printed in 1557. It contains only a handful of theses that are relatively short. USTC 751723. BASEL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, DISS 148:1.

years of medical disputations in Basel, most theses only state an assumption or conclusion without any reference to literature. These *theses nuda* (bare theses) were common in the sixteenth century.³⁷ Candidates only very rarely referred to medical authorities, like: 'docet Galenus'.³⁸ These references are also not very precise since they only mention the name of the author and not his specific work. Such references usually referred to either Galen or Hippocrates, but no other medical authors. The 'bare theses' were employed in the later sixteenth century as well. The references to authorities now also included Avicenna and Aristotle. On top of that some references were quite specific: 'Aristoteles ad finem libri de respiratione: ubi Physicus definat' or 'Galenus in libro de Constitutione artis Medicae'.³⁹

This increasingly detailed structure, with more complex theses and references, led to a change in the design of medical disputations. In the mid-sixteenth century, essential information like the date, the time, the place and the name of the candidate was usually displayed in an introductory paragraph. As the disputations contained progressively more text, some of these details are featured more prominently at the top or the bottom of the broadsheets. So for example, the date is usually written in a separate line. Just like the date, the name of the candidate is printed in a prominent place, sometimes even separate from the text. Since the essential information was now displayed elsewhere, the opening paragraph became obsolete.⁴⁰ As the later broadsheets consisted of much more text, it could have been quite difficult to determine quickly what the broadsheets were about. To stress the fact that these broadsheets were announcing medical disputations, distinctive titles were introduced, commonly at the very top of the broadsheet. While some disputations have a uniform title like 'disputatio medicae' or 'theses medicae miscellaneae',⁴¹ the majority of the later broadsheets have a specific title such as 'de purgatione' or 'de epilepsia'.⁴² By contrast, none of the early broadsheets have titles.⁴³

Other essential parts of the theses were also prominently displayed. Apart from the date, the time and place of the event and the name of the candidate

37 Mommsen, *Katalog der Basler juristischen Disputationen*, p. 51.

38 Basel University Library La I 11:61.

39 Basel University Library La I 11:71.

40 Basel University Library La I 11:60, La I 11:61, La I 11:63, La I 11:66, La I 11:69, USTC 751676.

41 USTC 751742, USTC 751653.

42 Basel University Library La I 11:61, La I 11:64, La I 11:66, La I 11:69, USTC 751741, USTC 751676, USTC 751662.

43 Schreckenfuchs' disputation is the exception with its title *De arthride*, USTC 751729.

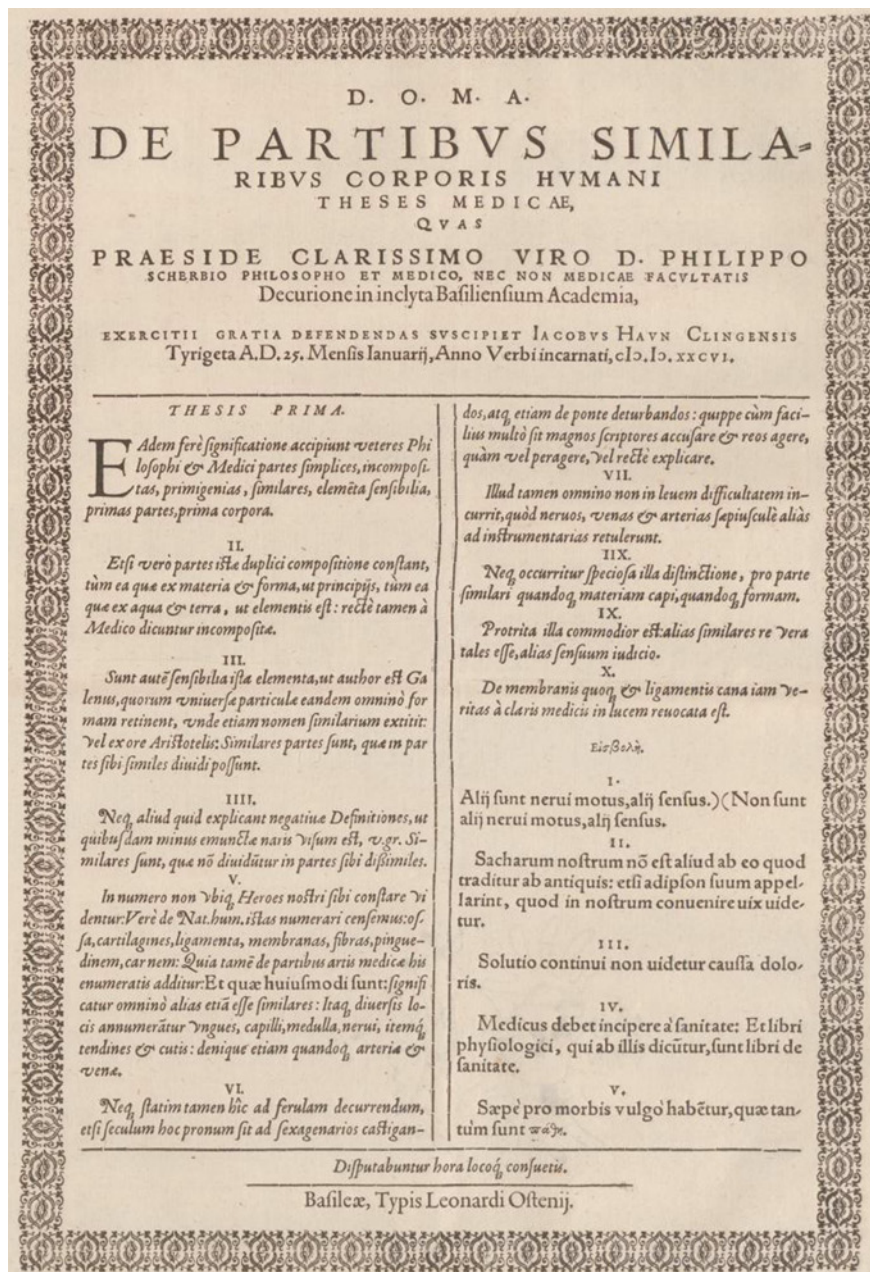


FIGURE 16.2 *De partibus similaribus corporis humani*. The title and all other relevant information are clearly displayed at the top and the bottom of the broadsheet. BASEL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, LA 1 11:61.

was an integral part of an early modern thesis. Every medical disputation displayed the Latinised name of the candidate followed by the student's place of origin, information which the student had to provide at his matriculation.⁴⁴ Thus the disputation of Johannes Oswald Schreckenfuchs, who was born in 1548 in Bietigheim close to Stuttgart, reads 'Ioan: Osvaldus Schreckenfuchsius Bitighemius'.⁴⁵ Schreckenfuchs' name is written in capital letters just above the theses. It is easy to recognise and serves to catch the eye. This display of the candidate's name, however, is rather exceptional for the broadsheets of the mid-sixteenth century. Most of the names are integrated into the introductory paragraph at the top of the broadsheet.⁴⁶ Sometimes the name is written in capital letters, but generally the identity of the disputant is quite difficult to spot without reading the whole, sometimes very long, introduction. In contrast the broadsheets of the later decades of the sixteenth century feature the name much more prominently (Fig. 16.2).⁴⁷

Nearly all of the later broadsheets mention who will preside over the disputation (the *praeses*).⁴⁸ The names of renowned professors should further help to catch the eyes of interested students. We know that Johannes Nicolaus Stupanus chaired Peter Jacob Montinus' disputation in January 1591 as stated on the document: 'Praeside D[omino] D[octori] Nicolao Stupano, Theorices Doctore celebr[imo]'.⁴⁹ Theodor Zwinger chaired disputations like the one held by Antoine Boucart in 1587. None of the broadsheets printed in the mid-sixteenth century lists the *praeses* at all.

The increase in the number of disputations towards the end of the sixteenth century led to a change in the organisation of such events, which also affected the design of the broadsheets. The small number of disputations in the mid sixteenth century did not require much organisation beforehand – in fact the disputation could be arranged within only two weeks. This happened for example in 1557 when Platter applied for a doctor's degree on 14 August.⁵⁰ One week after his application, Platter received two topics for his disputation. He prepared these two topics and printed his disputation on 29 August, announcing

44 Mommsen, *Katalog der Basler juristischen Disputationen*, p. 72.

45 USTC 751729.

46 Basel University Library La I 11:3, La I 11:9, USTC 751684, USTC 751701, USTC 751716, USTC 751752, USTC 751652, USTC 751661.

47 Basel University Library La I 11:64.

48 Basel University Library La I 11:60, La I 11:61, La I 11:63, La I 11:66, La I 11:69, La I 11:71, USTC 751742, USTC 751741, USTC 751676, USTC 751736.

49 USTC 751736.

50 Platter, *Tagebuch*, pp. 304–307.

his disputation for 2 September. This means that the candidate needed less than a month to prepare and organise the event. Due to this short time-frame, disputations from the mid-sixteenth century commonly only announce the disputation for 'proxima die Iovis' – next Thursday.⁵¹ Like Platter's disputation, the broadsheets were presumably printed less than one week before the event.

In contrast, broadsheets printed between 1586 and 1599 reveal the date of the event in an altogether different manner. These documents commonly give the exact date such as 'A.D.25.Mensis Ianuarij' and 'decimoquinto Iunij'.⁵² This indicates that the many disputations in the second half of the century took place on different days of the week; the high number of these events made it impossible to confine them to Thursdays. In addition, later broadsheets always included the year of the disputation to clarify matters.

The information on the time and place of the disputations was modified as well. Generally in the 1550s disputations took place in the morning. Thus the documents usually include expressions like 'ante meridiem' or 'matutina'.⁵³ Thus when in 1568 Johannes Nicolaus Stupanus defended his theses, he did this at eight in the morning, just as Johannes Bauhin did in 1571.⁵⁴ Others defended their theses at seven o'clock.⁵⁵ At that point the candidate, the professors as well as the audience came together in the 'aula medicorum', sometimes described as the 'medicorum auditorio'. These two expressions refer to the assembly hall of the medical faculty. It was situated in the 'Obere Collegium', which formed a part of the former Augustine cloister.⁵⁶

By the end of the sixteenth century this practice had become a routine. Scholars in Basel knew very well that disputations were commonly taking place in the assembly hall of the medical faculty at 7 o'clock. In addition for those scholars or potential students who read the disputation in a far-off place, such as Tübingen or other university towns, information on time and place was irrelevant. They did not intend to appear at the event; instead they just read the disputation to get an impression of the Basel syllabus. Therefore in contrast to the earlier documents, the later disputations include neither time nor place of the disputation. This information was simply redundant. Instead some later

51 Basel University Library La I 11:9, USTC 751684, USTC 751701, USTC 751716, USTC 751752, USTC 751735, USTC 751661, USTC 751729.

52 Basel University Library La I 11:61, USTC 751662.

53 USTC 751723, USTC 751684.

54 USTC 751734, USTC 751661.

55 Basel University Library La I 11:9, USTC 751652.

56 Platter, *Tagebuch*, p. 307.

broadsheets include expressions like 'hora et locu consuetis' or 'hora locoque solitis' ('at the well-known time and place').⁵⁷ Other broadsheets do not mention time and place at all.⁵⁸

Disputations from the mid-sixteenth century were generally not decorated. The only adornment on disputations in this period was a large woodcut initial at the beginning of the text. Only four of the thirteen disputations from the mid-sixteenth century show elaborated woodcuts.⁵⁹ In contrast, the disputations from the later sixteenth century are much more lavishly decorated (Fig. 16.3). Lois Allard's disputation from 1599 even has an embellished decorative frame with detailed flowers and angels.⁶⁰ This embellishment may have responded to the wishes of the disputant that their achievements be properly celebrated. Alternatively, it may suggest that publishers were looking increasingly towards a more commercial market.

Disputations were published in two different formats: as a broadsheet and as a pamphlet. The two earliest examples of printed disputations were from the faculty of law (1518) and the faculty of medicine (1553).⁶¹ Both of them were published as broadsheets. It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that printers in Basel published the first disputation pamphlets. These pamphlets appeared as quartos comprising on average four pages. The first pamphlet of this kind was published by the medical student Jacob Seidel.⁶² The small publication comprised 8 pages and invited its readers to the event on 22 September 1575. In the following decades this format proved to be successful. By the end of the sixteenth century no fewer than 395 disputation pamphlets were printed.⁶³ Most publications were just as short as Jacob Seidel's, but some pamphlets contained several dozen pages. In one exceptional case a disputation from 1593 comprised over 50 pages.⁶⁴

The appearance of pamphlets did not render broadsheet disputations redundant; rather, these two forms coexisted. Particularly in the last decades of the sixteenth century, the use of both forms was very common. The student presumably had the choice between producing his thesis as a broadsheet or as

57 Basel University Library La I 11:61, La I 11:66, La I 11:71, USTC 751741, USTC 751676, USTC 751736.

58 Basel University Library La I 11:60, La I 11:63, La I 11:64, USTC 751662, USTC 751742.

59 Basel University Library La I 11:3, La I 11:9, USTC 751701, USTC 751716.

60 USTC 751653.

61 Basel University Library EL I 4a:4, La I 11:3.

62 USTC 607275.

63 Husner lists 395 pamphlets that were printed before 1601, see Husner, *Verzeichnis der Basler Medizinischen Universitätsschriften*, pp. 25–42.

64 Husner, *Verzeichnis der Basler Medizinischen Universitätsschriften*, no. 232.



FIGURE 16.3 *Assertiones de arthritide*. A disputation from 1575 with elaborate woodcuts.
USTC 751721.
BASEL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, DISS 148:28.

a pamphlet. As pamphlets were smaller than broadsheets, friends and family members from abroad might have preferred them for collection purposes; and indeed, after 1600 the proportion of theses published as pamphlets grew at the expense of broadsheets. Still, disputations were printed on broadsheets for at least another century. The latest judicial disputation on a single sheet dates from 1757.⁶⁵

Medical Disputations and Their Collectors

The earliest broadsheet medical disputation in the university library was printed in 1553, nearly one century after the foundation of the university.⁶⁶ The lack of printed disputations, however, does not indicate that the events did not take place; quite the contrary. Disputations were mandatory from the very beginning of the university; in fact they were mentioned explicitly in the university statutes of 1460.⁶⁷ It may be that medical disputations were produced as manuscripts before 1553. Despite the invention of moveable type, universities still relied on manuscript production for many decades.⁶⁸ Since disputations primarily addressed a small audience comprising mainly university members from one specific faculty it would have been quite practical for them to be handwritten rather than printed. In his catalogue, Mommsen refers to a manuscript disputation from 1475 – eight years after the first printer had started his business in Basel.⁶⁹ So it may be possible that before the first printed disputation appeared in 1553, medical disputations were only circulated in manuscript form.

Yet this seems rather unlikely. Other faculties endorsed print from an early date. The first judicial disputation in Basel was already printed as early as 1518: it announces the disputation of Stephanus Fredolet from Besançon on 26 November. The first theological disputation was printed about twenty years later, in 1535.⁷⁰ Thus we can assume that despite the costs of printing, from the early sixteenth century onwards disputations tended to be printed rather

65 Mommsen, *Katalog der Basler juristischen Disputationen*, p. 42.

66 There are also some undated disputations, but they seem to have been printed around the same time, Husner, *Verzeichnis der Basler Medizinischen Universitätsschriften*, p. 7.

67 Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät*, p. 8.

68 Stephan Füssel, 'Kontinuität und Umbruch: Die Literaturentwicklung von 1450 bis 1600', in Stephan Füssel (ed.), *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit (1450–1600). Ihr Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1993), p. 18.

69 Mommsen, *Katalog der Basler juristischen Disputationen*, p. 27.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

than handwritten. As Basel was an important printing centre the university frequently interacted with the printing industry. This interaction worked both ways: students earned their living as typesetters, and professors worked as translators and editors or even as printers themselves.⁷¹ Johannes Oporinus taught Greek, Latin and Rhetoric at the university and was at the same time one of the most productive printers in Basel.⁷² It was Oporinus that Andreas Vesalius chose to produce the epoch-making *De humani corporis fabrica*.⁷³

Although broadsheets are highly ephemeral, it nevertheless seems unlikely that many medical disputations were produced before 1553. There were simply not many events to announce in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁷⁴ After the university had re-opened in 1532, the medical faculty grew only very slowly. In the following thirty years there were only ten students matriculated at the medical faculty.

Fortunately, from 1553 onwards printed broadsheets were carefully collected. Thanks to this collecting practice the university library now possesses over one hundred medical broadsheets printed before 1601. Eighty broadsheets are bound together in a miscellaneous volume in the Basel University Library with the shelf mark La 1 11. Another forty broadsheets were collected loosely in a folder with the shelf mark Diss 148. Some of these loose disputations are duplicates of those in La 1 11; yet most of the broadsheets in Diss 148 are the only surviving copies of these particular medical disputations.

This rich collection owes its existence primarily to two professors, Bonifacius Amerbach and Heinrich Pantaleon. Amerbach frequently attended medical disputations; since he was the dean of the law faculty as well as rector of the university, he was probably obliged to visit these academic events.⁷⁵ It is interesting to note that in the sixteenth century, the subjects of medicine and law overlapped significantly because of the theoretical character of medicine at that time.⁷⁶ In fact, it was not uncommon to organise combined graduation ceremonies for students of medicine and law.⁷⁷

71 Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät*, p. 138.

72 Leu, 'Book and Reading Culture', p. 301.

73 Felix Heinimann, 'Johannes Oporinus: 1507–1568', in Andreas Staehelin (ed.), *Professoren der Universität Basel aus 5 Jahrhunderten: Bildnisse und Würdigungen* (Basel: Reinhardt, 1960), p. 42.

74 Bonjour, *Universität Basel*, p. 90.

75 Beat Rudolf Jenny, 'Einladung und Thesen zur Disputation des Arztes Philipp Bechi', in Fritz Nagel (ed.), *Bonifacius Amerbach 1495–1562* (Basel: Schwabe, 1995), p. 89.

76 Mommsen, *Katalog der Basler juristischen Disputationen*, p. 83.

77 *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35.

But Amerbach did not visit disputations only to fulfil his duty as dean and rector, as we can see from his sometimes very elaborate manuscript notes. He attended disputations out of personal interest – either in the respondent or the topic. As the manager of the Erasmus foundation, Amerbach granted scholarships to a number of students.⁷⁸ To show their gratitude the scholarship holders gave a copy of their disputation to Amerbach including a handwritten dedication to the professor. In this way, Amerbach received the disputations of Simon Oswald Hug, Guglielmo Gratarolo and also Theodor Zwinger; two of them referring to Amerbach as their ‘merciful patron’.⁷⁹

Other annotated broadsheets reveal Amerbach’s interest in specific diseases. He was particularly interested in lithiasis, a common illness in Amerbach’s family. Amerbach’s brother Basilius suffered from it and even had to undergo surgery in 1509 to remove a bladder stone.⁸⁰ When Philipp Bech discussed lithiasis in his disputation, Amerbach annotated the broadsheet extensively.⁸¹ The nature of his scribbled notes suggest that Amerbach wrote these annotations during the disputation. The professor was particularly interested in Bech’s first thesis discussing diuretics as treatment. Amerbach highlighted the word ‘diuretic’ and annotated the thesis in the margin, referring to the Italian doctor Johannes Manardus. Amerbach not only mentioned Manardus’ book *Epistolarum medicinalium libri xx* but also referred to its pages 489 and 496. At the bottom of the broadsheet he even quoted lines 7–12 from page 489.⁸² The content of these pages was presumably discussed during the disputation and Amerbach wrote them down for future reference.

Amerbach collected the loose broadsheet disputations in his own library. Several decades later, in the seventeenth century, the single sheets were bound together in a miscellaneous volume.⁸³ Then, in 1661, the city of Basel bought the private library of Amerbach and the volume was integrated into the collection of the university library. In the 1670s the book surfaced for the first time in the catalogue of the university library and has remained in its holdings ever since.

78 Beat Rudolf Jenny, ‘Bonifacius Amerbach: Zu seinem Lebenslauf und zu seiner Persönlichkeit’, in Fritz Nagel (ed.), *Bonifacius Amerbach 1495–1562* (Basel: Schwabe, 1995), p. 13.

79 All of these copies are in Basel University Library La I 11, Diss 148:6, USTC 751684, USTC 751752.

80 Jenny, ‘Bonifacius Amerbach’, p. 88.

81 Basel University Library La I 11.

82 Jenny, ‘Bonifacius Amerbach’, p. 88.

83 I would like to thank Lorenz Heiligensetzer from the Basel University Library for his insights on this question.

In contrast to Amerbach's collection, the second gathering of medical broadsheets (shelf mark Diss 148) was lodged in the university library from the very start. It was compiled by Heinrich Pantaleon, who was not only a professor, but also a librarian at the university.⁸⁴ Under Pantaleon, the library underwent significant change.⁸⁵ When he started working in the 1550s, the collection had just been moved to another building due to the reopening of the university. Pantaleon seized this opportunity and re-organised the whole library. He compiled the first catalogue in 1559 and thus saved valuable documents – including many medical disputations – for posterity.

But it was not only due to Pantaleon's work as a librarian that medical broadsheets from the sixteenth century have survived until today. From 1558 onwards, Pantaleon was also a professor of medicine as well as dean of the faculty.⁸⁶ As a teacher of many respondents, he received numerous broadsheets from his students to invite him to their disputation. In a similar manner to Amerbach's protégées, Pantaleon's students dedicated their copies to him; for example Guglielmo Gratarolo, who held his disputation in 1558.⁸⁷ At the bottom of the broadsheet was written 'Excell[entissimi] D[omini] He[n]ryco Pa[n]taleoni'. Another disputation from the year 1561 contains not only the name of Heinrich Pantaleon, but also his position: 'Clariss[imo] philosopho et Medico d[omi]no doct[ori] Heinricho Panthaleoni praeceptoru suo colendo'.⁸⁸

Pantaleon not only collected broadsheets; he also added information to them. As a dutiful librarian, he wrote the name of the respondent and the year of the disputation on the back of the broadsheet. Thanks to these annotations we know today that Felix Platter defended his theses in 1557 and Guglielmo Gratarolo one year later – although the printed text itself does not reveal a specific year.⁸⁹

84 Hieronymus, *Theophrast und Galen*, p. 1230.

85 The following information on Pantaleon's work as a librarian is taken from Beat Rudolf Jenny, 'Der Bibliothekar Heinrich Pantaleon', in Lorenz Heiligensetzer, etc. (eds.), *'Treffentliche schöne Biecher': Hans Ungnads Büchergeschenk und die Universitätsbibliothek Basel im 16. Jahrhundert* (Basel: Schwabe, 2005), pp. 108–115.

86 Werner Kaegi, 'Heinrich Pantaleon: 1522–1595', in Andreas Staehelin (ed.), *Professoren der Universität Basel aus 5 Jahrhunderten: Bildnisse und Würdigungen* (Basel: Reinhardt, 1960), p. 46.

87 USTC 751684.

88 Basel University Library Diss 148.

89 Yet Panthaleon's comments on the back must be treated with caution. On the disputation of Johannes Acronius the date printed at the bottom of the broadsheet says 'M.D.LX.III'. Pantaleon, however, wrote '1563' on the back of the broadsheet, which would mean that the disputation took place one year earlier. It seems unlikely that this was a printing

Finally, for Panthaleon disputation broadsheets also fulfilled an academic function. When in 1558 Pantaleon defended his own theses, he used one printed copy as a notepad (Fig. 16.4).⁹⁰ With this document he carefully prepared himself for the event. He neatly wrote down arguments for every thesis he listed and referred to the respective medical authority. In one of his four theses Panthaleon states that women do not suffer severely from podagra ('Mulieres Podagra vere non laborant'). In the margin, the doctoral candidate noted the respective aphorism of Hippocrates including not only the reference ('Lib. 6 Aph. 29.'), but also the words themselves 'mulier podagra non laborat'. A little further down Panthaleon penned an argument supporting his thesis: women do not experience epilepsy, apoplexy and melancholy either ('sic nec epilepsia, apoplexia [...] et melancholiae laborant'). In addition, Pantaleon wrote the introductory words with which he wanted to open his disputation on the back of the broadsheet. This way, he was able to remember every argument and utterance he wanted to make during the disputation.

Producing Medical Disputations

We may presume that candidates of medical disputations in Basel were obliged to have their theses printed. Such a regulation existed at the law faculty from 1563 onwards obliging doctoral candidates to print their thesis in order to receive their degree.⁹¹ Rules like this were not uncommon. In Freiburg, the university closest to Basel, students had to print their theses from 1570 onwards.⁹² Medical students in Basel thus were probably also required to publish their disputation, although this was not specifically mentioned in the faculty statutes. However such a law may well have been introduced during the restoration of the medical faculty in 1575.⁹³

mistake since Acronius became a doctor of medicine on 5 May 1564 and this disputation was most likely the examination for his doctoral degree. So presumably, Pantaleon simply made a mistake.

90 USTC 751716.

91 Mommsen, *Katalog der Basler juristischen Disputationen*, p. 28.

92 Vivian Nutton, 'Medicine in Medieval Western Europe, 1000–1500', in Lawrence I. Conrad (ed.), *The Western Medical Tradition: 800 B.C.–1800 A.D.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 154.

93 Husner, *Verzeichnis der Basler Medizinischen Universitätsschriften*, p. 8.

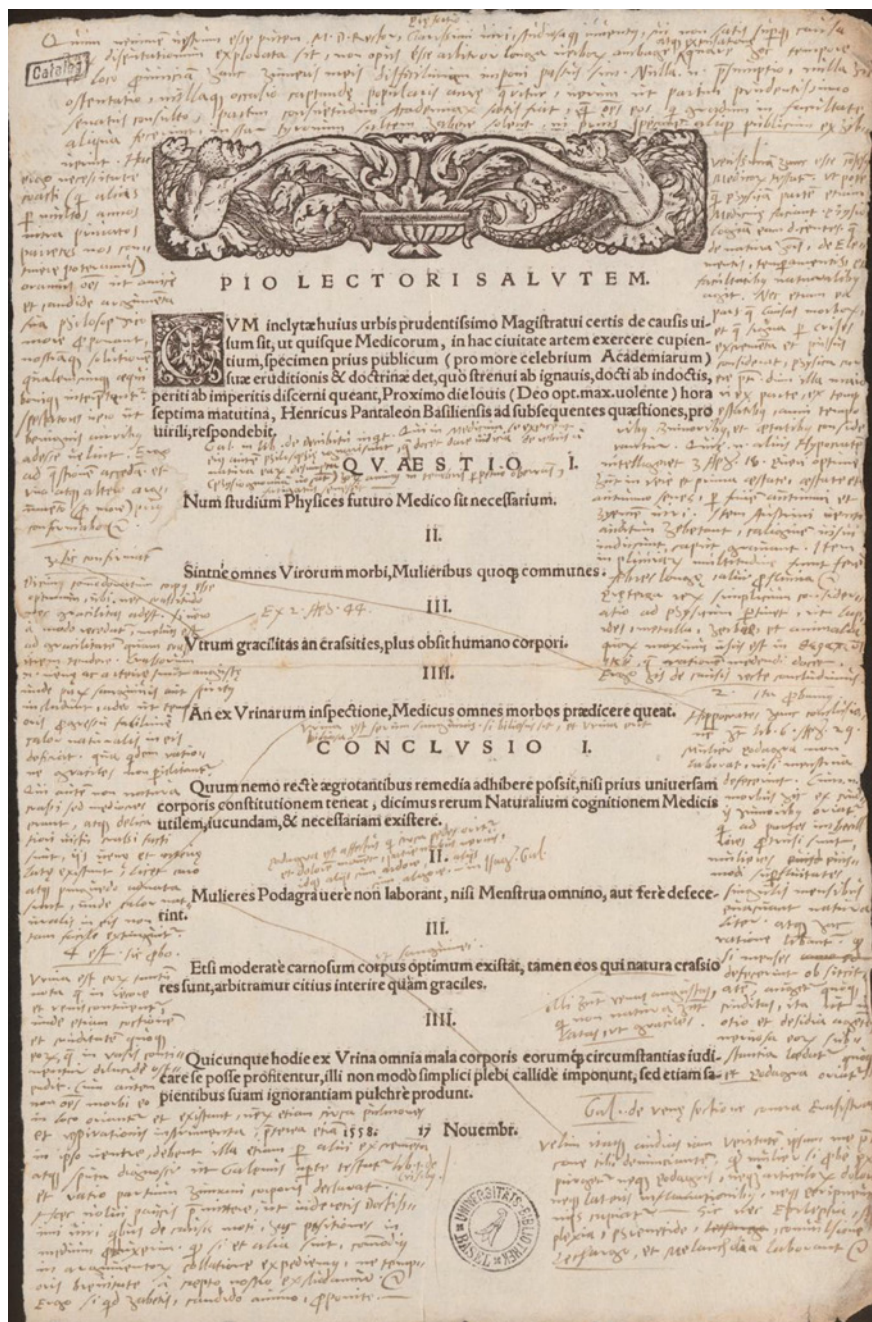


FIGURE 16.4 Heinrich Panthaleon, *Ad quaestiones, pro virili, respondebit*. Panthaleon used a copy of his disputation as a notepad. USTC 751716. BASEL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, DISS 148:4.

In Freiburg, doctoral candidates had to print a minimum of fifty copies.⁹⁴ Unfortunately there is no evidence in the laws or statutes of the University of Basel concerning the print run of disputations. However, there is other evidence that suggests that the print run of a medical disputation in Basel was higher than this. An incident from the later sixteenth century suggests that the print run of medical disputations could be three times as high as the number required in Freiburg. In 1578 Thomas Mofetus from London had his disputation printed; just as everybody else.⁹⁵ Unlike his fellow students, however, Mofetus failed to seek the permission of the dean – with good reason. When the dean finally read the pamphlet, he disapproved of the content straight away. In his opinion it was far too polemical, especially with regard to Mofetus' criticism of Thomas Erastus and Galen. To avoid controversy and damage to the reputation of the university, the dean called every copy back. This included both the previously distributed copies and those that were still at the printing shop. All in all, the dean was able to lay his hands on 136 copies.

Taking into consideration that Mofetus may have sent some copies home to London and kept a few copies for himself and his friends, we may safely assume that this disputation was printed in at least 150 copies. This number, however, is a rather conservative estimate. After all, the production of pamphlets was relatively cheap; once the type was set it was easy to produce several hundred copies. As Basel had excellent opportunities to sell books and pamphlets at book fairs, disputations might have found their way into the hands of many foreigners.⁹⁶ This was common practice in Tübingen, where the rector of the university asked the printer Thomas Anshelm to distribute broadsheets advertising lectures in Tübingen.⁹⁷ Anshelm produced no fewer than 1,000 copies of this advertisement in both Latin and German. The copies were then handed out at the Frankfurt book fair to recruit new students.

Thomas Mofetus, as well as his fellow students, most likely had to cover the costs for the production of the printed theses himself. This was the case at

94 Petra Bauer, et al. (eds.), *Historische Dissertationen vom Einblattdruck zum Pflichtexemplar: Ausstellung der Stiftung Zanders- Papiergeschichtliche Sammlung- aus der Privatbibliothek Dr. Frank Grätz im Kulturhaus der Zanders Feinpapiere AG* (Bergisch Gladbach: Grätz, 1995), p. 41.

95 The following paragraph follows Rudolf Thommen, *Geschichte der Universität Basel: 1532–1632* (Basel: Detloff, 1889), p. 60.

96 Leu, 'Book and Reading Culture', p. 297.

97 Theodor Schott, 'Zur Geschichte des Buchhandels in Tübingen', *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, 2 (1879), pp. 241–242.

most German universities, though there were only some exceptions.⁹⁸ At the University of Leipzig professors of the medical faculty received funds in order to hold disputations at least four times a year.⁹⁹ Most of this money was spent on the production of the printed documents. Additionally, the University of Erfurt partially funded the production of disputations. Yet this seems not have been the case in Basel.

When they had finished their theses, the candidates in Basel could choose to have them printed at a number of print shops. In other university towns, there was one single printer responsible for printing academic documents, the so-called *typographus academicus*.¹⁰⁰ However, there was no designated university printer in sixteenth-century Basel. Instead in the mid-sixteenth century there were several printers who supplied academic ephemera. Most broadsheets published before the 1570s do not reveal a printer's name, though we can identify the handiwork of some specific printers through typographical analysis. So, for instance, the two woodcuts used for the disputation in 1553, suggest that the broadsheet was printed by Johannes Herwagen. Another two broadsheets can be attributed to Heinrich Petri.¹⁰¹ So at this point there were at least two printers involved in the production of disputations. This changed towards the end of the century. By that time the brothers Leonhard and Daniel Ostein had distinguished themselves from their competitors and produced most medical disputations.¹⁰² The Ostein brothers also printed numerous disputations for other faculties. Beside Johannes Oporinus, the Ostein brothers were the most productive printers of judicial disputations to 1592.¹⁰³ Even so the printing brothers did not have a monopoly: disputations were also produced by other printing houses like the ones owned by Brylinger and Episcopus.

It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that Basel had a *typographus academicus*. From 1608 Johann Jakob Genath was solely responsible for the university's publications.¹⁰⁴ Seven years later he was announced the official university printer and was given a monopoly from the university.

98 Allweiss, 'Von der Disputation zur Dissertation', p. 23.

99 Horn, *Disputationen und Promotionen*, p. 88.

100 Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Organisation und Ausstattung', in Walter Rüegg (ed.), *Geschichte der Universität in Europa: Von der Reformation zur Französischen Revolution. 1500–1800* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996), p. 174.

101 Hieronymus, *Theophrast und Galen*, p. 1232, p. 1235, p. 1238.

102 So, for instance, Basel University Library La 1 11:60, La 1 11:61, La 1 11:63, La 1 11:71.

103 Mommsen, *Katalog der Basler juristischen Disputationen*, p. 42.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

From then on every student had to print his disputation in Genath's printing shop and those who disregarded Genath's monopoly were punished.¹⁰⁵ With this appointment, the university was responding to student's complaints about the variation in prices charged by different printers in Basel.¹⁰⁶ This presents a sharp contrast to academic printing in Nantes, where the student body condemned the monopoly of the printer as it drove up prices.¹⁰⁷

As we have seen sixteenth-century medical disputations were much more than just invitations that were discarded after they had fulfilled their purpose. Instead they were increasingly used to advertise the university, for notes written during the ceremony or as an autographed token of esteem from student to professor. They also give us considerable insight into the medical training in Basel, which changed significantly during the early modern period. As Basel progressively attracted foreign scholars, who then defended their theses in public, the study of medicine was influenced by more practical approaches to the subject. As a result, towards the end of the century the study of medicine had become less theoretical than before but focussed increasingly on specific diseases. The increasingly elaborate and complex layout of the printed documents suggests both growing typographical ambition and an awareness of the commercial possibilities of this sort of print. Important information such as the content of the thesis was displayed much more prominently. To save valuable space on the broadsheets other details that were less important were shortened or omitted altogether. One of the most revealing findings of this study is the fact that professors used the printed single sheets as notepads and preparation sheets for their own disputation; a fact that proves once more that these documents were a lot more than just a necessary part of academic formalities.

105 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

106 Thommen, *Geschichte der Universität Basel*, p. 85.

107 Malcolm Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany 1484–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 122.

PART 6

Broadsheets in the Marketplace



German Music Broadsheets, 1500 to 1550: Production, Persuasion and Performance

Amelie Roper

In 1524, the Nuremberg printing house of Jobst Gutknecht produced a pamphlet entitled *Etlich cristlich lider, lobgesang und psalm*.¹ Reprinted by the firm twice that year as well as by Augsburg's Melchior Ramminger, it also appeared in Erfurt under the title *Enchiridion oder eyn handbuchlein ... geystlicher gesenge und psalmen*.² At first glance, this twelve-leaf, quarto-format pamphlet appears fairly unremarkable. Also known as the *Achtliederbuch*, it contains the texts for eight hymns. Four are by Martin Luther, three by the Protestant preacher Paul Speratus, and one is anonymous, later attributed to the reformer Justus Jonas.³ Notated music (produced using woodcuts rather than movable type) accompanies half of the texts. The result is a modest and presumably affordable pamphlet. The frequent reissue of this pamphlet within its first year of publication reflects its popularity and has contributed to the description of 1524 as the Reformation's 'year of the song'.⁴ This in turn demonstrates the central role played by music, and more particularly by singing, in the new evangelical churches.

This unassuming pamphlet predates Luther and Johann Walther's *Geystliche Gesangk buchleyn* (Wittenberg: Josef Klug, 1524) by several months. As a result,

1 VD16 L 4698; USTC 653964. Both VD16, <<http://www.vd16.de>>, and the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), <<http://www.ustc.ac.uk>>, were last accessed on 31 January 2016.

2 The additional Nuremberg editions are VD16 L 4699, USTC 653965 and VD16 L 4700, USTC 653963. The Augsburg edition is VD16 L 4697, USTC 653966. The three Erfurt editions are VD16 E 1151, USTC 655582 (printed by Johann Loersfeld), VD16 E 1152, USTC 655583 (also printed by Johann Loersfeld) and VD16 E 1153, USTC 650318 (printed by Mathes Maler).

3 In order of appearance, the eight hymns are 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' (Luther), 'Es ist das Heil uns kommen her' (Speratus), 'In Gott glaub ich, das er hat' (Speratus), 'Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not' (Speratus), 'Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein' (Luther), 'Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl' (Luther), 'Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir' (Luther), and 'In Jesu Namen wir heben an' (Jonas).

4 Markus Jenny, 'Kirchenlied, Gesangbuch und Kirchenmusik', in Gerhard Bott (ed.), *Martin Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland: Ausstellung zum 500. Geburtstags Martin Luthers* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1983), p. 317.

it has been rightly celebrated as the earliest extant Lutheran hymnal.⁵ Yet it is important as much for the way in which its eight hymns came to be assembled as for its musical and religious content. In particular, it seems likely that at least some of the material circulated as broadsheets produced either prior to, or concurrently with, the pamphlet itself.⁶ The single-sheet format would have lent itself readily to the circulation of hymns. Single sheets would have been relatively quick and simple to produce, easy to distribute and convenient for congregational use.

Like the format more generally, music broadsheets have suffered from huge rates of attrition. Of the total produced in Germany between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, as few as one in every two hundred survive today.⁷ Amongst those lost altogether are Lutheran hymn sheets printed in Wittenberg in the 1520s.⁸ Curiously, no Wittenberg examples are currently extant for this period, although we might expect them to have been produced alongside those printed in other major production centres such as Augsburg and Nuremberg. Attempts to plug gaps in our knowledge such as these are hindered by challenges of documentation. It does not help that broadsheets have been omitted from the German national bibliography VD16. In the particular case of music

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- 5 VD16 L 4776, USTC 659783 (tenor) and 552945 (bassus). For further discussion of these editions, see Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the gospel: Lutheran hymns and the success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 7–8.
 - 6 Gerhard Hahn, *Das Evangelium als Literarische Anweisung: zur Luthers Stellung in der Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes* (Munich: Artemis, 1981), p. 12, has described the pamphlet as ‘eine lose buchhändlerische Zusammenfassung’ (‘a loose bookseller’s compilation’). Prior circulation of similar content as broadsheets also seems to have taken place with reference to the various editions of the Erfurt *Enchiridion* (Erfurt: Loersfeld, 1524). For further discussion, see Daniel Trocmé-Latter, *The singing of the Strasbourg Protestants* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 84, and Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 260.
 - 7 Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 55) (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1974), p. 24. This statistic relates to numbers of copies rather than numbers of editions. Paas gives a slightly more optimistic survival rate of 0.7% for seventeenth century German political broadsheets. See John Roger Paas, *The German political broadsheet 1600–1700* (13 vols., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985–2017), vol. 1, pp. 25–26.
 - 8 One of the earliest references to a Wittenberg music broadsheet comes in the form of a broadsheet entitled ‘Eyn klaglied der armen vber die Römische Entichristische pfaffen’. Bearing a false imprint of ‘Rome’ and a date of 1522, Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 40, no. 90, suggests Wittenberg as its true origin, though this has not been proven. For further discussion, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 338–340. A copy of this broadsheet is preserved in Heidelberg University Library, shelfmark Cod. Pal. germ. 793, folio 128.

broadsheets, they also characteristically lack basic bibliographical information such as date, place of publication and printer's name. This inevitably makes accurate description difficult.

While some music broadsheets are to be found in libraries, others are located in archives and others still in museums. The fact that their musical function is usually not made explicit through the presence of musical notation means that they are just as likely to be part of museum collections of prints and drawings as music or rare books departments. To a certain extent, these difficulties of definition carry over into the academic sphere as music broadsheets do not sit comfortably within the traditional remit of established academic disciplines. Many make use of simple, monophonic melodies and are therefore potentially of less interest to musicologists. Meanwhile the texts are often anonymous or clumsily written, limiting their appeal to literary scholars.⁹

However, if we put to one side this complex and challenging research context, there is evidence that the content of the first Lutheran hymnal also circulated as a series of broadsheets. This comes in the form of a broadsheet produced by Augsburg's prolific Philipp Ulhart firm, now preserved in Heidelberg University Library. Printed in 1524, it provides a single-sheet version of the pamphlet's first hymn, Luther's 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' ('Dear Christians one and all, rejoice', Fig. 17.1).¹⁰ Described in the Josef Klug hymnal of 1529 as 'a fine spiritual song', it summarises in dramatic form Luther's doctrine of sin and grace.¹¹

This example provides a useful starting point for more general discussion of the production of music broadsheets in Germany in the first half of the sixteenth century, since its printing, format and likely reception raise a number of fundamental questions. How typical was the layout and content of this broadsheet, with its woodcut melody followed by ten verses of religious text? How many music broadsheets might have been produced in Germany in this period and where

9 For further discussion of the neglect of such sources, see Judith Pollmann, "Hey ho, let the cup go round!" Singing for reformation in the sixteenth century', in Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*. Vol. 1, *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 294–295, Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 2–7, and Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 503–552.

10 USTC 553873. Also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 41, no. 96. Further discussion can be found in Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 318, which explains that earlier broadsheet versions of this hymn bearing the date of 1523 are known to have survived until the nineteenth century.

11 For further discussion of this hymn, see Brown, *Singing the gospel*, pp. 16–20.

¶ Nun frewdt euch lieben Christen geymyn/ Vnd laßt vns frölich springen/
 Das wir getrost vnd all in ain/ Mit lust vnd liebe singen/
 Was Gott an vns gewendet hat/ Vnd seyne süsse wunder that/
 Gar theur hat ers erworben.

¶ Dem Teuffel ich gefangen lag/ Im todt was ich verlorren/
 Mein sünd mich queller nacht vnd tag/ Darinn ich was geboren/
 Ich siel auch ymmert tieffer drein/ Es was kein güts am leben mein/
 Die sünd hatt mich besessen.

¶ Mein güte werck die golten nicht/ Es was mit in verdoiben/
 Der frey will haffet gots gericht/ Er was zum güte gestorben/
 Die angst mich zu verzweyfeln trayb/ Das nichts den sterben bey mir blayb/
 Zur hellen müßt ich sincken.

¶ Da jamert gott in ewigkait/ Mein ellend über massen/
 Er dach an sein Darmherzigkait/ Er wolt mir helfen lassen/
 Er wandt zu mir das vatter hertz/ Es was bey im fürwar kein scherz/
 Es ließ seyn bestes kosten.

¶ Er sprach zu seynem lieben son/ Die zeit ist hye zurbarren/
 Gar hym meins hertze weruetron/ Vnd sey das hyl dem armen/
 Vnd hüß im auß der sünden not/ Erwürg vor in den bittern todt/
 Vnd laß in mit dir leben.

¶ Der son dem vatter ghorisam ward/ Er kam zu mir auff erden/
 Von ainer Juncffraw rayn vnd zart/ Er solt mein brüden werden/
 Gar haymlich furt er sein gewalt/ Er gieng in meiner armen gestalt/
 Den Teuffel wolt er fahen.

¶ Er sprach zu mir halt dich an mich/ Es soll dir yetz gelingen/
 Ich gib mich selber ganz für dich/ Da will ich für dich ringen/
 Denn ich bin dein vnd du bist mein/ Vnd wa ich bleyb da soltu seyn/
 Vns soll der feynd nicht schayden.

¶ Vergieffen wirt er mir mein blüt/ Darzu mein leben rauben/
 Das leyd ich alles dir zu güte/ Das halt mit festem glauben/
 Den todt verschlindt das leben mein/ Mein vnschuld treget die sünde dein/
 Da bistu sällig worden.

¶ Gen hymel zu dem vatter mein/ Gar ich von diesem leben /
 Da will ich seyn der mayster dein/ Den gayst will ich dir geben/
 Der dich im trübnuß trösten soll/ Vnd lernen mich erkennen wol/
 Vnd in der warhayt laytten.

¶ Was ich gethon hab vnd gelert/ Das soltu thün vnd leeren/
 Damit das reych Gots werd gemert/ Zu lob vnd seynen eren /
 Vnd hüt dich vor der menschen sag/ Dawon verdürbt der Edle schatz/
 Das laß ich dir zu lege.

1 5 2 4.

Martinus Luther.

FIGURE 17.1 Martin Luther, *Nun frewdt euch lieben Christen geymyn* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1524). 250 × 130 mm.¹² USTC 553873.
 HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, COD. PAL. GERM. 793, FOL. 82 VERSO.

¹² In all instances, the dimensions refer to the size of the sheet rather than the printing area.

were they printed? How did music broadsheets communicate their content with their audience and how might they have been used? In addressing these questions, this study draws on the foundation provided by Wolf Wilhelm Brednich's *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* and Gisela Ecker's *Einblattdrucke von den Anfängen bis 1555*, together with *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, a scholarly editorial project to collect and analyse the melodies of German hymn tunes.¹³ These sources are complemented by Rebecca Wagner Oettinger's discussion and catalogue of German Reformation "propaganda songs".¹⁴ In addition, recent advances in documentation made by the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) allow the specific field of music broadsheets to be contextualised in the wider output of sixteenth-century German single-sheet print.¹⁵

Defining Music Broadsheets

Einblattdrucke, or broadsheets, can be defined as single sheets, unfolded and printed with continuous text on one side only, and for the most part in the vernacular.¹⁶ Within this wide spectrum, music broadsheets can be most usefully described simply as single sheets that could be used for musical performance.

- 13 Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 55 and 60) (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1974–1975), Gisela Ecker, *Einblattdrucke von den Anfängen bis 1555*, (2 vols., Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1981) and *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* (17 vols., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975–ongoing). This important reference source has three sections: a catalogue of printed editions produced up until 1800, a complete edition of melodies from manuscript sources and a complete edition of melodies from printed sources.
- 14 Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 9–11, defines "propaganda songs" as those that propagate a particular mindset or belief. Her study addresses the propagandistic songs of the Reformation from roughly 1517 to the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. It includes a helpful catalogue of 230 songs (pp. 213–402), drawn from pamphlets, songbooks and manuscripts as well as broadsheets.
- 15 Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, identifies 359 music broadsheets dating from the late-fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. 218 of these are thought to have been printed in the period up to 1550. Ecker, *Einblattdrucke*, identifies 72 for the period up to 1555. The USTC identifies 298 for the period up to 1550 together with a further 60 which are undated. The total identified by the USTC for the sixteenth century as a whole is 379. It is probable that some of the USTC's 60 undated broadsheets were produced in the first half of the sixteenth century.
- 16 See Nicolas Barker, *The ABC for book collectors* (London: British Library, 2004), p. 51, and Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 1, pp. 7–8. Brednich, p. 8, explains that there are a handful of examples of broadsheets printed on both sides, but these seem to be distinct works, and are therefore probably errors rather than intentional double-sided printing.

This loose definition deliberately avoids specifying that a music broadsheet must incorporate some element of musical notation. A large number of single-sheet publications were produced in Germany in the first half of the sixteenth century which were intended to be used for singing, even though musical notation is absent. Framing the definition in terms of function rather than typographical content enables us to gain a much fuller understanding of the contribution of broadsheets to musical culture.¹⁷

The printing of music broadsheets seems to have developed alongside the production of the first books with movable type in the 1450s. Whilst they were initially largely text only, the Augsburg printer Günther Zainer was amongst the first in the German-speaking countries to produce an illustrated broadsheet in the form of a ballad dating from around 1475 (Fig. 17.2 and Colour plate VI). Presented without a title, it can be identified by the first line of its text, 'Ich kam auf eine Gefilde weit'.¹⁸ In 32 rhyming couplets, the ballad describes a woman's fight against the devil's army, a scene portrayed in great detail in the woodcut. This example displays two characteristics which were to become fundamental to German music broadsheets of the first half of the sixteenth century: the cross-over between drama and song and the use of woodcuts in the communication process.

Broadsheets of a musical nature are often described as *Liedflugblätter* or 'song sheets'. A portrait layout and sheet dimensions of roughly 260 by 170 mm were typical, though there were considerable deviations from this pattern.¹⁹ They can usually be identified by the presence of the word 'Lied' or a variant such as 'Laid' or 'Lyed' at the head of the sheet, followed by the song text, broken down into verses. The length varies greatly from very short texts with just ten lines to much longer ones with well over fifty. In many cases, the word 'Lied' at the head of the sheet is complemented by an instruction concerning

17 This approach is distinct from that of the VDM16 database, based at the University of Salzburg (see <<http://www.vdm16.ac.at>>, last accessed 31 January 2016). This project documents musical sources produced in the German-speaking regions between 1500 and 1540. Whilst this encompasses the broadsheet format, only those with musical notation are included.

18 USTC 749288; Incunabula Short Title Catalogue ito0118450 (<<http://istc.bl.uk>>, last accessed 31 January 2016, hereafter 1STC); Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke M18299. (<<http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de>>, last accessed 31 January 2016; hereafter GW).

19 The examples I have examined range in height from 204 mm to 478 mm. Widths are also variable, ranging from 127 mm to 333 mm. Dimensions must be treated with a fair degree of caution, as it is often impossible to know how much they might have been trimmed following their original production.

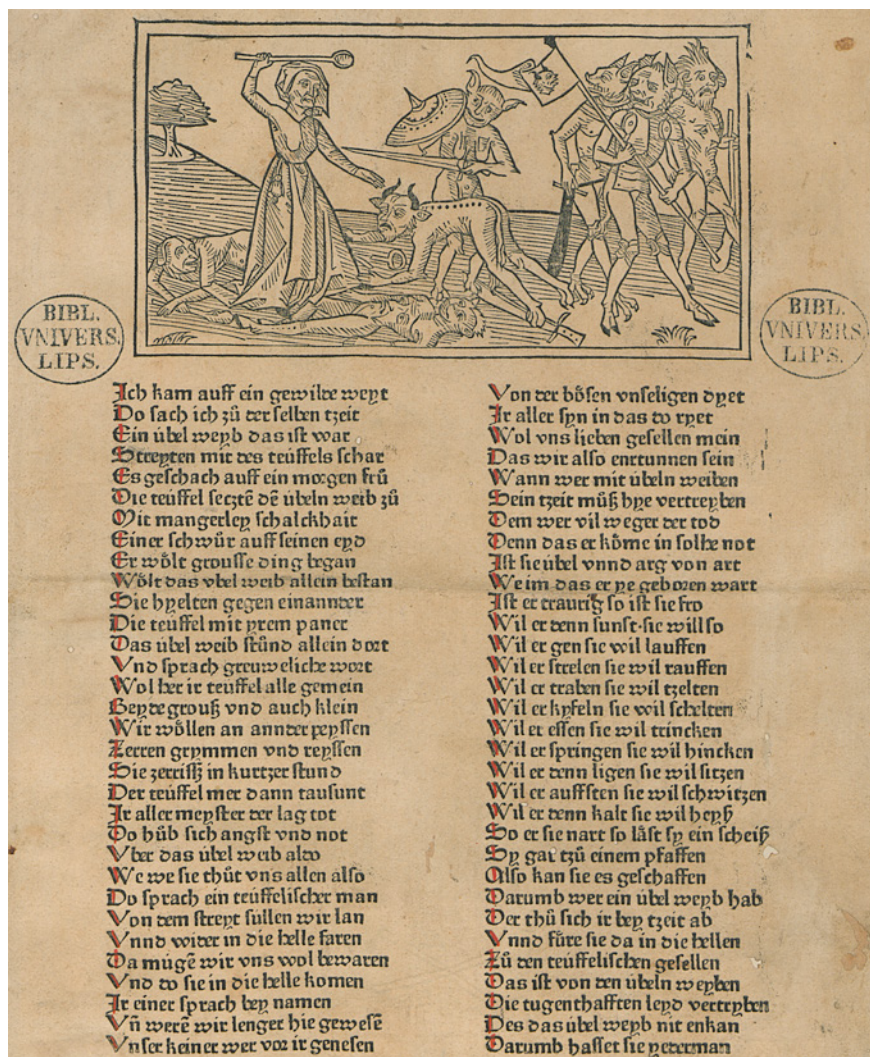


FIGURE 17.2 (COLOUR PLATE VI) *Ich kam auf eine Gefilde weit* (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, ca. 1475). 285 × 182 mm. USTC 749288. LEIPZIG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ED.VET.S.A.M.1031.

the melody to be used, typically using a phrase such as 'im Thon' or 'in der Melodey'. The melodies used were generally well-known folk or hymn tunes.²⁰

20 For a summary of the most common secular melodies used in song broadsheets, see Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 1, p. 63, and Wolfgang Suppan, *Deutsches Liedleben zwischen Renaissance and Barock* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1973), pp. 14–24.

Sometimes the word 'Lied' is omitted from the head of the sheet completely, leaving only an instruction concerning the melody. Still less frequently, the melody to be used is printed together with the text, as illustrated by Fig. 17.1. The presence of musical notation positively identifies the broadsheet as musical even to the casual observer, but also suggests a degree of musical literacy might be required on the part of the user.

Whilst the term 'song sheet' is an appropriate one, it should be noted that not all music broadsheets were intended exclusively for singing. Reading aloud, rather than silent scanning of texts, was the more usual form of reading in the sixteenth century.²¹ A consequence of this was that the boundaries between drama, poetry, prayerful contemplation and song were very porous, so those who engaged with song texts often had a choice between singing and recitation when it came to 'performance'. One broadsheet dating from 1524, for example, bears the caption title 'Eyn new gedicht zcu singen' ('A new poem to sing').²² Another dating from around 1540 is headed 'Auß dem xxii. vnnd lxxi psalm ein gebet ... im thon Vater unser im hymelreich ...' ('A prayer from the 22nd and 71st psalms ... to the tune of Our Father in heaven ...').²³ There are others which may have been used for teaching purposes rather than just for singing. A primer printed in Marburg in 1550, for example, is entitled 'Eyn schon ABC in Reimen-Weiß' ('A pleasant ABC in rhyme').²⁴ Further evidence for the use of broadsheets in the context of education is provided by references to the presence of posters on walls in contemporary school ordinances.²⁵ This diversity suggests that the term 'music broadsheets' can be applied to the body of works in this format as a whole, whilst the narrower term 'song sheets' and the still more specific 'hymn sheets' can be used when the content allows.

The flexible performance methods associated with many sixteenth-century German music broadsheets in turn reflects the breadth of their content.

21 Bob Scribner, 'Oral culture and the transmission of Reformation ideas', in Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *The Transmission of Ideas in the Lutheran Reformation* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989), p. 87.

22 USTC 553965. Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Yd 7803.42. Described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 75, no. 264.

23 USTC 553908. Described in *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 51, no. 131. There is currently no known surviving copy of this music broadsheet.

24 USTC 553863. Also described in *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 37, no. 83. Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Yd 7855.

25 Steven Ozment, *Three Behaim boys: growing up in Early Modern Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 287, transcribes an ordinance from the Altdorf Academy, established in 1575, which states that "students must not tear down posters in their classes".

Both Ecker and Brednich have offered systems for their classification which attempt to embrace this diversity. Ecker favours a four-part classification, distinguishing between Catholic songs, Protestant songs, those for secular entertainment and those with a historical or political focus.²⁶ The latter category is then further subdivided using headings for notable events, such as the War of Succession in Landshut (1503–1505) and the death of Emperor Maximilian I and succession of Charles V (1519). Brednich also offers four categories. The first is for sacred songs, further subdivided according to whether they are Catholic or Protestant. Like Ecker, Brednich also identifies a category for songs relating to historic events, but he includes an additional heading for news songs. He uses this to group together music broadsheets reporting on more popular events such as crimes, accidents, curiosities and miracles. Popular and folk songs form the last of Brednich's major categories. This encompasses love songs, stories, and satirical and drinking songs.²⁷ Brednich's inclusion of separate categories for news and popular songs is an accurate reflection of the diverse nature of music broadsheets. Meanwhile, Ecker's addition of extra sub-headings relating to the historical or political events described is unquestionably beneficial.

At the most basic level, a division exists between sacred and secular music broadsheets, but even this most fundamental of distinctions is not always clear cut. A number of broadsheets with religious texts make use of secular characters as a means of communicating their messages. One example is the 'Bauernmaegdlein', or 'Bauerndirnlein', a recurrent theme of sacred broadsheets produced in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, which featured a simple 'country girl' as a personification of the Virgin Mary. Early broadsheet creators recognised this crossover, since in many cases the word 'geistlich' is appended to the caption in order to identify it as sacred rather than secular. This is exemplified by Fig. 17.3, a broadsheet printed in Munich by Johann Schobser around 1500 entitled 'Das baruen [sic] diernlein Gaistlich'.²⁸

Similar descriptions can be found on occasions when secular melodies are re-used with religious texts. One of the most common of these is 'Ach Gott,

26 Ecker, *Einblattdrucke*, vol. 1, pp. 282–303.

27 Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*. This classification is used for the organisation of his commentary in volume 1 as well as the catalogue in volume 2.

28 USTC 750852. Also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 17, no. 8, and Ecker, *Einblattdrucke*, vol. 1, p. 283, no. 87. For additional examples, see USTC 743322 (Ulm: Johann Zainer the Younger, 1500) and USTC 743323 (Munich: Johann Schobser, 1500). Further examples are also described in Brednich vol. 2, pp. 16–17, catalogue entries 7 and 9.

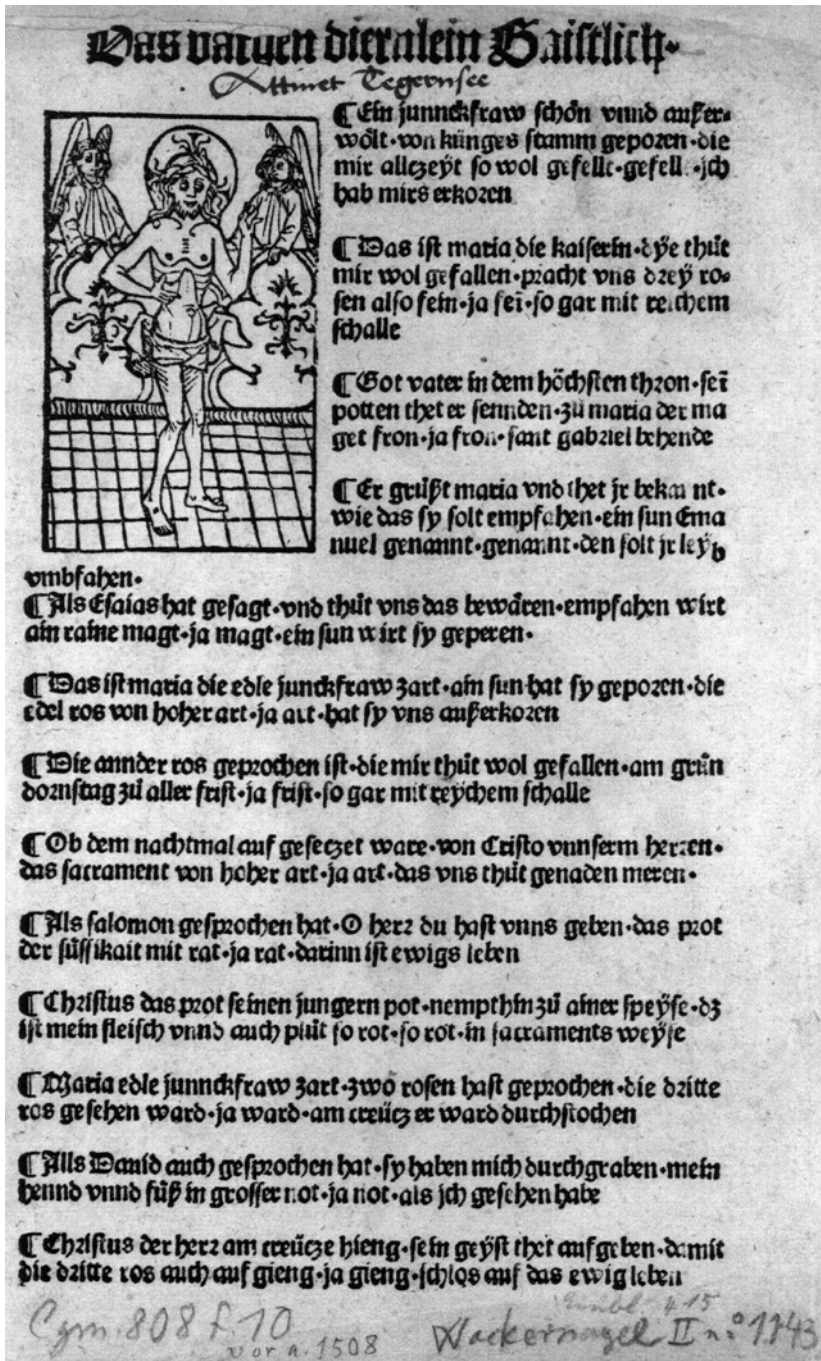


FIGURE 17.3 Das baruen [sic] diernlein Gaistlich (Munich: Johann Schobser, ca. 1500).
 229 × 117 mm. USTC 750852.
 MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, EINBL. III, 35.

wem soll ichs klagen' ('Oh God, to whom can I complain').²⁹ This popular secular love song is used in the context of many sacred broadsheets in the early years of the sixteenth century. Again, it is not unusual for the word 'geistlich' to be appended to the caption, as can be found in an edition printed in Augsburg around 1500 (Fig. 17.4).³⁰ In this example, details of the melody, complete with its description as 'geistlich', have been pasted to the left-hand side of the sheet. As well as pointing towards the relationship between sacred and secular music broadsheets, both of these examples hint at the tools at the disposal of authors and printers with respect to the communication of their content.

Production

We have already noted that the inclusion of printed music in sixteenth-century German music broadsheets was unusual. Alongside the small number of extant hymn sheets incorporating melodies at their head, only a handful of other examples include musical content.³¹ Rebecca Wagner Oettinger has concluded that broadsheets were more marketable if they sidestepped the problem of musical notation by recycling an old tune. A new melody would make a song more difficult to sell, for the buyer would have to read music and learn the tune. Printers would also have found it easier to publish songs without musical notation, since many lacked the specialist type and skills needed to print music with movable type, and it was laborious to carve a special woodcut for that purpose.³²

Contrary to what might be expected, the absence of notation is suggestive of the vital role that music broadsheets played in the context of German musical culture in the first half of the sixteenth century. Hans-Jörg Künast has estimated that the specialist music format of partbooks together with books on music theory accounted for less than one percent of total sixteenth-century printing output in the German-speaking countries.³³ Whilst this figure may

29 For further discussion of this melody, see Hellmut Rosenfeld, 'Ach Gott, wem soll ich's klagen. Betrachtungen zu einer 1481 aufgezeichneten unbekannten Fassung', *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 12 (1967), pp. 173–176.


30 USTC 742242; ISTC ia00035500; GW 00189. Also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 18, no. 12, and Ecker, *Einblattdrucke*, vol. 1, p. 283, no. 89.

31 From the total of 359 entries in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, only 19 (5%) are described as containing any form of printed music.

32 Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 28.

33 Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Buchdruck und -handel des 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachraum. Mit Anmerkungen zum Notendruck und Musikalienhandel', in Birgit Lodes

Ach got wem sol ichs clagen. Geystlich.



Ach got wem sol ichs clagen.
 mir leyt groß kummer an. Dein
 hertz wil mir verzagē. ich hab vil
 sund gethan. ich dō:ffte reichē büß
 vnd reue wolt ich gen got beston
 so ruff ich mit treue. Maria die
 wol gethon.
Das sy mir gnad erwerke. gen
 got dem schöpffer mein. Was mir
 nit ewig stercken. in treuen ich sy
 main. sy kan vns wol bewaren.
 die kaiserliche mayde. wenn wir
 von hinnen faren. sy gezt vns
 seid vnd glaydt.
In vnserm letzten ende. kan sy vns helffen schon. Vnd
 mag ons gnad her sende. wol auß dem höchsten thron. vnd
 kum vns zu hilff maria. behüt vns alle tag. cläglich so thū
 wir schreyen. maria wend vnser clag.
Auß dich hab ich gebauen. du wöllest mich nicht verlan
 Was thū ich die vertrauen. du bist gar wol gethan. ich wil
 mich dir er geben. gantz vnder tain gien. in deine willen le
 ben. biß auß das ende mein.
Aum wil ich nicht verzagen. ich wil in hoffnung sein.
 Ihesus dem wil ichs clagen. maria der mütter sein. er hat für
 vns gelitten so iämerliche not. ich wil in freuntlich bitten.
 durch seinen grymmen tot.
Darzu wil ich die rayne. maria ruffen an. In treuen ich
 sy mayne. sy thū mir ley gestan. das sy vns gnad erwerke
 gen irem lieben kind. das mir nit ewig stercken. sunder sey
 ner gnaden find.
Die welt wil ich verachteen mit irer üppigklayt. Was ley
 den gotz verrachteen. ich hoff mir werd kerayt. wenn ich thū
 wider strecken. den sunden allen gar. das ich nach disem le
 ben. kum in der engel schat.
Die sind die wil ich beichten auß meinem hertzen gantz
 Ich hoff mich thū erleichten. darnach gödelicher glantz. vo
 Iesus wil ich begeren. glauben hoffnung vnd die lieb. mit
 fleiß wil ich es leren. das ich die tugent yeb.
Der durch all dein güte. am end so stand vns ley. Vo
 tikel vns behüte. mach vns von sunden frey. verleich vns
 ewigs leben. durch dein barmhertzigklayt. das wöllest du
 vns geben. groß lob sey dir gesayt.

FIGURE 17.4 *Ach got wem sol ichs clagen. Geystlich* (Augsburg: Johann Froschauer, ca. 1500). 200 × 115 mm. USTC 742242.
 MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, EINBL. III, 44.

in fact have been closer to three percent, we can nevertheless be certain that specialist music publications formed a small part of printing output overall.³⁴ In the vast majority of cases, they would only have been accessible to a wealthy musical elite. The absence of printed music from most broadsheets was a key feature that distinguished them from specialist music publications and gave them a more diverse market profile.

Nevertheless, it is important not to overlook those German broadsheets that included notation, but rather to consider the reasons for its presence. Significantly, in all of the examples examined in the context of this study, the musical notation can be performed from, and is also pertinent to, the broadsheet's content rather than being merely decorative. The presence of meaningful rather than decorative notation sets German music broadsheets apart from English ballads. Christopher Marsh has noted that, during the last decades of the seventeenth century, some ballad publishers in England broke with tradition by printing notation on their broadsheets, which until that time had been extremely rare. In many cases, the inclusion of music served primarily as a pictorial representation of melodic sound rather than a useable version of the actual melody to which the ballad was set. As a result, publishers sometimes printed completely different tunes or even random jumbles of notes. Marsh concludes that the purpose of notation was to tempt potential customers by representing music to them, and perhaps to feed their vanity by allowing them to pretend that they were musically literate.³⁵

On the rare occasions that musical notation is included in German broadsheets, it tends to be presented in one of two ways. The most common is as a discrete section of content at the head of the broadsheet, readily lending itself to performance. This is the case in the 1524 Augsburg printing of Luther's 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' (Fig. 17.1). The presence of 'discrete' notation is particularly common in hymn sheets produced in the early years of the Reformation. Its inclusion provided a source of the melody for those who were

(ed.), *Niveau, Nische, Nimbus: die Anfänge des Musikdruckes nördlich der Alpen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2010), pp. 150–151. In calculating this statistic, each set of partbooks was counted as a single edition.

34 Current USTC data for the Holy Roman Empire suggests that approximately 6% of output was music or books about music. However, this figure includes music pamphlets and broadsheets, and also counts each partbook as a separate edition in its own right, rather than the set constituting a single edition.

35 Christopher Marsh, *Music and society in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 234.

musically literate, and for those who were not, it served as a visual reminder of the centrality of singing in the reformed faith. In other examples, the notation is only one element of a patchwork of complementary textual, visual and musical content, and its mode of presentation does not lend itself readily to performance. One such instance is a well-known broadsheet of 1548 printed in Magdeburg by Pancratius Kempff in response to the Augsburg Interim.³⁶ This broadsheet is discussed in more detail later (see Fig. 17.7 and Colour plate VII). For now, it is sufficient to note that the music is presented on three tablets. Whilst these could, at a pinch, be used for singing, their combination with striking Interim-related imagery and text is a clear indication that the music is included primarily as a visual prop rather than as a source for performance.

Broadsheets characterised by sophisticated amalgams of musical notation, text and image are, in turn, indicative of an educated target audience. By contrast, those broadsheets where notation forms a discrete section at the head of the broadsheet enjoyed a much more diverse market profile, since an inability to read music did not necessarily preclude the audience from engaging with the content. Their reliance on well-known melodies, many of which would have been transmitted orally, meant they could be performed by those who were not musically literate, and without reference to any other musical sources, printed or manuscript. In addition, 'musical literacy' could take many forms. At one end of the spectrum, it might imply the ability to sing a melody perfectly and unaided by reading the notation. However, it could also simply mean an ability to trace pitch contours and sing along with others in the group, the notation acting more as an *aide mémoire*.³⁷

By examining the presence of notation we thus get a sense of the breadth of the audience for the music broadsheet format, which ranged from those who simply enjoyed singing but were not necessarily musically literate, to those who relished the challenge of decoding complex combinations of image, text and music. This broad appeal is borne out by the volume of broadsheets that were produced. Current USTC data suggests that around nine percent of the total sixteenth-century German broadsheet output took the form of music broadsheets.³⁸ This indicates that there was considerable demand for music

36 'Des Interims und Interimistens wahrhaftige abgemalte Figur' (Magdeburg: Pancratius Kempff, 1548). USTC 752088.

37 Trocmé-Latter, *The singing of the Strasbourg Protestants*, pp. 8–9.

38 This is based on the identification of 379 music broadsheets from a total corpus of 4333 German broadsheets.

in this format and that it constituted an important component of broadsheet production overall.

Although many music broadsheets lack dates, it is often possible to assign these retrospectively on account of the specific events they describe. This is particularly applicable to many of the sources in Brednich's 'historical' and 'news' categories.³⁹ Included amongst those of a historical nature, for example, are a number of songs relating to the death of Maximilian I and succession of Charles V, which can be positively dated to 1519.⁴⁰ News songs, by their very nature describing specific happenings, can also have printing dates assigned retrospectively. One particularly sobering song in this category reported on events taking place in Oudewater in 1575. Oudewater had joined other towns in Holland in the Dutch Revolt against Philip II of Spain. However, its citizens paid a heavy price for their rebellion when the town was conquered by Spanish troops on 7 August 1575 after a siege of several months. Nearly half of the population was brutally killed, the town was ransacked and a large part razed to the ground in what came to be known as the 'Oudewater Massacre'.⁴¹ A 1575 song sheet comprising two columns of densely-printed rhyming verse describes the event. The text is to be sung to the hymn tune 'Ach Gott, tu dich erbarmen, durch Christum deinen Sohn' ('Oh God have mercy through Christ your son').⁴²

This in turn raises the possibility that music broadsheet production was characterised by peaks and troughs in response to particular events. USTC data supports this hypothesis. At least three quarters of the known German music broadsheets dating from 1500 to 1600 were produced in the period up to 1550.⁴³ Within this general pattern, there is a sharp rise in production in the 1520s: indeed this single decade accounts for around a third of sixteenth-century

39 See Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, pp. 57–87, catalogue entries 201–285 and 301–311.

40 Ibid., pp. 66–67, catalogue entries 232–237.

41 USTC 553992. See also *ibid.*, p. 85, no. 307.

42 This broadsheet is preserved in the Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, shelfmark Pas II 12/9. It forms part of the extensive Wickiana collection, assembled by the clergyman Johann Jakob Wick (1522–1588). For further details of this collection, see Wolfgang Harms and Michael Schilling (eds.), *Die Wickiana. Die Sammlung der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1997–2005).

43 Of the 379 German music broadsheets I have identified as being produced between 1500 and 1600, 289 (77%) date from the period up to 1550. I have also identified 60 undated broadsheets, a portion of which would probably have been produced in the first half of the sixteenth century. Therefore, the actual volume of production in the first half of the sixteenth century is likely to have been greater than 77%.

music broadsheet production.⁴⁴ After a marked dip in the decade that followed, a very small increase in production appears to have taken place in the 1540s.⁴⁵ This stands in contrast to the production of non-music broadsheets, which is spread more evenly across the two halves of the century.⁴⁶

The peak in production in the 1520s can be explained by a combination of factors. Like pamphlets, music broadsheets were vital tools both to support the new liturgy and in the early spread of Reformation ideas. Some simply acted as sources of texts and music, typically through reference to an established melody, or more rarely through the inclusion of notation. One such example is the 1524 Augsburg broadsheet edition of Luther's hymn 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' (Fig. 17.1). Others took a more evangelical stance, praising Luther's teaching whilst at the same time showing hostility towards the pope or other aspects of the Catholic faith. Urbanus Rhegius' 'Verteütschung des Fasten Hymns zu diser zeit Christe qui lux' of 1523, for instance, makes use of the Catholic Lenten hymn 'Christe lux est' with a new Lutheran text. The text constitutes a prayer of thanks to God for allowing Luther to shine the light of Christ into the dark shadow of papal regulations (Fig. 17.5).

For all this, it is also important to recognise that the printing of song sheets in the 1520s was part of a much longer tradition. Over 150 music broadsheets have been identified for the period prior to 1519.⁴⁷ This suggests that the new forms of print utilised by the Protestant Reformation had their precursors in the first, experimental generations of the printing industry.⁴⁸ In terms of music broadsheets, this manifested itself in the production of vernacular songs printed on single sheets whose purpose was to assist with religious observance. Many of these focussed on the cult of saints, with three distinct genres: stories

44 Of the 379 music broadsheets I have identified, 118 (31%) can be dated to the 1520s. Again, it is likely that a portion of the undated broadsheets would have been produced in the 1520s, making the overall output for that decade greater than 31%.


45 Current USTC data suggests that 118 of the 379 extant German music broadsheets were produced in the 1520s. By contrast, just 11 date from the 1530s and 14 from the 1540s.

46 Current USTC data suggests that 44% of the 4,333 German broadsheets identified for the sixteenth century were produced in the period up to 1550. 51% can be dated to the second half of the century and the remaining 5% do not currently have a date assigned.

47 Current USTC data logs 76 music broadsheets for the period 1500 to 1509 and 79 broadsheets for the period 1510 to 1519.

48 Andrew Pettegree, 'Catholic pamphleteering', in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (eds.), *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 109.

**Verteütschung des Fasten Hymns
zu diser zeit Christe qui lux.**



O hyst der du bist des liecht vnd tag
Des yetz vns Mittemberg vermag
Glauben wir rechte dem liechtes schein
So Martin Luther hiet ein.

Mir bitten her dein haylig gyt
Das sy vns Martin Luther bhiet
Durch den du yetz an liecht hast bracht
Des Papssts gesez die finsternacht.

Vnnser augen yetz sehen clar
Jesum der vns verbergen war
Durch falsche leer vnd menschen gschweg
Vnd auch durch Teuffelisch gesez.

Her vnnser schirmer sey vnd bleyb
Das Martin Luther noch frisch schreyb
Den du erweckt hast vnns zu güt
Des beüßer dar sein leyb vnd blüt.

Gedenck an vns O got vnd heri
Seyd das du vns durch Chrius leer
Offentlich macht den Lencd uß
Yetz menglichem vor augen ist.

Wir schreyen yetz in diser qual
O heri erleichte die hetipfer all
Die wider seynd dem gottes wort
So loben sy dich hie vnd dort.

Gott vatter/sun heri Jesu Chriß
Hayliger gayst ain tröster ist
Yetz in gferlicher lesten yetz
Ich hoff der Junsiag sey nit weyl

Nun hören wir yetz offentlich
Das der from hertzog Friderich
Das haylig grab erfunden hatt
Darinn des hayl der Chriusien statt.

O heri so ryeffen wir dich an.
Wöllest allen den bey gestan
Die schügen schürmen deine woiß
So loben sy dich hie vnd dort.

Urbanus Rhegius.
Im jar 1523.

II
48.

FIGURE 17.5 Urbanus Rhegius, *Verteütschung des Fasten Hymns zu diser zeit Christe qui lux* (s.l., s.n., 1523). 271 × 186 mm. USTC 553870.
BERLIN STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, YD 7803.48.

about events in saints' lives, descriptions of miracles worked through saintly intercession and prayers and instructions for devotional practices.⁴⁹

Examples such as 'Das baruen [sic] diernlein' (Fig. 17.3) and 'Ach got wem sol ichs clagen' (Fig. 17.4) are complemented by those focussing more overtly on Mary and her mother, St Anne. These include 'Ein lied von sant Anna von den grossen zaichen die sy zu Teüren thut' ('A song concerning St Anne and the great signs she has worked in Thuringia').⁵⁰ Published in Augsburg by Johann Froschauer around 1503, the broadsheet includes a woodcut of St Anne with two children, representing Mary and Christ. Its fourteen verses present the wondrous deeds of St Anne, ranging from comforting a widow in her grief (verse two) to restoring sight to a blind man (verse seven), thereby building a case for placing trust in the saint.⁵¹ This provides clear evidence of the Catholic Church's adept and innovative use of the powerful format of the music broadsheet in the first two decades of the sixteenth century.

However, it is notable that the volume of Catholic music publications plunged to a tiny fraction of its pre-Reformation level after 1520.⁵² It remained at a low ebb until the upsurge associated with the Counter-Reformation. This trend is equally evident in the field of music broadsheets, suggesting that Catholics did not harness the medium to retaliate against the spread of Lutheranism. Christopher Boyd Brown has explained this trend in terms of the different purposes that the two traditions of song served. Whilst the primary purpose of songs in both confessions was 'Unterweisung' ('instruction'), in the Catholic tradition this took the form of songs to invoke the intercession of the saints and satisfy the debt of praise that was owed to them and God, thereby assisting those who sang them in acquiring salvation. As a result, Catholic hymns tended to present examples of heroic sanctity, miracles, piety and virtuous conduct. Lutheran hymns, by contrast, concerned themselves with spiritual problems such as sin, death and temptation, and their solution through trust in Christ.⁵³ Singing percolated into all aspects of Lutheran life, not just at church and home, but also

49 Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 55–56.

50 Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 27, no. 48. USTC 750832. Copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, shelfmark Einbl. III,50c.

51 For more extended commentary on this broadsheet, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 55–56 and pp. 283–286.

52 Brown, *Singing the gospel*, pp. 7 and 21. Evidence for this pattern of production is provided by *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, which includes fourteen editions of pre-Reformation vernacular hymns in the decade between 1510 and 1520 and just five Roman Catholic editions in the decade between 1520 and 1530.

53 Brown, *Singing the gospel*, pp. 23–25.

in schools, inns and on the street. This encouraged a tradition of informal performance which was well-suited to the song-sheet format.

It is also important to note that, whilst Reformation songs dominated music broadsheet output in the 1520s, not all were propagandistic in tone. This is indicated by a broadsheet printed in Nuremberg around 1520 with the title 'Zü Lobe dem Aller Durchleüchtigsten Großmetigsten Carolo'.⁵⁴ It comprises eight verses of text praising the new Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, to be sung to the tune of 'Mit frewden wil ichs heben an'. The author praises Catholic authorities including the pope but also mentions Luther as the doctor 'through whom humans may recognise the truth'.⁵⁵ This follows in the tradition of an earlier song-sheet mourning the death of Maximilian I in 1519, 'Ein newes lied von kayserlicher maiestat abscheyden'.⁵⁶ Although written from a Catholic perspective, this song lacks any Reformation-era polemical content.⁵⁷

Once production had peaked in the 1520s, the repertoire and message were established and the demand for Lutheran hymn sheets decreased. This was coupled with the more widespread availability of hymn-books, which would have reduced the need for hymn sheets still further. The production of a number of satirical music broadsheets in response to the events surrounding the Augsburg Interim of 1548 explains the small rise in output in the 1540s. No fewer than twenty-three songs survive that specifically address the Interim, some printed as pamphlets, some as broadsheets and some remaining in manuscript.⁵⁸ Thereafter, production declined markedly, with only a handful of music broadsheets extant for the period between 1550 and 1600.⁵⁹

When seeking to understand these patterns, an awareness of the relationship between music broadsheets and other more specialist areas of the music

54 Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 68, no. 240. USTC 553945. A copy can be found in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, shelfmark Yd 7803.56.

55 For further discussion, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 316.

56 Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 66, no. 232. USTC 750888.

57 Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 306.

58 Details can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 141–142. See also Thomas Kaufman, *Das Ende der Reformation: Magdeburgs "Hergotts Kanzlei" (1548–1551/2)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), Appendix 1, pp. 493–554. This documents 24 songs printed in Magdeburg in the period 1548 to 1552. The vast majority of these are pamphlets rather than broadsheets, suggesting the sturdier booklet format enjoyed higher survival rates.

59 Current USTC data records five broadsheets dating from the 1550s, none from the 1560s, seven from the 1570s, four from the 1580s and five from the 1590s. There are, in addition, 60 undated broadsheets. A portion of these may date from the second half of the sixteenth century.

printing industry is important. In the first two decades of the century, the use of movable type for mensural music printing was still under development. As the century progressed, technical advances meant that it became both easier and more cost-effective to print music in this way. In particular, production by means of a single impression, whereby words and music were printed simultaneously, gradually became embedded in printers' workflows. The first printer to make sustained use of the new technique was Pierre Attaingnant in Paris, whose first volume of mensural music, the *Chansons nouvelles*, appeared in April 1528.⁶⁰ Single-impression printing soon spread to Germany, and, by 1540, most of its major music printers had invested in the new partbook typefaces on which it depended.⁶¹

As a result, collections of songs in partbook format began to be published in greater numbers. These included a two-volume edition of short, secular German songs, produced under the editorship of Georg Forster and printed by Johannes Petreius in Nuremberg in 1539 to 1540. This collection proved so popular that the first volume was reprinted in 1543.⁶² The increase in partbook production occurred in tandem with a greater availability of 'teach-yourself' manuals on music theory, singing and lute-playing.⁶³ This was also the era that

60 *Chansons nouvelles en musique a quatre parties* (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1527 [=1528 n.s.]). RISM B/I 1528³; USTC 73136 (superius / bassus) and 27409 (altus / tenor). Attaingnant's music printing activities are explored fully in Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant: royal printer of music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). For further details of the development of single-impression technique in England, see Alec Hyatt King, 'The Significance of John Rastell in Early Music Printing', *The Library*, 26 (1971), pp. 197–214.

61 For further discussion of German partbook typefaces, see Donald Krummel, 'Early German Partbook Type Faces', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1985), pp. 80–98.

62 The first volume appeared in 1539 entitled *Ein Außzug guter, alter und neue teutsche Liedlein* (VD16 ZV 18759; RISM B/I 1539²⁷; USTC 552523 (discantus), 552524 (altus), 642461 (tenor) and 552526 (bassus)). The second volume of 1540 was entitled *Der ander theil Kurtzweiliger guter frischer teutscher Liedlein* (VD16 ZV 18759; RISM B/I 1540²¹; USTC 552545 (discantus), 552546 (altus), 552547 (tenor) and 552548 (bassus)).

63 This trend can be seen in the music output of Nuremberg printer Johann Petreius. 1536 saw his printing of a two-part lute book, *Ein neugordnet, künstlich Lautenbuch* (VD16 ZV 11665; USTC 645288 and 552461; RISM B/I 1536¹³). In this publication, lute tablature is preceded by a treatise on lute technique and notation aimed at the beginner. The following year, he published Sebald Heyden's *De arte canendi* (VD16 H 3380; USTC 676598), a treatise on singing and theory of the elements of music and musical notation. This was the second edition, with the first issued in Nuremberg by Friedrich Peypus in 1532 under the title *Musicae stoicheiosis* (VD16 H 3382; USTC 676592). The book was evidently a popular one, as Petreius reprinted it in 1540.

saw a rapid increase in the number of music-making societies, resulting in a diversification of amateur music-making possibilities.⁶⁴ Keen amateur musicians thus had the opportunity to increase their levels of musical literacy and practical skill, in turn decreasing the demand for the non-specialist format of music broadsheets in the second half of the century.

It has been suggested that increased regional confessionalization of the German-speaking lands from the 1560s onwards reduced the need for musical attacks on those with other beliefs.⁶⁵ Certainly, the lower levels of production in the second half of the sixteenth century support this thesis. Nevertheless, the desire to express confessional fervour through the medium of song was not extinguished completely. This is indicated by the various Catholic parodies of the Lutheran hymn 'Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort' ('Keep us, Lord, faithful to your word') that were produced in the second half of the century. Originally written by Luther in 1541, possibly in preparation for a special service of prayer in response to the threat of the advancing Ottoman Empire, this hymn was first thought to have been printed as a broadsheet prior to its inclusion in the Klug song-book of 1543.⁶⁶ The opening of the hymn includes a comparison of the papacy to the Turks: 'Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort, und steur des Papsts und Türcken Mord' ('Keep us, Lord, faithful to your word, and thwart the murderous rage of the Pope and Turks'). Catholic parodies of the song dating from the 1580s portray the Catholics as a persecuted community that would eventually receive God's vindication. Such songs include a version in a pamphlet entitled *Sechs schöne catholische Lieder* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1586).⁶⁷

The revitalisation of Catholicism is also evident in the printing of hymn-books. Although the volume of output was less than ten percent of the total (this remained an overwhelmingly Lutheran medium), Catholic hymn-book printing nevertheless underwent a revival in the 1580s. This brought levels of

64 Music societies began to form in the second half of the sixteenth century, particularly in southern Germany. Diaries show that men came together to play music, often on a regular basis. Informal and amateur gatherings were known as 'Krenzlein' (circles). Others were more formally founded with rules and minutes. The earliest formal 'Krenzleingesellschaft' for which records still exist was founded in Nuremberg in 1568. For further discussion of music societies in Nuremberg, see Susan Gattuso, '16th-century Nuremberg', in Iain Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 288–289.

65 Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 9.

66 *Geistliche Lieder zu Wittenberg* (Wittenberg: Josef Klug, 1543). VD16 G 849; USTC 658947.

67 See Alexander Fisher, *Music, piety and propaganda: the soundscape of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 182–183. Augsburg Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Th Lt K 321.

production back up to those of the first two decades of the sixteenth century.⁶⁸ The continuing importance of the cult of saints is reflected in vernacular song sheets of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries in honour of particular patron saints. In 1603, for example, the Munich printer Adam Berg printed *Ein Andächtiger Rueff für die Pilgram. Vom H. Bischoff Benonne*.⁶⁹ Benno, Bishop of Meissen in the late eleventh century, had been canonised in 1524, but the exigencies of the Reformation led Bishop Johann of Meissen to give his relics to Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria in 1576. Albrecht and his successor Wilhelm v vigorously promoted the cult of Benno by enshrining his relics at the Frauenkirche in Munich and constructing a huge arch, the *Bennobogen*, inside the church.

It now remains to consider where music broadsheets were printed and the identity of the printers responsible for them. Our ability to draw precise conclusions in this area is hindered by the large number of broadsheets that lack either places of publication or publishers' names. Unfortunately, this is no less true for music broadsheets than for the format as a whole, with around 71% of those produced in the German-speaking countries between 1500 and 1600 currently lacking a more precise attribution of place.⁷⁰ Clearly, much painstaking work remains to be done to address this. Nevertheless, it is still possible to draw some tentative conclusions regarding important locations for production. USTC data suggests that Augsburg, Munich and Nuremberg were key centres for the printing of this format. Of these three, Augsburg dominated, with a 23% share of output.⁷¹ To these can be added a large number of secondary locations, each printing a handful of music broadsheets. Amongst these was the Bavarian town of Memmingen, where a small number of music broadsheets can be traced back to the workshop of Albert Kunne.⁷² Nuremberg

68 Brown, *Singing the gospel*, p. 7.

69 RISM B/VIII, 1603¹³. See also Alexander Fisher, *Music and religious identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 219, fn. 131. For further discussion of Benno's canonization and Luther's reaction to it, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 69–88.

70 Based on USTC data, last accessed 31 January 2016. Of the 379 German music broadsheets identified for the sixteenth century as a whole, 269 were described without a more precise place of publication.

71 Of the 108 German music broadsheets to which a place of publication has currently been attributed, 25 of these (23%) are from Augsburg.

72 Eleven broadsheets from Albert Kunne's press have been identified to date (USTC 553820, 553821, 553823, 553826, 553833, 740930, 741090, 743745, 750856, 750903 and 750913).

and Augsburg also dominate the production of broadsheets at a more general level, accounting for 20% and 11% of total output respectively. In addition, a large number of general broadsheets are extant for the publishing centres of Cologne and Strasbourg.⁷³ Thus, the centres of production for sixteenth-century German broadsheets mirrored the centres for printing production more generally.⁷⁴

Interestingly, despite its important role in broadsheet production at a general level, only a small number of single-sheet music publications can currently be traced back to Strasbourg. The songs that appeared in print in the first two decades of the sixteenth century were dedicated either to the Virgin Mary, making use of the popular tune 'Maria zart, von edler Art', or to other saints such as St Katherine. These tend to survive in pamphlet rather than broadsheet format, and the only extant Strasbourg broadsheet for this period is currently a news song dating from 1500.⁷⁵ There was a dramatic reduction in the number of printed popular songs appearing in Strasbourg during the Reformation period, most likely as a result of deliberate suppression. The city's Protestant reformer Martin Bucer is known to have been opposed to the singing of profane unholy songs from an early date.⁷⁶ To date, the extant polemical songs printed in Strasbourg in the 1520s are all in pamphlet format, with one notable exception.⁷⁷ This takes the form of a four-part song composed around 1521 to express the despair felt at the secret abduction of Luther following the

73 Of the 4333 German broadsheets currently described in the USTC, 1528 (35%) lack an attribution of place. I have therefore drawn my statistics from the remaining 2,805 (65%) which include places. Of these, 567 (20%) are from Nuremberg and 305 (11%) from Augsburg. Cologne accounts for 536 (19%) and Strasbourg for 326 (12%).

74 Andrew Pettegree, *The book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 33, explains that, following the establishment of print shops in Basel and Augsburg in 1468 and Nuremberg in 1470, over the course of the next thirty years, these three southern hubs of German commerce, together with Strasbourg, Cologne and Leipzig, dominated the production of German books.

75 Trocmé-Latter, *The singing of the Strasbourg Protestants*, p. 158. The only Strasbourg broadsheet for this period currently listed in the USTC is 'Ein hüpsches lied von allen geschichte von disem jar' (USTC 741083), discussed on pp. 172–173. This was printed by Bartholomäus Kistler in 1500. (Trocmé-Latter's statement that the printer is Grüneck is an error.) It is preserved in two copies in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, shelfmarks Einbl. I,10 s and Einbl. I,10 sa and was to be sung "Im Speten Ton", an established melody in southern Germany.

76 Ibid., p. 192.

77 Ibid., pp. 287–292 (Appendix E) provides a bibliography of 31 polemical songs about religion printed in Strasbourg between 1520 and 1540. 24 date from the 1520s. Only one is a broadsheet (see fn. 78 below).

Diet of Worms.⁷⁸ This is a rare example of a music broadsheet consisting solely of notated music, with the four parts presented vertically on a single portrait sheet.⁷⁹

The absence of publication details from so many music broadsheets makes it difficult to establish which printing houses were involved in their production. However, it is safe to conclude that they were not the exclusive province of music specialists. Further insight into those responsible for their production can be gained by considering how woodcuts, which were such an integral feature of so many of these broadsheets, came to be included alongside text. The dominance of Augsburg and Nuremberg in both the general and music markets can be connected with the interaction between broadsheet production and the manufacture of single-sheet woodcuts. In the first decade of the sixteenth century, the production of such single-sheet woodcuts developed around the work of artists Hans Burgkmair in Augsburg and Albrecht Dürer in Nuremberg as well as Lucas Cranach in Wittenberg.⁸⁰

By the early sixteenth century, some *Formschneider*, or 'block cutters', had broken away from printing workshops to become printers who specialised in broadsheets that combined images and texts on single sheets.⁸¹ Another group involved in the production of illustrated broadsheets were *Briefmaler* or 'sheet colourers'. *Briefmaler*, whose origins appear to have been in manuscript illumination, had a long-established craft involving the production of devotional prints and playing cards. Following the invention of printing with movable type in the second half of the fifteenth century, the rapid increase in the number of woodcut illustrations used in books, pamphlets and broadsheets led to a growth in demand for their skills.⁸² Between 1550 and 1750, at least 260

78 *Ad Martinum Lutherum captivum Lamentatio* ([Strasbourg: Jean Knoblauch, 1521]). USTC 751786. Also described in Josef Benzing, *Bibliographie Strassbourgeoise: bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Strasbourg (Bas-Rhin) au XVI^e siècle* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1981), vol. 1, p. 194, no. 1110. A copy can be found in Tübingen University Library, shelfmark Ke XVIII 4 a.2-1/20. Also included in Trocmé-Latter's list of polemical songs printed in Strasbourg, 1520–1540, p. 290.

79 A digitised version of this broadsheet is freely available at <http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/diglit/KeXVIII4a_fol_20>, last accessed 31 January 2016.

80 David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 174.

81 Keith Moxey, *Peasants, warriors and wives: popular imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 19–20.

82 John Roger Paas, 'Georg Kress, a *Briefmaler* in Augsburg in the Late-Sixteenth and Early-Seventeenth Centuries', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 65 (1990), p. 177.

Briefmaler were active in Augsburg alone.⁸³ *Briefmaler* and *Formschneider* thus became autonomous printers. Their entrepreneurial activities included commissioning texts and drawings that they then rendered into type and cut into blocks to be printed together on single sheets.⁸⁴

When specialist music printers were involved in music broadsheet production, it was usually with respect to the printing of content that was aimed at the musical elite. A handful of such examples exist, including one that can be traced back to the Augsburg firm of Melchior Kriegstein (Fig. 17.6). Kriegstein made use of a table-book layout in the context of an unusually large broadsheet containing the four-voice polyphonic work 'Dic io pean' by Johannes Frosch.⁸⁵ The four parts are displayed in such a way as to allow the performers to read them whilst seated around a table.⁸⁶ The work was edited by Sigmund Salminger, who had obtained an Imperial privilege for music publishing in 1539.⁸⁷ Although the item is undated, given that Salminger and Kriegstein collaborated in its production, it seems likely that it was printed around 1540, as this would coincide with their joint publication of two sets of partbooks.⁸⁸ Thus, whilst most music broadsheets were produced by *Formschneider* or *Briefmaler*, a small subset was printed by specialist music printers to complement the repertoire appearing in partbooks.

83 For further discussion of Augsburg's earliest *Briefmaler*, see Albert Hämmerle, 'Augsburger Briefmaler als Vorläufer der illustrierten Presse', in *Archiv für Postgeschichte in Bayern* 4 (1928), pp. 3–14.

84 Moxey, *Peasants, warriors and wives*, pp. 19–20.

85 Documented in RISM A/I F 2041. USTC 5044938. I am grateful to Dr Hans-Jörg Künast for drawing this broadsheet to my attention.

86 The table-book format is discussed further in John Morehen, Richard Rastall and Emilie Murphy, 'Table-book', in *Grove music online*, accessed via *Oxford music online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusicoline.com>>, last accessed 31 January 2016.

87 For further discussion of Salminger's printing privilege, see Thomas Röder, 'Innovation and misfortune: Augsburg music printing in the first half of the sixteenth century', in Eugene Schreurs and Henri Vanhulst (eds.), *Music Fragments and Manuscripts in the Low Countries – Alta Capella – Music Printing in Antwerp and Europe in the 16th century. Colloquium proceedings Alden Biezen 23.06.1995* (Leuven: Alamire, 1997), p. 469.

88 These were Hans Kugelman's *Concentus novi trium vocum* (VD16 zv 3793; RISM A/I K 2967; USTC 552541 (discantus), 552542 (altus / vagans), 696062 (tenor) and 552544 (bassus)); and Salminger's edited compilation *Selectissimae necnon familiarissime cantiones* (VD16 S 1431; RISM B/I 15407; USTC 552536 (discantus), 552537 (altus), 693164 (tenor) 552539 (bassus) and 552540 (quinta / sexta voces)).

Persuasion

Those responsible for producing German music broadsheets faced a challenging task in terms of communicating with their audience. How could the content of their publications be presented in a way that would be accessible and engaging whilst at the same time communicating messages that were often complex? Such difficulties were compounded by low literacy levels. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it has been estimated that only five percent of the total population of Germany was literate. Whilst in the cities and towns this proportion would have been higher, it is unlikely that it would have exceeded more than about a third of inhabitants.⁸⁹ This placed an emphasis on non-literate means of communication, and more particularly on aspects of oral and visual culture.⁹⁰

Alongside the use of illustrative woodcuts, the principal strategy employed was to ensure that broadsheets made a tangible connection with existing material with which the audience might already be familiar. Typically, this involved the use of well-known folk or hymn tunes, or direct or indirect references to familiar texts. Of the 183 song sheets in the Meusebach collection of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, for example, over two thirds have headings that cite a well-known tune as the melody.⁹¹ Luther's 'Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' (Fig. 17.1) borrowed its melody from a pre-Reformation Easter song.⁹² Where the broadsheet had a didactic function, the use of established melodies and texts was often combined for maximum impact. This strategy is illustrated by a music broadsheet dating from around 1510, which makes use of the popular folk-tune 'Es wohnet Lieb bei Liebe' ('Love dwells with love') to accompany a setting of the Ten Commandments.⁹³ When familiar texts were

89 Moxey, *Peasants, warriors and wives*, pp. 23–24. See also Rolf Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre: zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973), p. 32. This suggests that literacy in the cities might have been as high as 30%, but that throughout the German-speaking lands, the average was closer to 5%.

90 Christine Andersson, 'Popular imagery in German Reformation broadsheets', in Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim (eds.), *Print and Culture in the Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), p. 121.

91 Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 26.

92 Brown, *Singing the gospel*, p. 16.

93 USTC 553842. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Yd 7804.3. Also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 29, no. 55. A printer has not been identified, but it is possible the broadsheet was produced in Augsburg.

used, they were often, though by no means exclusively, passages from the Bible re-written in rhyming verse. Parables including the rich man and Lazarus and the life of Joseph were amongst the biblical texts most commonly employed.⁹⁴ In this respect, it is worth noting that, just as with the first Lutheran hymnal of 1524, we see similar material in both pamphlets and song sheets.⁹⁵ This suggests that the audiences of these two ephemeral music formats overlapped.⁹⁶

The use of pre-existing material is particularly prevalent in music broadsheets produced at the time of the Reformation. Luther and his associates consciously made use of pre-Reformation traditions in their creation of a repertory of Protestant vernacular songs for use in churches, homes and schools.⁹⁷ As a result, liturgical chants of the Catholic Church, pre-Reformation German sacred songs and German folk-songs provide the sources for a large number of texts and melodies for music broadsheets of the 1520s. This is indicated by Urbanus Rhegius' 1523 broadsheet edition of the hymn 'Christe qui lux' briefly discussed earlier (Fig. 17.5).⁹⁸ This provides a Protestant German translation of the original Latin text. The original melody is preserved and reproduced at the head of the broadsheet. This, together with the inclusion of the original Latin title in the caption, firmly connected the new material with content which would have been familiar. The very deliberate use of white space, including breaks between verses and wide margins, was also typical of many

94 For a broadsheet telling the story of the rich man and Lazarus, see USTC 753016. This was printed in Augsburg in 1600. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 38.52 Aug 2° fol. 85. It is also described in Wolfgang Harms (ed.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel* (3 vols., Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1980–1989), vol. 3 [Theologica, Quodlibetica], p. III. USTC 553915 documents a broadsheet concerning the life of Joseph dating from around 1575. This is also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 53, no. 138.

95 For a pamphlet concerning Joseph, see *Ein hübsches neues Lied von dem Gottesfürchtigen Josef und dem ägyptischen Weib* (Augsburg: Matthäus Franck, ca. 1565). There are two copies of this pamphlet in the British Library, shelfmarks 1151.5.58.(6) and C.175.i.31.(71).

96 For further details of the production of song pamphlets in Germany, see Eberhard Nehlsen, *Berliner Liedflugschriften: Katalog der bis 1650 erschienenen Drucke der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 215–217) (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 2008–2009).

97 Friedrich Blume, *Protestant church music: a history* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1975), p. 14.

98 USTC 553870. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Yd 7803.48. Also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 40, no. 91. Neither place of publication nor printer have been identified. See in addition Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 239.

music broadsheets. This would have made it easier for performers to navigate the content.

In other instances, new texts were used alongside existing melodies. The *contrafacta* that resulted not only ensured that new texts would be connected with familiar music but also enabled older texts to resonate in the background, thereby investing such works with numerous, and often subtle, layers of meaning.⁹⁹ The melody of the secular love song 'Ach Gott, wem soll ichs klagen' ('O God, to whom can I complain') was frequently re-used for Marian songs dating from the earliest years of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁰ One such example was printed by Augsburg's Johann Froschauer around 1500 (Fig. 17.4). The melody's popularity can be partially accounted for by its narrow vocal range and repetitive structure. These features would have contributed to the ease with which it could be memorised and sung by those with limited musical skill. However, it was also particularly well-suited to songs of Marian devotion on account of its original words. Concerned with the loss of a sweetheart, the opening reads 'Ach Gott, wem soll ich's klagen, das Heimlich Leiden mein' ('Oh God, to whom can I complain about my secret suffering'). The song sheet's focus on Mary as an example of somebody who understood the pain of loss had strong parallels with the sentiments of the original text.

On other occasions, texts might simply be taken over, translated or adapted, and new melodies supplied. This is the case in a well-known broadsheet produced in reaction to the Augsburg Interim of 1548 (Fig. 17.7 and Colour plate VII). Following Charles V's defeat of the forces of the Schmalkaldic League in 1546 to 1547, the Interim required Protestants to readopt Catholic beliefs and practices. It was condemned by hard-line Protestants as the work of the Antichrist, and a campaign was launched to show that it was yet another aspect of the antichristian papacy.¹⁰¹ Printed by Magdeburg *Briefmaler* Pancratius Kempff in 1548, the broadsheet's artistic content has been attributed to the 'Master BP'. Originally based in Wittenberg and assumed to be a pupil of Lucas Cranach, this artist is also known to have been active in Magdeburg between 1550 and 1585.

99 For further discussion of *contrafacta*, see Martin Picker, 'Contrafactum', in *Grove music online*, accessed via *Oxford music online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>, last accessed 31 January 2016.

100 Examples include USTC 553815, 553816, 739525 and 742242.

101 R.W. Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk: popular propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 177–178.



FIGURE 17.7 (COLOUR
PLATE VII)

Des Interims und Interimisten wahrhaftige abgemalte Figur
(Magdeburg: Pancratius Kempff, 1548). 266 × 365 mm. USTC 752088.
NUREMBERG, GERMANISCHES NATIONAL MUSEUM, HB 235
KAPS. 1335.

The broadsheet depicts a choir of monks and canons assembled to perform a four-part hymn of praise to the Interim.¹⁰² The hymn is included in the image,

¹⁰² For a commentary on this broadsheet, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 233, and Hermann Wäscher, *Das deutsche illustrierte Flugblatt* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1955), p. 22 and illustration 16. The broadsheet is also reproduced in Max Geisberg (rev. ed., Walter L. Strauss), *The German single-leaf woodcut, 1500–1550* (New York: Hacker Art Books,

with the discantus part displayed on the left, the altus on the right and the tenor and bassus parts below. As already discussed, the music could be used for performance, but this was not the primary purpose of its inclusion. The text accompanying it begins with a direct quotation from the first verse of Psalm 1: “Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum” (“Blessed is the man who does not guide his steps by ill counsel”). This is followed by a new German text, drawing in part on the psalm but adapting its content to reflect the broadsheet’s anti-Interim stance: “Selig ist der Mann der Gott vertrauen kann, und willigt nicht ins Interim, denn es hat den Schalk hinter im”. This can be translated loosely as “Blessed is the man who trusts in God and does not approve of the Interim, for it has the devil behind it”.

A column in the centre includes a three-headed dragon. The motif of the three-headed beast (one for the pope, another for the Turk and the third for the Antichrist) was commonly used in anti-Interim propaganda. Beside it stands a fool with cap and bells, a sign that the Interim is a fool’s work. The second part of the verse, “denn es hat den Schalk hinter im” (“for it has the devil behind it”), contains word-plays both on the Interim (“hinter im”) and “Schalk”, the latter serving both as the word for “fool” and as a common synonym for the devil. Together, these features functioned as an oral reminder of the Protestant interpretation of the Interim. The image also alludes to the long history of monastic abuse, characterised by foolish singing and gaming, all suggested by the singing clergy. One drinks from a giant beer mug and another holds a gaming board. The word “Interim” can be seen on the frock on the canon on the left. A related inscription, “Intram”, on the beer mug suggests that the Interim is only fit for drunkards.¹⁰³

This broadsheet’s complex combination of image, text and music requires careful decoding of every element of content. This in turn highlights the diverse audiences that music broadsheets could attract. Their messages ranged from the simple communication of new translations of hymn texts to subtle commentaries on contemporary events. However, by engaging with familiar texts and melodies, and making use of the visual potential of woodcuts and other layout devices to elucidate and enhance meaning, the result was a powerful medium of communication.

1974), vol. 3, p. 856. Lengthier discussions can be found in Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk*, pp. 177–178, and Kaufman, *Das Ende der Reformation*, pp. 401–402, 408–412 and 583.

103 Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk*, pp. 177–178.

Performance

The rich communication potential of sixteenth-century German music broadsheets would have been further promoted by the wide range of environments in which they could have been performed. Naturally, hymn sheets would have been particularly well-suited to congregational singing in churches, but it would have been equally possible to perform from music broadsheets in schools, inns, domestic settings and even on the street. The sensational content of some broadsheets would also have lent itself particularly well to street performance.¹⁰⁴ In 1524, for example, Matthis Hoffischer of Ulm produced a broadsheet entitled 'Ein hipsch news Lied von der grosse wesserung' ('A pleasant new song concerning the great flood').¹⁰⁵ A woodcut depicts an unspecified town surrounded by water, with a comet streaking across the night sky above. The wind and sun are personified and appear, duplicated, in each of the four corners of the woodcut. The broadsheet's caption instructs the performer to sing the lengthy twenty verses of text to the popular Schiller melody.¹⁰⁶ This would have made it well-suited to street performance, giving passers-by the chance to linger and hear the story unfold.

An unattributed woodcut dating from around 1530 provides further evidence of the diverse geography of performance that music broadsheets enjoyed (Fig. 17.8). Entitled *Das Gesang der Schlemmer* (literally 'the song of the feasters'), this richly-symbolic image shows a group of singers in a secular context gathered around a broadsheet bearing the same title.¹⁰⁷ When used communally, it is possible that one or two members of the group might have acted as leaders to guide the less able through the content. This model of use is reinforced by the woodcut since the man on the right appears to be directing the 'performance'.

The text of the broadsheet concerns the folly of greed, and is a slightly-adapted version of the second verse of the folk-song 'Wo soll ich mich hinkehren, ich tumbes Brüderlein', reading:

104 For discussion of street singing in Italy, see the work of Rosa Salzberg, including 'Street Singers in Italian Renaissance Urban Culture and Communication', *Cultural and Social History*, 9 (2012), pp. 9–26.

105 USTC 553986. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Yd 7802.5. This broadsheet is also described in Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 83, no. 301.

106 For details of the Schiller melody, see Suppan, *Deutsches Liedleben*, p. 23.

107 A number of broadsheets dating from around 1510 to 1520 have the holy feast ('geystlicher Schlemmer') as their subject. For examples, see USTC 553840 and 553841 and Brednich, *Liedpublizistik*, vol. 2, p. 29, nos. 52–54.



FIGURE 17.8 *Das Gesang der Schlemmer* (woodcut, ca. 1530). 321 × 228 mm.
KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN DER VESTE COBURG, XIII,41,68.

Ich bin zu frü geboren,
Wo ich hewt hin kumb,
Mein glück ist noch [or nach?] davornen,
Het ich das Keisertumb,
Darzu den Zoll am Rein,
Und wer Venedig mein,
So wer es als verloren,
Es müst verschlemmet sein.

I was born too early,
Wherever I turn up today,
My fortune has yet to arrive,
If I possessed the empire,
The Rhine's taxes as well,
And if Venice were mine,
It would all be lost,
It must be squandered away.

The figure on the left holding the top of the broadsheet bears a strong resemblance to a contemporary image of Luther by the artist Hans Baldung Grien (1485–1545).¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile, it is possible that the woman in the centre is his

¹⁰⁸ See Christine Andersson and Charles Talbot, *From a mighty fortress: prints, drawings, and books in the age of Luther, 1483–1546* (Detroit: Institute of Arts, 1983), p. 197, for a reproduction of this portrait of Luther. It first appeared as an illustration in *Actes et res gestae Dr. Martini Luther* printed in Strasbourg in 1521 (VD16 zv 61; USTC 608615). The printer, Johann Schott, then reused the block for ten other publications between that year and 1526.

wife, Katharina von Bora. The other members of the party come from a variety of walks of life, including a physician on the far right (the 'conductor') and an itinerant musician in the centre.

The placing of a squirrel on the woman's head is particularly noteworthy. In ancient Germanic cultures, the squirrel represented slander and wickedness, and was also considered an animal that sought to provoke strife. Perhaps because of its reddish colouring (at least in European species) and its habitual swiftness and elusiveness, the squirrel, in the Christian imagination, is seen as a symbol of Satan and evil in general. Moreover, as a result of its habit of hoarding food, it often acquired a reputation for greed. In spite of this, it also inspired positive representations, including that of Divine Providence.¹⁰⁹ Squirrels were also very popular in England from the fourteenth century onwards and often appeared as pets in portraits of women, typically controlled by means of a chain. One of the most famous of such depictions is Hans Holbein the Younger's portrait *A lady with a squirrel and starling* of 1526 to 1528.¹¹⁰

Taken together with the other elements of the image, notably the excessive drinking, dice, rat, brush (denoting a fool) and song text, the squirrel in this image is simultaneously both a symbol of man's greed whilst at the same time a source of hope for better times through God's intervention. Although unchained, it sits calmly on the lady's head, watching benevolently over the proceedings. Meanwhile, in spite of the attempt of the rat to ply him with alcohol, Luther's willingness to place himself amongst the party and address the folly of greed through the medium of song provides hope for the future. The mirror on the table in front of the group encourages those present to reflect on their actions.

Aside from its indication of the diverse geography of performance that music broadsheets enjoyed, this image has also been interpreted as evidence of their possible interaction with un-texted music anthologies.¹¹¹ The research

109 Lucia Impelluso (trans. Stephen Sartarelli), *Nature and its symbols* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004), pp. 234–236.

110 Held in the National Gallery, London, inventory number NG6540. A reproduction and further information is available at <<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/hans-holbein-the-younger-a-lady-with-a-squirrel-and-a-starling-anne-lovell>>, last accessed 31 January 2016.

111 See John Kmetz, 'Singing texted songs from untexted songbooks: the evidence of the Basler Liederhandschriften', in Jean-Michel Vaccaro (ed.), *Le Concert des Voix et des Instruments à la Renaissance: Actes du XXXIVe Colloque International d'Études Humanistes, Tours, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 1–11 Juillet 1991* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1995), pp. 129–131 and 'Petrucci's Alphabet Series: the ABCs of Music, Memory and Marketing', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 25 (2001), pp. 137–138.

of John Kmetz has shown that four sets of manuscript partbooks dating from 1546 to 1547 and now preserved in Basle University Library (F IX 32–35, F x 5–9, F x 22–24 and kk IV 23–27) were compiled by Christoph Piperinus, an itinerant music teacher from Berne. Known as the “Piperinus-Amerbach partbooks”, they were produced in association with a series of music lessons Piperinus gave to Basilius Amerbach, son of the famous Basle lawyer Bonifacius Amerbach.¹¹²

Three of the sets (F x 5–9, F x 22–24 and kk IV 23–27) are un-texted. Rather than being used for instrumental performance, correspondence between Piperinus and Bonifacius suggests that their purpose was to teach Basilius to sing.¹¹³ Kmetz reasoned that the texts needed for singing must have been provided by means of an additional source, and, in the process, challenged the traditional view that un-texted music was intended solely for instrumental use.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately, a specific textual source linked to the Piperinus-Amerbach partbooks is not currently extant. However, another Basle manuscript, AG V 30, can be used as evidence of the existence of such ‘complementary’ sources.¹¹⁵

This manuscript is a collection of 67 song texts owned by the Basle physician and amateur musician Felix Platter (1536–1614). Platter’s musical activities, which included teaching the lute, performing music in ensembles and amassing an enormous collection of instruments and music books, are well-documented.¹¹⁶ Compiled in the 1590s, possibly by Platter himself, this

112 John Kmetz, ‘The Piperinus-Amerbach partbooks: six months of music lessons in Renaissance Basle’, in John Kmetz (ed.), *Music in the German Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 215–234.

113 A letter from Piperinus to Bonifacius dated 12 November 1546 states “I shall instruct your son in such a way that, with divine kindness supporting us, he will with little labour and in a short time begin to sing according to the art” and goes on to describe one of the sets of partbooks (F IX 32–35) in detail. The letter is Basel University Library G II 23, folio 116. For a reproduction and translation from the Latin, see Kmetz, ‘The Piperinus-Amerbach partbooks’, pp. 224 and 227. For a full transcription, see Alfred Hartmann (ed.), *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz* (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1942–2010), vol. 6, no. 2876, p. 350.

114 Kmetz, ‘Singing texted songs’, p. 122, states that the stock explanation that un-texted song collections were intended for instrumental performance “runs through the scholarly literature like a Wagnerian leitmotiv”. Historically, notable musicologists holding this view include Heinrich Besseler and Knud Jeppesen.

115 For an inventory of the content, see John Kmetz, *The sixteenth-century Basel songbooks: origins, contents and contexts* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1995), pp. 275–279.

116 Kmetz, ‘Singing texted songs’, p. 127 and ‘The musical activities of Felix Platter: the sources, the problems’, in *The sixteenth-century Basel songbooks*, pp. 127–141. See also Martin Staehlin, ‘Felix Platter und die Musik’, in Ulrich Tröhler (ed.), *Felix Platter (1536–1614) in seiner Zeit* (Basel: Schwabe, 1991), pp. 74–81.

manuscript has been recognised as an important source of German verse.¹¹⁷ However, aside from the work of Kmetz, its links with the practice of music have been less fully explored.

Kmetz has shown that there is a connection between twenty-four pieces in Platter's anthology and two sets of un-texted manuscript partbooks (Basle University Library F IX 59–62 and F X 17–20).¹¹⁸ These were compiled around 1560 by his musical acquaintance, the composer and type-cutter Jacob Hagenbach (1532–1565/6).¹¹⁹ Platter and Hagenbach are known to have performed music together, and, between 1556 and 1566, were neighbours on the *Freiestrasse* in Basle. The Hagenbach manuscripts preserve only the original text incipits for their German, French and Italian song repertoires. Assuming that the partbooks were circulating some thirty years later, it is possible that Platter's German texts (compiled around 1590) might have been sung to these specific chansons and madrigals.¹²⁰

Significantly, Platter's translations and *contrafacta* bear a strong resemblance to German song sheets. They have similar formulaic content in terms of their inclusion of a title plus the phrase "in der Weiss" or "im Ton" and the name of the melody. Since Platter's song texts were originally individual leaves bound at a later stage, they also have a common physical format.¹²¹ Manuscript song sheets thus enabled German speakers to produce newly-texted versions of their popular secular and sacred repertoires. Alongside items in single-sheet format, there were also many other manuscript German song-text books which served a similar purpose.¹²²

117 Work on this manuscript from a non-musical perspective includes Heinrich Boos, 'Basler Spruchpoesie aus dem 16. Jahrhundert', *Basler Jahrbuch* (1879), pp. 211–221, Rudolf Suter, *Die Baseldeutsche Dichtung vor J.P. Hebel* (Basel: Vineta Verlag, 1949), pp. 6–9, and Elisabeth Landolt, 'Materialien zu Felix Platter als Sammler und Kunstfreund', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 72 (1972), pp. 245–306.

118 For an inventory of their contents, see Kmetz, *The sixteenth-century Basel songbooks*, pp. 263–267 (F IX 59–62) and pp. 268–272 (F X 17–20). More detailed descriptions can be found in Kmetz, *Katalog der Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts. Quellenkritische und historische Untersuchung* (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1988), pp. 187–203 (F IX 59–62) and pp. 278–295 (F X 17–20).

119 For further information on Hagenbach, see John Kmetz, 'Hagenbach, Jacob' in *Grove music online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>, last accessed 31 January 2016, and *The sixteenth-century Basel songbooks*, pp. 143–185.

120 Kmetz, 'Singing texted songs', p. 128.

121 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

122 Manuscript song-text books include the *Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin* (ca. 1470, National Museum, Prague, Cod. X A 12) and the *Ältere Augsburger Liederbuch* (ca. 1454, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 379).

Since the *Gesang der Schlemmer* woodcut (Fig. 17.8) depicts performance from a purely textual source, Kmetz draws on the image as evidence of the importance of memorising music rather than text.¹²³ Musicians sang directly from sheets or books bearing the texts alone, having previously committed the musical content to memory.¹²⁴ This implies that text was underlaid in the process of the practice of music. Kmetz believes this to have been the case for polyphonic as well as monophonic performances, though the evidence for the former is less compelling.¹²⁵

The question now remains: could printed song sheets also have been used to provide the texts for the music in un-texted sources (printed or manuscript)? It is certainly possible that they served this purpose, but, as it stands, there is insufficient evidence to prove it. We must not forget that high rates of attrition mean that only a small proportion of what is thought to have been printed in this ephemeral format survives. On the basis of those that are extant, it does not appear that this was their primary purpose.

Printed broadsheets do not tend to cross-refer to specific musical settings. Likewise, un-texted partbooks do not cross-refer to printed broadsheets.¹²⁶ This alone does not disprove their interaction, since it may simply have been that musicians knew that the two sources were complementary without the connection being made explicit. However, another factor comes into play. Broadsheets were often (though not exclusively) printed by firms that were not music specialists. It seems unlikely that partbook printers sub-contracted out the printing of texts to other firms, particularly given the evidence that some, at least, took great pride in text underlay.¹²⁷ In addition, printed partbook

123 Kmetz, 'Petrucci's Alphabet Series', p. 137, discusses the woodcut and concludes that musicians were more likely to remember a tune than words to a tune.

124 Kmetz, 'Singing texted songs', pp. 129–131.

125 Ibid., pp. 127–128, and 'Petrucci's Alphabet Series', p. 139.

126 Examples of un-texted printed partbooks that may have been for vocal performance include Petrucci's famous *Odhecaton A*, *Canti B* and *Canti C* printed in Venice in 1501, 1502 and 1504 respectively (the "alphabet series"). See Kmetz, 'Petrucci's Alphabet Series', pp. 127–141. Kmetz argues that Petrucci printed these works without texts because it made good business sense. It simplified the printing process and ensured that particular sectors of the music-buying market were not excluded on the grounds of the presence of songs with texts in a particular language (p. 128). He makes several general suggestions with reference to manuscript song-text books that might have been used with Petrucci's partbooks, including the 1470 *Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin* (p. 140). However, no textual sources with explicit links to the printed volumes have been identified.

127 See for example *Ein Außzug guter, alter und neuer deutscher Liedlein* (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1539) (VD16 ZV 18759; RISM B/I 1539²⁷; USTC 552523 (discantus), 552524 (altus),

editions exist which include complete German translations and *contrafacta*, thereby bypassing the need for texts printed on single sheets.¹²⁸

Most importantly, this format was aimed at a broad market. A sector of this market could have been amateur and professional musicians with the level of musical literacy needed to use these sources in tandem with polyphonic music in partbooks. Some broadsheets do contain printed music, but these are the exception rather than the rule, and, more generally, much of their design and content is suggestive of a much more inclusive audience.¹²⁹ The power of the vast majority of song sheets lay in the fact that they were modest, complete in themselves, and not dependent on the ability to read music, therefore making them accessible to the broadest possible audience. In order to perform from them, all that was needed was the ability to recall, or to learn from others, a melody previously committed to memory. Polyphonic settings aside, this could just as easily have been transmitted orally as learned in advance from another printed or manuscript source. The existing evidence thus suggests that textual sources to complement un-texted song anthologies were handwritten rather than printed.

Returning to the geography of performance, there is also evidence to suggest that music broadsheets were used for performance in the home. For those with the necessary levels of musical skill, broadsheets in the table-book format seen earlier (Fig. 17.6) would have been ideally suited to use in a domestic setting. That such domestic performance did take place is supported by the existence of 'Musiktische' ('music tables'). One such table is preserved in the German National Museum in Nuremberg (Fig. 17.9a-b and Colour plate VIII A-B).¹³⁰

642461 (tenor) and 552526 (bassus)). Working closely with Petreius, editor Georg Forster took great care with text underlay. This extended to reproducing the text for multiple verses, not just the first, underneath the music itself.

128 For example, German translations and *contrafacta* for many of Lasso's French-texted chansons can be found in Johann Pühler's *Etliche außerteßne, kurtze, gute geistliche und weltliche Liedlein mit 4. Stimmen, so zuvor in frantzösischer Sprach außgangen, jetzund aber allen teutschen Liebhabern der edlen Music zu günstigem gefallen mit teutschen Texten ... mit des Herrn Authoris bewilligung* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1582). RISM A/I L 945; VD16 ZV 2611; USTC 553758 (discantus), 553759 (altus), 681748 (tenor) and 553580 (bassus).

129 Kmetz, 'Singing texted songs', p. 131, argues that the inclusion of music in several song sheets indicates that users were able to read music. However, as noted above (fn. 31), of the 359 music broadsheets described in volume 2 of Brednich's, *Liedpublizistik*, only 19 (5%) are described as containing any form of printed music. This suggests that, on the whole, broadsheets were not exclusively aimed at a musically-literate audience.

130 Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HG 9412. On loan from the Friedrich von Praun'schen Familienstiftung, Nuremberg. For a reproduction of, and commentary on, this table, see Jenny, 'Kirchenlied, Gesangbuch und Kirchenmusik', pp. 316–317.



FIGURE 17.9A (COLOUR PLATE VIIIA)



FIGURE 17.9B (COLOUR PLATE VIIIB) Music table (ca. 1567).
GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, NUREMBERG, HG 9412.

Formerly belonging to the Nuremberg patrician Stephan II Praun (1513–1578), the square table has a limestone surface. This has been engraved with a four-part song setting by Johann Schechtinger, a pupil of Paul Hofhaimer, using the melody 'Ach hilf mich Leid und sehnlich Klag' by Adam Fulda. Undertaken in 1567, the engraving was the work of Peter Utz. It would have been possible for singers and instrumentalists to gather around each side of the table in order to perform from the engraved music on its surface. Alternatively, individual part-books could have been spread out on the table or broadsheets placed in the centre.

In addition, we have evidence of musical tablecloths.¹³¹ A linen cloth thought to originate from Schleusingen, Thuringia, and dating from the 1560s, is a rare surviving example.¹³² Measuring 160 × 280 cm, it was most likely to have been produced for the wedding of Count Georg Ernst von Henneberg to Elisabeth von Württemberg in 1568.¹³³ Two four-part songs have been embroidered on its surface including Martin Agricola's arrangement of Luther's well-known hymn 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott'. Each of the four parts is embroidered parallel to one side of the cloth, complete with an indication of the voice (discantus, altus, tenor and bassus). The bridal couple are depicted in the centre, complemented by images of musicians and wedding guests. The music is embroidered in black, whilst a variety of brightly-coloured threads are used for the other illustrations.¹³⁴ This suggests that music permeated sixteenth-century German

131 I am very grateful to Dr Matthew Laube for sharing details of the tablecloth with me. Further discussion is included in his conference paper 'Music, identity and material cultural in Lutheranism', delivered as part of the *Cultures of Lutheranism* conference (University of Oxford, February 2015).

132 For further information, see Johannes Wolf (ed.) and Hans Joachim Moser (rev.), *Neue deutsche geistliche Gesenge für die gemeinen Schulen. Gedruckt zu Wittemberg durch Georgen Rhau 1544*. Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, vol. 54 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1958), pp. xi–xii. The tablecloth is reproduced as the frontispiece. Additional commentary can be found in Carl Becker and Jakob von Hefner, *Kunstwerke und Geräthschaften des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Schmeiberschen Buchhandlung, 1852–1853), vol. 1, pp. 56–57 and plate 45.

133 Becker and Hefner, *Kunstwerke*, vol. 1, p. 56, explains that the tablecloth may also have been a gift at the wedding of Count Poppo von Henneberg to Sophie von Braunschweig in 1562, but concludes that it was more likely to have related to the marriage of Georg Ernst von Henneberg and Elisabeth von Württemberg six years later.

134 This description is based on Hefner's colour drawing of the tablecloth in Becker and Hefner, *Kunstwerke*, vol. 1, plate 45. At one time, the tablecloth appears to have been in the possession of Carl Becker (*ibid.*, p. 56). Wolf and Moser, *Neue deutsche geistliche Gesenge* give the source of their image of the tablecloth as the Museum of Decorative Arts in Berlin, inventory number K. 6199, but I have not been able to establish its existence there.

domestic material culture not just through printed and manuscript material but also through material objects relating to its performance.

Whether performed on the street, in the home, in inns, schools or in churches, the music broadsheets produced in Germany in the first half of the sixteenth century had the potential to communicate diverse messages to wide-ranging audiences. Aside from song pamphlets, no other music format had the capacity to engage with so many sectors of the music-loving public in such a direct way. This is reflected both by their significant share of sixteenth-century German broadsheet output as a whole and contemporary iconographic evidence attesting to their use. Nevertheless, after 1550, the format began to fall out of use as a consequence of the more widespread availability of partbooks and the increasing proficiency of amateur musicians. As the century progressed, German music broadsheets continued to fulfil their role as vehicles of propaganda, tools to encourage religious observance and distributors of news, but their place in the spread of musical repertoire became more limited.

The Lamentable Tale of Lost Ballads in England, 1557–1640

Alexandra Hill

On 6 November 1612, the eldest son and heir to the throne of King James I, Henry Frederick Stuart, died suddenly from typhoid fever. The death of the very popular Prince of Wales at the tender age of 18 shocked the nation. The body lay in state for four weeks, and there was a great outpouring of grief before the funeral finally took place on 7 December. This grief can be seen in the world of print, with books and pamphlets praising Henry's life and mourning his death:

A Starre, a Pearle, a Flowre sith we have lost,
Bright, rare, and faire, if we have cause to mourne
God wote, man wote; loe that which cheer'd us most
Now doth it to our greatest sorrow turne:
HENRIE alive did lighten every part
But *HENRIE* dead sends sorrow to each heart.¹

Despite this extensive coverage the indications are that only one of the six ballads printed on the funeral has survived. This was not unusual. Unless they were collected soon after printing, the single-sheet format of ballads often led to their destruction. This means a key component of print reaction to the Prince's death has been lost.

Research shows that three-quarters of ballad editions printed in England between 1557 and 1640 have not survived. This has left a gap in our understanding of early modern print culture and the workings of the industry. Fortunately, as printing in England was under the authority of the Stationers' Company in London, members had to gain a licence before printing a work. The Stationers'

¹ James Maxwell, *The laudable life and deplorable death, of our late peerlesse Prince Henry. briefly represented Together, with some other poems, in honor both of our most gracious soveraigne King James his auspicious entrie to this crowne, and also of his hopefull, children, Prince Charles and Princesses Elizabeths happy entrie into this world* (London: Edward Allde, for Thomas Pavier, 1612), sig. C2, *Early English Books On-Line* (hereafter EEBO). USTC 3005239.

Company Register therefore provides a contemporary list of printed ballads which cannot be traced to an extant copy. The Register is an under-used resource, and by combining lost ballad entries with records of surviving ballads from the *Universal Short-Title Catalogue* (USTC) and the *English Short-Title Catalogue* (ESTC), we can gain a better sense of the ballads available in the Elizabethan, Stuart and early Caroline reigns.

Broadside ballads are stories set to song, often accompanied by a woodcut and a tune. They encompass the world of print and manuscript, text and image, oral and literate, as well as popular and elite culture.² Ballads were printed on single sheets of roughly 33 cm × 22 cm and generally consisted of 14 to 24 verses.³ The layout, however, changed from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. At first, ballads were printed individually and mainly in black-letter. The seventeenth century though saw the rise of white-letter ballads, often with two ballads side by side and two woodcuts and tunes. The Register does not give any indication of which is which, although a couple of entries at the end of the period seem to contain two ballads. Mistress Griffin entered *The true Subjects wish./A true relacion of those wicked Murthers &c* on 24 April 1640 which survives as a two-part ballad.⁴

Ballads always had a mixed reception. In Queen Elizabeth's reign critics lamented the popularity of the vulgar rhymes. In 1593, dramatist Henry Chettle wrote, 'when I was liked [popular], there was no thought of that idle upstart generation of ballad-singers, neither was there a printer so lewd that would set singer to a lascivious line'.⁵ Supporters such as ballad collectors John Selden and Samuel Pepys though promoted them as an excellent genre for providing

2 Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, 'Introduction: Straws in the Wind', in Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini and Kris McAbee (eds.), *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500–1800* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 1–9, at p. 8.

3 Angela McShane, 'Ballads and Broad-sides', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Vol.1 Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 339–362, at p. 344.

4 *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640*, Edward Arber (ed.), vols. 1–4 (London: Privately printed, 1875–77), Vol. 4, p. 508 (hereafter referred to as Arber 1, 2, 3 or 4). M. P., *A true subjects wish For the happy successe of our Royall Army preparing to resist the factious rebellion of those insolent covenanters (against the sacred Majesty, of our gracious and loving king Charles) in Scotland. To the tune of, O How now Mars, &c.* (London: E. Griffin, sold by Thomas Lambert, 1640), EEBO. USTC 3021123.

5 Henry Chettle, *Kind-harts dreame Containing five apparitions, with their invectives against abuses raining. Delivered by severall ghosts unto him to be publish, after Piers Penillesse post had refused the carriage* (London: John Wolfe, for William Wright, 1593), sig. Cv, EEBO. USTC 512345.

a snapshot of the times in which they were created.⁶ Research on English printed ballads began at the beginning of the twentieth century thanks to Leslie Shepard and Hyder E. Rollins.⁷ The rising interest in cheap print has further heightened the importance of ballads for historians who use them as vital evidence for old age, crime and gender in the early modern period.⁸

Literacy and price were two of the biggest obstacles to access to print. Selling for less than a penny, ballads were affordable to a wide range of readers, and could be read by those with even a basic level of literacy.⁹ Romantic ballads in the 1620s, for instance, could be light-hearted and easy to follow:

A Proper handsome young man,
that dwelt in London Citie,
Did woo a pretty Damsell,
who was for him too witty:
The youngman he had wealth good store,
the lasse was poore, though bonny,
She pleas'd his minde, with speeches kinde,
and all was for his money.¹⁰

Or they could be more sombre in tone and reliant on a certain level of classical knowledge on the part of the reader:

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- 6 John Selden, *Table-talk being the discourses of John Selden, Esq., or his sence of various matters of weight and high consequence relating especially to religion and state* (London: for E. Smith, 1689), sig. E2, EEBO.
 - 7 Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (London: Jenkins, 1962), Hyder E. Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *Proceedings of the Modern Languages Association*, 34 (1919), pp. 258–339.
 - 8 Some examples include Alice Tobriner, 'Old Age in Tudor-Stuart Broadside Ballads', *Folklore*, 102 (1991), pp. 149–174; Joy Wiltenburg, 'Ballads and the Emotional Life of Crime', in *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain*, pp. 173–186; Patricia Fumerton, 'Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32 (2002), pp. 493–518.
 - 9 R.C. Simmons, 'ABCs, Almanacs, Ballads, Chapbooks, Popular Piety and Textbooks', in Maureen Bell, John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 4* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 504–513, at p. 510.
 - 10 Anon, *A man cannot lose his money, but he shall be mockt too, Or, Suttle Mals love to simple Coney, To make him an Asse to spend his money* (London: for Francis Grove, 1625), *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (hereafter EBBA). USTC 3011789.

Amazed stood Apollo then,
 When he beheld Daphne turnd as she desired,
 Accurst I am above Gods and men,
 With griefe and laments my sences are tired.
 Farwel false Daphne most unkinde.
 My love is buried in this grave,
 Long have I sought love, yet love could not finde,
 Therefore this is my epitaph
 This tree doth Daphne cover,
 That never pitied lover,
 Farewell false Daphne that would not pittie me
 Though not my Love, yet art thou my Tree.¹¹

Ballads were often sold by pedlars. This made them a safe investment for any printer, as he would not have to worry about selling all the stock himself. Pedlars travelled across the country selling cheap print and other small items.¹² This form of dissemination and audience interaction is reflected in some of the lost ballad titles; *Ladyes in your laydes name I grete you every eche one* (1569/70), *Nowe lysten well you gallantes all* (1581) and *A Pretty Ditty I bring here to shew. &c* (1633).¹³ The use of dialogues and multiple characters in the ballads also highlight their performance pedigree; *A dysputation betwene olde age and youg[t]he* (1563/64), *A proper ballad Dialoge wise betwene Troylus and Cressida* (1581) and *A newe northerne Dialogue betwene Will, Sone, and the warriner, and howe Reynold Peares gott faire Nannye to his Love* (1591).¹⁴ Access to ballads did not even require purchasing them, as they were pasted on walls in the local alehouse or passed orally through song.¹⁵ The poor survival rate, however, is a barrier to our understanding of this important aspect of early modern culture and the print industry.

11 Thomas Deloney, *A pleasant new Ballad of Daphne* (London: Assigns of Thomas Symcock, 1619–29?), EEBA. USTC 3014188.

12 Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 28.

13 Arber 1, p. 408, 2, p. 388, 4, p. 297.

14 Arber 1, p. 234, 2, p. 394, p. 592.

15 Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies: or, a new cast of characters* (London: Felix Kingston, sold by Ambrose Ritherdon, 1631), p. 9, EEBO. USTC 3015405.

The Stationers' Company Register

The Mistery of Stationers was founded in 1403, and offered membership to all those involved with books from text-writers and illustrators to bookbinders and booksellers.¹⁶ The first printing press was not brought to England until 1476, and under the early Tudors the most affluent printers tended not to come from the Company.¹⁷ It was not until 1557, when Queen Mary presented them with a charter, that the Company gained control over the printing industry, centred as it was in London with a limited number of printers and presses.¹⁸ The stationers had a strong hold over the printing industry, and during this period there were only thirteen surviving ballads printed outside of London. None of these were printed in England, but mainly in Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik in the sixteenth century. The monopoly aimed to keep control of seditious books, with wardens and officials checking the acceptability of books being entered for a licence, though the rigorousness of the checks varied. As part of the records, a register was created to keep track of what was being printed.

The Register is an important source for the study of early modern printing. Over the period 1557 to 1640, there were four Registers, with a single gap between 1571 and 1576 for which the records are missing. A typical ballad entry contained the name of the stationer entering the ballad, the title of the ballad, the date and the fee for entry:

William Barley Entred for his Copy under the hand of Master Harryson warden A ballad called, *A Complaynt againste DEATH for taking away the highe and hopeful Prince HENRY of great Brittainye with the manner of his funeral.....vjd*

This title was entered on 7 December 1612 and cannot be traced to a surviving copy.¹⁹ Sometimes the entries would even include the names of the tunes and the authors. For example, on 1 October 1593, Stephen Peele entered *A ballad of betwixt life and death, the tune 'have with you into the cuntrey'*, though again

16 Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557. Volume 1 1501–1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 13.

17 Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557. Volume 2 1547–1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 933–934.

18 D.F. McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades', in *The Cambridge History of the Book In Britain*, pp. 551–567, at p. 554.

19 Arber 3, p. 507.

here neither ballad nor tune can be traced to an existing copy or surviving musical notation.²⁰ Tunes and woodcuts were frequently re-used between ballads. However, when looking at lost ballad titles, it is important to remember that this can also mean the loss of a woodcut or tune. Only sixteen of the entries do not provide a title, listed only as 'serten ballets'.²¹

The Register is a useful resource as it provides evidence of day-to-day practice within the English book trade, representing as it does nearly all the ballad printing by the Stationers' Company members in London. 153 of the ballads entered in the Register could be traced to an existing copy. There were also 180 surviving editions that, while duly registered, were not included in my calculations. This is because 103 of these extant ballads were bestselling titles and the right to print them was frequently transferred between stationers. Even though the transferring of titles was an important part of the Register, particularly in the seventeenth century, these assignments represent the collecting together of rights rather than reliable evidence of a printed edition. To reduce the likelihood of creating ghost records, I excluded these entries from my analysis of the Register.

In addition, thirty-nine ballads were printed by Thomas Symcock when he had a patent for ballad printing from the crown in the years 1628 to 1629; this was in fact not the first ballad privilege, since Abel Jeffes also obtained a privilege to print a single celebratory ballad about Queen Elizabeth I.²² Thirty-seven surviving ballads can also be attributed to missing years, or are reprints; a few others were printed in the final months of 1640 when the Register becomes less dependable as a source. When we take all this into account, only 255 surviving ballads were printed without having been entered in the Register and without a special privilege. This corresponds reasonably well with the 60% entrance rate suggested by Maureen Bell in her analysis of the Register and the *ESTC*.²³

Surviving Ballads

In the first eighty years of printing in England up to 1557, the *USTC* records only six surviving printed ballads, the earliest from 1549, entitled *Whippet you*

20 Arber 2, p. 636.

21 Arber 1, p. 151.

22 Charles I, *An abstract of His Majesties letters patents graunted unto Thomas Symcocke* (London: Thomas Symcock, 1628), EEBO. USTC 3013557. R. Thacker, *A Godlie dittie to be song for the preservation of the Queens most exclent Majesties raigne* (London: Abell Jeffes, 1586), USTC 517080.

23 Maureen Bell, 'Entrance in the Stationers Register', *Library*, 16.1 (1994), pp. 50–54, at p. 54.

priests. The ballads were mainly religious in nature, although there was also a ballad against treason and one from 1554 announcing the pregnancy of Queen Mary.

During the next eighty years, however, the total number of surviving editions rose significantly. From 1557 to 1600, there were 103 surviving editions, while for 1601 to 1640 the number of surviving editions reached 503. The number of ballads available was therefore increasing over the decades, with a dramatic rise in the 1620s and 1630s. The surviving copies overall suggest that far more ballads were printed in the seventeenth than the sixteenth century, with extant ballads from the period 1601–1640 representing 83% of the surviving copies.

Much of the rise in the 1620s and 1630s was due to the ballad partners who during this period gathered together the rights to the 'bestselling' ballad titles. Entries in the Stationers' Register by the partners on 14 December 1624 included old classics such as *Chevie chase*, *Widdow of Watling street* and *The King and Tanner*.²⁴ The ballad partners were Thomas Pavier, John Wright, Cuthbert Wright, Edward Wright, John Grismand and Henry Gosson, with Francis Coles replacing Pavier when he died in 1626.²⁵ The partners acted as publishers, paying for other stationers to print the ballads for them, before selling them in their own shops. Although this was not a monopoly, half of the surviving copies from the seventeenth century (304) name one of the ballad partners in the imprint.

The impact of the rise in collecting during the seventeenth century cannot be ignored. Ballads are found in a number of collections. Sixteenth-century survivors come mainly from the Society of Antiquaries, the Huth Collection in the British Library and the Britwell Collection in the Huntington, while the Roxburghe and Pepys Collections contain survivors from the seventeenth. Often the only reason for the survival of ballads was their being placed into bindings or collected in a miscellany. The collections made by Samuel Pepys and Robert Harley were said to owe their existence to the diligence of the writer and antiquarian John Bagford discovering items in the waste stock of booksellers.²⁶ Of course, a number of ballads would have been collected specifically because of their subject material. Relying on collections however, is problematic as it skews the evidence, representing only one person's idea of

24 Arber 4, p. 131.

25 Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 75.

26 Theodor Harmsen, 'Bagford, John (1650/51–1716)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *ODNB*).

what was desirable and collectible rather than what the majority of people were reading.²⁷

It is extremely difficult to acquire information on print runs of ballads, but it is known that the Stationers' Company limited print runs to 1500 copies and 2000 copies after 1635.²⁸ Despite this, nearly all ballads survive in only a single copy, though there were some exceptions. *A briefe sonet declaring the lamentation of Beckles, a market towne in Suffolke which was in the great winde upon S. Andrewes eve pitifully burned with fire to the value by estimation of tweentie thousande pounds. And to the number of fourescore dwelling houses, besides great number of other houses. 1586. To the tune of Labandalashotte* survives in six different collections.²⁹ Printed to be sold in Norwich, it probably did not sell well and instead of being used, entered collections from waste stock. Without more evidence on provenance, it will never be entirely clear how copies from a printer in Elizabethan London ended up in modern collections in Leeds and Chicago.

The pie-chart below shows the percentage of ballads entered in the Stationers' Register known from a surviving copy analysed by theme. Here the category 'Daily Life' covers tales of gossips and ale-drinking; fictional tales mix old and new characters, from the mediaeval legend Robin Hood to contemporary heroine Long Meg; romance ballads cover tales of wooing and marriage; the category 'Events' includes ballads on notorious crimes, strange sights and major historical events; and ballads in the category of religion focus on biblical tales and moral behaviour.

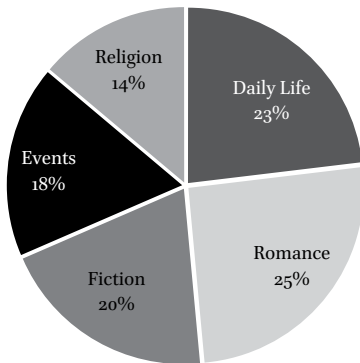


FIGURE 18.1
Surviving ballads by category and percentage,
1557–1640.

27 John C. Hirsch, 'Samuel Pepys as a Collector and Student of Ballads', *The Modern Language Review*, 106 (2011), pp. 47–62, at p. 47.

28 W.W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing Between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), p. 16.

29 D. Sterrie, *A briefe sonnet declaring the lamentation of Beckles* (London: Robert Robinson, for Nicholas Colman of Norwich, 1586), ESTC S121867. USTC 510635.

Making up a quarter of surviving ballads, records suggest that romance was the most popular topic. This includes titles such as *A maydens lamentation for a bedfellow. Or, I can, nor will no longer lye alone. As it hath beene sung at the court. To the tune of, I will give thee kisses one, two, or three* from 1615, *The turtle dove. Or, the wooing in the wood, being a pleasant new song of two constant lovers. To the tune of, the north countrie lasse* from 1629, and *A new ballad, containing a communication between the carefull wife, and the comfortable husb[and] touching the common cares and charges of house-hold* from 1640.³⁰

Almost a third of the romance ballads are based on the topic of marriage (45). Through these ballads, J.A. Sharpe demonstrated that the representation of early modern marriage was more complex than the loveless, economically driven, male-dominated picture painted by earlier historians.³¹ Sharpe argued that ballads on courtship showed that people were free to choose partners based on love.³² He also pointed out that both men and women had important responsibilities and roles in marriage, with ballads criticising useless husbands more than inadequate wives.³³

A large percentage of ballads are based on daily life and fictional or historical characters. Surviving sixteenth-century examples include the simply titled *A newe ballad* from 1560 which favourably compared Queen Elizabeth to former English monarchs, *A merry new song, wherein is shewed the sorowfull cudgelling of the cobbler of Colchester* from 1589 and *A ditty delightfull of mother watkins ale. A warning wel wayed, though counted a tale* from 1590.³⁴ These are most frequently used to understand early modern life and the interplay between ballads and other media, particularly the theatre. For instance, Mark Hailwood argued that seventeenth-century ballads could be used to understand male occupations and tradesmen's perceptions of themselves.³⁵ He believed that ballads referred to urban occupations because urban tradesmen were the main ballad buyers and that the tales reflected the growing problems for tradesmen brought about by increased consumer demand.³⁶

30 USTC 3006363, 3014216, 3020837.

31 J.A. Sharpe, 'Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence from Popular Literature', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 36 (1986), pp. 69–90, at p. 69.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

34 USTC 505797, 517187, 511429.

35 Mark Hailwood, '"The Honest Tradesman's Honour": Occupational and Social Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (2014), pp. 79–104.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 85 and 103.

Religion was the least popular topic for ballads, representing only 14% of surviving records. Given the ballads' reputation for lewdness and vulgarity, this would not seem a surprise. Those that do survive include warnings against bad behaviour, tales based on scripture and the problems of sin. The title of a ballad from 1615, was particularly keen to show the many dangers that the godly faced: *A most excellent godly new ballad: [shew]ing the manifold abuses of this wicked world, the intolerable pride of people, the wantonnesse [of] women, the dissimulation of flatterers, the subtilty of deceivers, the beastliness of drunkards, the filthinesse of whoredome, the unthriftines of gamesters, the cruelty of landlords, with a number of other inconucadences. To the tune of Grene-sleeves.*³⁷ Tessa Watt, however, has shown that ballads in the sixteenth century were an important device for the spread of religious ideas.³⁸ This can only be understood when incorporating data from the Register.

The speed with which ballads could be printed and disseminated also made the ballad an excellent genre for responding to current events. Ballads on news and events, covering crimes, strange sights and momentous events, however, have a similarly low rate of survival. Almost a third of ballads cover sensational crimes, while only twenty-two concern major events; mainly the Northern Rebellion, but also the Spanish Armada and the Bishops' Wars. For example, a surviving ballad from 1588 recreates the moment Queen Elizabeth gave her speech at Tilbury during the Armada:

And then bespake our noble Queene,
my loving friends and countriemen:
I hope this day the worst is seene,
that in our wars ye shall sustaine.
But if our enimies doe assaile you,
never let your stomackes faile you.
For in the midst of all your troupe,
we our selves will be in place:
To be your joy, your guide and comfort,
even before our enimies face.³⁹

37 Anon, *A Most excellent godly new ballad* (London: Ralph Blower, 1615), EEBO. USTC 3006383.

38 Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 55.

39 Thomas Deloney, *The Queenes visiting of the campe at Tilsburie with her entertainment there to the tune of Wilson's wilde* (London: John Wolfe, for Edward White, 1588), EEBO. USTC 510954.

Only four of the twenty-eight ballads printed on the Spanish Armada have survived.⁴⁰

Lost Ballads

Ballads represent a large part of the broadsheet industry in England. Data from the USTC shows that ballads make up roughly a fifth of surviving broadsheets printed in England from 1557–1640. Even bearing in mind the huge amount of loss, this is a significant proportion. Studying lost ballads in England is therefore an important advance in understanding a unique part of European print culture.

Overall, there are 1710 ballad editions that cannot be traced to a surviving copy. The pie-chart below demonstrates a very different picture when these lost ballad entries are included in the data. Religion now appears as the most popular topic, closely followed by ballads on current events. This shift is the result of poor survival in the sixteenth century when these two categories made up over half of the ballads entered in the Stationers' Register. Ballads were entered nearly every year, yet from 1557–1601 there are seven years when out of a cumulative total of 183 ballad entries not a single copy survived. While the sixteenth century accounts for 69% of the total number of ballads entered in the Register, this represents only 17% of the surviving ballads. This suggests that analysing the publication of ballads in the sixteenth century, based solely on surviving copies, is insufficient. It also means research on early-modern ballads is disproportionately influenced by surviving copies from the seventeenth century.

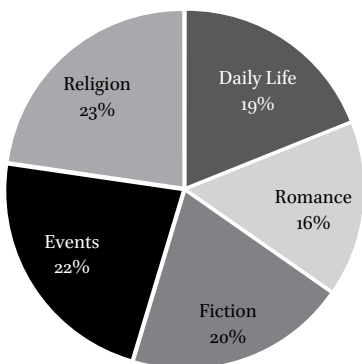


FIGURE 18.2
All ballads (surviving and lost) by category and percentage, 1557–1640.

40 John J. McAleer, 'Ballads on the Spanish Armada', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 4 (1963), pp. 602–612, at p. 603.

As we know from the famous collection of Samuel Pepys, romantic ballads were extremely popular, and clearly survive rather better than the other genres in this survey. This was not least because the peak in their popularity coincided with the relatively high survival rate of the 1630s. Even though only 23% of the total number of known ballads were published in the 1630s, this decade accounts for 40% of the surviving ballad editions. Many more ballads were entered in the Stationers' Register in the 1560s, representing a quarter of the total number of known ballads but only 10% of survivors.

The Register reveals not just the scale, but the variety of ballads that were available. Ballads dealing with religious issues have only a 16% survival rate, with not a single example surviving from the seventy-nine entered in the 1580s. Those lost include titles such as *A godly newe ballade of the signes and tokens which goe before the day of Judgement of the manner howe the worlde shalbe destroyed* from 1582, *of the creation of the world and ADAMs fall* from 1586 and *an excellent dyttie and necessarye, wherein is shewed howe we must stryve against all manner of Synnes* from 1588.⁴¹ Only one of the twenty-five ballads on judgement day survived, unsurprisingly from the seventeenth century.

The poor survival rate also masks the large number of moralising ballads that came on the market.⁴² They were particularly popular in the 1560s, but only one out of the nineteen entered survived; *The complaynte of a synner vexed with payne*, entered in 1562/63.⁴³ This moralised ballad was based on William Elderton's ballad *God of love* which does not survive as a printed edition but does survive as a fragment sung by Benedick in William Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*:

Shakespeare	Moralised ballad
The god of love, That sits above, And knows me, and knows me, How pitiful I deserve	The God of love, that sits above, Doth know us, Doth know us How sinfull that we bee: ⁴⁴

⁴¹ Arber 2, pp. 413, 451, 487.

⁴² Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 40.

⁴³ Arber 1, p. 205.

⁴⁴ William Shakespeare, 'Much Ado About Nothing' (1598), *Open Source Shakespeare On-Line*. William Birch, *The Complaint of a sinner, vexed with paine, desiring the joye, that ever shall remayne. After W.E. moralized* (London: Alexander Lacy, for Richard Applow, 1563), EEBA. USTC 506113.

Tessa Watt believed religious broadsheets were more susceptible to destruction as they would be put on walls and used as teaching aids for the family.⁴⁵ Poor survival, however, makes it almost impossible to analyse how godly these ballads were as opposed to writers just recycling old material.

Ballads also played an important role in communicating news but it is only through the Register that the full extent of this market can be explored.⁴⁶ Nineteen out of the twenty-two ballads entered on the Bishops' Wars cannot be traced to a surviving copy. The Bishops' Wars from March 1639–August 1640 are seen as a prelude to the Civil Wars, with King Charles I fighting against the Covenanters in Scotland. These ballads were used as a method of recruitment, celebrating the brave men who were fighting for their king against the Scottish rebels, and encouraging others to join.⁴⁷

Ballads inspired by notorious crimes had a much lower survival rate than ballads describing momentous events. For instance, half of the ballads on the Northern Rebellion of 1569 survive, but only thirty-four ballads on crimes survive out of a total of 121 entries. Crime and punishment were popular topics for ballads:

One hangs himselfe to day, another drownes himselfe to morrow, a Serjeant stabd next day, here a Pettifogger ath' Pillory, a Bawd in the Carts nose, and a pander in the taile....a hundred havens has the balladmonger to traffique at, and new ones daily discovered.⁴⁸

Their low survival rate, however, masks the true wealth of this material, which was interesting enough to the buying public to be printed in multiple editions by a number of different stationers. For instance, five ballads were entered in 1594 by three separate stationers on the murder of Robert Beech by Thomas Merry and his sister Rachel.⁴⁹ Not a single copy of these ballads survives.

45 Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 177.

46 H.S. Bennet, *English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603 Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 230.

47 C.H. Firth, 'Ballads on the Bishops' Wars, 1638–40', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 3 (1906), pp. 257–273, at p. 261.

48 Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, *A courtly masque: the device called the world tost at tennis As it hath beene divers times presented to the contentment of many noble and worthy spectators, by the prince his servants* (London: George Purslowe, sold by Edward Wright, 1620), sig. B4v, EEBO. USTC 3009257.

49 Arber 2, pp. 658 and 659.

Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and Ballads

Poor survival rates can also have a huge impact on our overall understanding of the print industry. Surviving examples provide us with the names of seventy-four stationers who at some point published ballads, but this more than doubles to 172 when we include publishers who we can identify from entries in the Stationers' Register. Almost all the surviving ballads include the name of their responsible publisher on the imprint. A printer would be likely to publish without an imprint only if they were publishing a ballad that impinged on somebody else's licence or if the subject matter was particularly controversial. The care taken by the publishers to assert their ownership of a particular ballad text suggests that printing and selling ballads was recognised as an important and lucrative part of their business. This was not surprising, given their popularity. As writer Henry Crosse lamented:

there commeth forth no sooner a foolish toye, a leaud and bawdy ballad,
but if sung in the market, by the divels quirristers, they flocke to it as
crowes to a dead carkasse, buying them up as Jewels of price.⁵⁰

Ballads were a popular genre for members of the Company as they were quick and cheap to print. While a larger work could take days, weeks or even years to print, single-sheet items could be completed within a day. Their value as a means of achieving quick sales has led some scholars to argue that stationers used ballads to provide the liquidity that enabled them to undertake larger projects.⁵¹ It is clear from the entries that none of the most active ballad producers printed only ballads, but that the ratio between ballads and other printed works varied between members. Thomas Lambert was the most reliant on the ballad trade as 88% of his entries in the Stationers' Register were for ballads, while only 39% of Richard Jones' entries were ballads. Some stationers were clearly more reliant on ballads than others, but it was only in the 1630s that the genre was dominated by the ballad partnership and a handful of rivals.

Judging from copies that do survive, the most active ballad producers over the period 1557 to 1640 were Henry Gosson (fl. 1601–1640), Francis Coles (fl. 1624–1680), the assigns of Thomas Symcock (uncertain, most likely fl. 1628–30),

50 Henry Crosse, *Vertues common-wealth: or The high-way to honour Wherein is discovered, that although by the disguised craft of this age, vice and hypocrisie may be concealed; yet by tyme (the trial of truth) it is most plainly revealed* (London: Thomas Creede, for John Newbery, 1603), sig. O4, EEBO. USTC 3001231.

51 Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 161.

Augustine Matthews (fl. 1615–1637) and Thomas Lambert (fl. 1633–1669). Between them, they account for over a third of total output. Once again, the data is heavily biased towards the seventeenth century. This is unsurprising given the overall survival rate for the sixteenth century was only 8% compared to 49% in the seventeenth. By this measure the members of the ballad partnership of the 1620s and 1630s played a dominant role. Gosson and Coles were both members of the ballad partnership, and half of Matthews' ballads were printed for the ballad partners.

Yet once we include data from the Stationers' Register, this picture of the comfortable supremacy of the ballad partnership is somewhat attenuated. Including the data on lost ballads, the top five ballad producers would have been Francis Grove (fl. 1623–1661), Lambert, Gosson, Edward White senior (fl. 1572–1613) and Thomas Colwell (fl. 1560–1575). Between them they were responsible for a quarter of ballad output. This new data also demonstrates that a wider range of members were involved in ballad production than would be evident from surviving copies alone. John Barnard and Maureen Bell, for instance, claimed that the ballad partnership had full control of ballad production in England by the 1630s.⁵² This is true if we confine our analysis only to surviving examples, but combining them with lost entries suggest that rivals of the ballad partnership were far more resilient. 65% of surviving ballads from the 1630s contain the names of ballad partners, but when including lost entries this proportion declines to 46%. In the second list, Gosson is the only ballad partner, whereas Grove and Lambert were independent rivals to the partnership.

Despite being in the leading group of ballad producers on the basis of surviving copies, the majority of Lambert's ballads are lost (74%). Altogether, the most active ballad producers have lost 437 ballads. The survival rates between the top five members, however, varied greatly. Only eight out of the 217 ballads entered by White and Colwell survive, while Gosson is represented by sixty-six survivors. An understanding of these divergent ratios is important when looking at the ballad printers, publishers and booksellers in the context of their other works. White, Colwell and Gosson all have a decent number of surviving works of a larger size and format. Lambert, though, mainly dealt with pamphlets and ballads, neither of which survived well, with only one larger surviving work to his name. Symcock was the only one who did not produce anything but ballads, unsurprising given that he owned the privilege for printing them.

52 John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The English Provinces', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, pp. 663–686, at p. 666.

Conclusion

We cannot understand the ballad trade in early modern England by looking only at the examples that have, by some chance of contemporary collecting, made their way into the collections of the world's libraries today. Figure 18.3 below illustrates the striking difference in the apparent level of ballad printing when data on survivors is placed alongside data that includes lost ballads entered in the Register.

Looking at surviving copies alone suggests a dramatic rise in ballad numbers in the seventeenth century. Incorporating data from the lost editions, however, shows that there was a more complex movement of peaks and troughs throughout the period. The popularity of different subjects also fluctuated visibly over the decades. Ballads with religious subjects were extensively published in the sixteenth century, especially in the 1560s, whereas contemporary events provided the subject material for many more ballads in the 1580s and 1590s. Ballads played an important part in the popular print culture of the sixteenth century, but this only becomes apparent when data is included from the Register.

There were far more ballads on the market that has to this point been apparent. While the number of surviving ballads reached 244 in the 1630s, this is significantly lower than the 582 ballad editions printed in the 1560s. Looking at survivors alone therefore masks the sheer diversity and variety of ballads available. This has an impact both on our understanding of literacy and of access to print in early modern England.

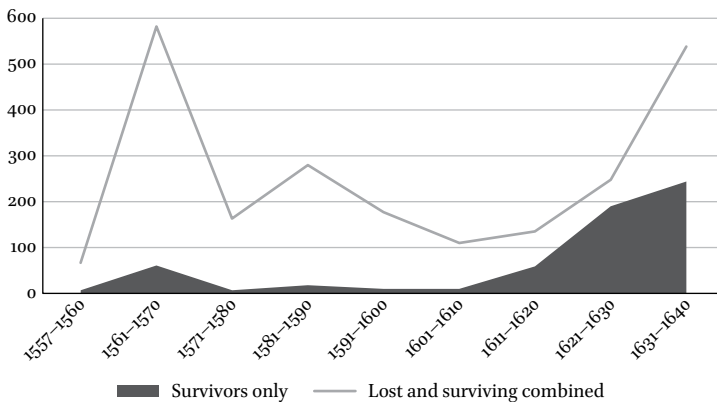


FIGURE 18.3 Graph comparing data on surviving ballads with combined data over the period 1557–1640.

The output of the Stationers' Company members is poorly represented by extant ballads. Twice as many members were entering ballads than is evident through surviving records, and while many of these only ever entered a handful of ballads, the most prolific all had licences for over a hundred titles. The examples that survive also exaggerate the role of the ballad partners, with Register entries indicating that non-ballad partners produced large numbers of ballads well into the 1630s.

Research into lost books has consistently shown that surviving works do not fully represent the full range and scope of print activity in the early modern world. This is especially true for single-sheet ephemeral works which were easily destroyed through use or deemed unworthy of collecting. It is precisely this mixture of mass consumption and scarcity of surviving copies that makes broadside ballads such an intriguing genre. It is only through combining an analysis of surviving copies with archival sources such as the Register that we can fully explore this lost world of the early modern ballad.

Witchcraft Illustrated: The Crime of Witchcraft in Early Modern German News Broadsheets

Abaigéal Warfield

The crime of witchcraft was to become a cause of prime concern for many communities and authorities in early modern Germany. During the fifteenth century, contemporary understandings of witchcraft underwent a steady transformation, and an expanded notion of witchcraft, often referred to as a new cumulative concept of witchcraft, was developed.¹ And, what is more, this new concept was disseminated through the medium of print. The basic component of this new idea of witchcraft was that all magic, good or bad, involved a pact with the devil. In this way traditional *maleficium*, or harmful magic, became increasingly interlinked with apostasy. Witches were believed to reject God, entering into a pact with the devil in return for magical powers. In addition, witches were no longer viewed as acting in isolation but were thought to be conspiring together, meeting at nocturnal assemblies. This chapter will examine what role broadsheets played in reporting the news of witchcraft during the period of prosecutions. It will begin by providing some background context, before moving on to an examination of the treatment of witches' crimes and punishments in news broadsheets. As the concept of witches acting collectively had a substantial impact on the dynamic of prosecution, an investigation of the witches' sabbath in illustrated broadsheets will be included. Finally, the purpose of such works will be considered. Why did authors pen, and printers print, these accounts?

1 Brian Levack, *The witch-hunt in Early Modern Europe* (2nd ed., London: Longman, 1995), p. 51. Wolfgang Behringer, *Witchcraft persecutions in Bavaria: popular magic, religious zealotry and reason of state in Early Modern Europe*, translated by J.C. Grayson and David Lederer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.13. It is striking that although many historians refer to the 'cumulative concept' the term did not have its own entry in Richard M. Golden (ed.), *Encyclopedia of witchcraft: the western tradition* (4 vols., Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006). That said, the idea of the cumulative concept and its essential components are discussed in some detail in two other places: Wolfgang Behringer, 'Laws on Witchcraft, Early Modern', in *Encyclopedia of witchcraft: the western tradition*, iii, 636 and Rita Voltmer 'Witch Hunts' in *Encyclopedia of witchcraft: the western tradition*, iv, 1211.

In recent years, historians have begun to examine the development of this new cumulative concept of witchcraft, which was a key factor in enabling large scale prosecutions. Some years ago, in her seminal work on the printing press as an agent of change, Elizabeth Eisenstein speculated that the new burgeoning age of print might have had something to do with the spread of 'the mania' for hunting witches, as it contributed to the standardization of demonologies.² Through print, an organised systematic demonology became possible on a scale unthinkable before.³ In the hope of understanding the rationale behind early modern witch prosecutions, historians have judiciously studied and translated works by demonologists such as Heinrich Kramer, Jean Bodin, Martin del Rio and Pierre de Lancre.⁴ However, such demonologies were only one part of what has been termed the 'extended mediatization' of witchcraft.⁵ There were other significant publications that helped to familiarise audiences with the crime of witchcraft, amongst them broadsheets and pamphlets. Undoubtedly, news reports printed as pamphlets and broadsheets helped to make the crime of witchcraft well-known and recognisable, even somewhat stereotypical. Unlike the expensive, learned and lengthy treatises, news reports could be disseminated to the broader public and more easily comprehended.

The sixteenth century witnessed the first wide-scale witch prosecutions within the Holy Roman Empire. The gruesome crimes attributed to witches and their public execution, enacted upon them by 'pious' authorities, attracted the attention of numerous anonymous authors. Accounts of witches' confessions and crimes made headlines and were printed in pamphlets and

2 Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in Early Modern Europe* (2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 434.

3 Ibid.

4 For example Stuart Clark conducted a comprehensive investigation of numerous demonological texts in his *Thinking with demons: the idea of witchcraft in early modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). There are also a number of recent translations of notable demonologies from Latin into English and German: Wolfgang Behringer, etc. (eds.), *Heinrich Kramer (Institoris) Der Hexenhammer* (Munich: DTV, 2000); Christopher Mackay (ed.), *The hammer of witches: a complete translation of the Malleus Maleficarum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); P.G. Maxwell-Stuart (ed.), *Martin Del Rio: Investigations into magic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Randy A. Scott (ed.), *Jean Bodin: On the demon-mania of witches* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995); Gerhild Scholz Williams (ed.), *On the inconstancy of witches: Pierre de Lancre's Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons (1612)*, translated by Harriet Stone and Gerhild Scholz Williams (Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006).

5 Wolfgang Behringer, 'Witchcraft and the Media' in Marjorie E. Plummer and Robin Barnes (eds.), *Ideas and cultural margins in early modern Germany* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), p. 235.

broadsheets all over Germany, from Augsburg to Strasbourg, Wesel to Cologne. The interest in the execution and punishment of witches was part of a broader emerging interest in news that is evident in this period.⁶ The latter half of the sixteenth century witnessed a rapid development of the new print genre known as *Neue Zeitungen* (New Reports). These were short non-periodical publications, printed either as pamphlets or broadsheets. They reported the details of recent newsworthy events. While a lot of these reports covered political topics and communicated the outcomes of various battles near and far, other topics, often sensational, also attracted media attention, such as celestial apparitions, gruesome murders, monstrous births and witchcraft.

Far fewer broadsheets on witchcraft have survived than pamphlets; not surprisingly, given the fragile, ephemeral nature of broadsheets. In the sixteenth century there are only four extant broadsheets concerning witchcraft, with four more dealing with werewolves, compared to at least thirty-eight identified pamphlets on witches.⁷ The surviving broadsheets reporting about witchcraft from the seventeenth century are equally sparse. I have only been able to locate seven news broadsheets from this period. Hence, the total that will be considered in this chapter is eleven (the werewolf broadsheets will not be considered, nor will any other witch broadsheets which cannot be categorised as 'news'). Out of this eleven, the location of printing for two are unknown, one was printed at Protestant Kempten in 1627, three in Protestant Nuremberg in 1533, 1555, and 1627,⁸ and five in bi-confessional Augsburg in 1600, 1654 and 1669, with two in 1666. Interestingly four of the latter five were printed by the same Catholic *Briefmaler*, Elias Wellhöfer.⁹

6 Andrew Pettegree, *The invention of news* (London: Yale University Press, 2014). See also Joy Wiltenburg, 'True Crime: The origins of modern sensationalism', *American Historical Review*, 109 (2004), pp. 1377–1404.

7 For extant pamphlets see Abaigéal Warfield, 'The media representation of the crime of witchcraft in early modern Germany: An examination of non-periodical news-sheets and pamphlets, 1533–1669' (PhD dissertation, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2013).

8 The one from 1627, *Druten Zeitung / Verlauff / was sich hin und wider im Frankenland / Bamberg vnd Würzburg mit den Unholden / vnd denen so sich auß Ehr vnd Geltgetz muhtwillig dem Teuffel ergeben* [...] (Schmalkalden, 1627) falsely claimed to be printed at Schmalkalden, most likely to avoid censorship. If so, this subterfuge did not work and the Nuremberg authorities forbade the broadsheet. See also the final section of this chapter.

9 Elias Wellhöfer was married to the daughter of Catholic printer Andreas Aperger, and from 1657 Wellhöfer printed his broadsheets at the same address of his father-in-law, at 'Unserer Lieben Frauen Tor.' See Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (eds.), *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Wiesbaden, 1997), p. 1247.

News broadsheets, or ‘informative’ broadsheets, conformed closely to the genre of *Neue Zeitungen*, although they are not labelled as such in their headings. This chapter will examine the purpose of these reports and analyse how the crime of witchcraft was reported in the texts, and illustrated in the accompanying woodcuts, to ascertain if there was any change over time. There are so few extant broadsheets reporting the crime of witchcraft, that one must be wary of using them out of context, or viewing them as ‘typical’. They need to be scrutinized and compared to other sources.

“Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live”: Illustrating Witchcraft Executions

For the majority of news reports printed as *Einblattdrucken*, or *Flugblättern*, the image played an important role. All of the witchcraft news sheets used in this chapter contained illustrations. The fact that many of the sources contain both text and image, led to what has been called a three-dimensional relationship: image-viewer-text; in the words of Bob Scribner: “A viewer could move from image to text and back again, the text could explain aspects of the image, present information not included in it, or clarify the significance of the image on several levels.”¹⁰ Visual representations of the scenes described in the textual account could also lend credibility to the narrative.¹¹ In the case of witchcraft, Charles Zika has argued that such illustrations helped to make the witch more immediate, recognisable and credible.¹² Illustrated broadsheets could help readers perceive witchcraft as a real threat that needed to be rooted out. Through the use of woodcuts, people had an opportunity to witness the witches’ crimes with their own eyes, becoming what Daniela Kraus terms “quasi-witnesses.”¹³ Simultaneously they also got to lay their eyes on the detailed representation of the punishments meted out by the authorities. The core scene that was included in nearly all illustrations was the witches’ execution. This emphasis on execution gradually gave way to illustrations that focused

10 Robert Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk: popular propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), xxviii.

11 Daniela Kraus, *Kriminalität und Recht in frühneuzeitlichen Nachrichtendruckten: Bayerische Kriminalberichterstattung vom Ende des 15. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2013), p. 41.

12 Charles Zika, *The appearance of witchcraft: print and visual culture in sixteenth century Europe* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), p. 2.

13 Kraus, *Kriminalität und Recht*, p. 151.

on both crime and punishment. This shift partially reflected the changing format of the illustrations, which went from being multi-layered images, that is one image that depicted multiple scenes simultaneously, to the use of multi-images, in what resembled a cartoon or comic strip, not unlike a modern day storyboard.¹⁴

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century the spectacle of execution was an important public and communal affair, symbolically enacting the removal of the criminal from society, and the restoration of order by the magistrate. In the words of Richard Van Dülmen, public spectacles of punishment were both demonstrations of power and quasi-religious popular festivals, they were “not a mere theatre of horror for simple folk” – but an act for the restoration of a world that had been damaged by a crime, and a celebration of the religious sacrifice of a repentant sinner.¹⁵ The punishment for witchcraft was burning, which was also used in cases of heresy as a means of purification.¹⁶ The official law code of the Holy Roman Empire, the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* (1532), stipulated in Article 109 that the crime of sorcery deserved capital punishment, stating that: “...anyone who inflicts harm or injury on others through sorcery shall be punished from life unto death, and such punishment shall be carried out by fire.”¹⁷ This paragraph on harmful sorcery provided the legal basis for many witch trials in early modern Germany.¹⁸ This spectacle of horror was used by authorities to remind those in attendance (and executions often drew large crowds of spectators) about the consequences of such crimes.¹⁹ The confession of the criminal was read aloud at the place of execution, often providing the details for subsequent news accounts. In light of this, one can see how some authorities may have been happy to have the

14 David Kunzle claimed that to be an early comic strip, there had to be sequence of separate images, and there must be a preponderance of image over text. Kunzle, *History of the comic strip. Vol. 1: The early modern comic strip. Narrative strips and picture stories in the European broadsheet from c. 1450 to 1825* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 2.

15 Richard van Dülmen, *Theatre of horror: crime and punishment in early modern Germany* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p. 3.

16 Ibid., p. 91.

17 Friedrich-Christian Schroeder (ed.), *Die Peinliche Gerichtsordnung Kaisers Karl v. und des Heiligen Römischen Reichs von 1532 (Carolina)* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2000), p. 73, Article 109, Straff der Zauberey: “Item so jemandt den leuten durch zauberey schaden oder nachtheyl zufügt, soll man straffen vom leben zum todt, vnnd man soll solchen straff mit dem fewer thun.”

18 Behringer, *Witchcraft persecutions in Bavaria*, p. 115.

19 Richard van Dülmen suggests that executions of witches, political traitors and rebels could be witnessed by thousands. Van Dülmen, *Theatre of horror*, p. 108.

spectacle of punishment put into print, whereby their message could spread further, underlining their authority as God's worldly representatives on earth. However, if the reports communicated a message that was not in tune with the authorities, they could censor the report, and as we will see there are examples of authorities using broadsheets, but also preventing the misuse of them too.

One of the first cases of witchcraft that gained what could be termed media notoriety was the case of a maid who worked at an inn in Schiltach, near Rotweil in Baden-Württemberg, who was accused of burning the town to the ground with the help of the devil.²⁰ The maid was put on trial, and following her confession, she was publicly executed; at least two pamphlets were printed about the case.²¹ These were joined by a broadsheet (Fig. 19.1 and Colour plate ix) which was printed in Nuremberg, located just over 300 kilometres away from Schiltach, by the *briefmaler* Stefan Hamer. Hamer's broadsheet included a woodcut that was crafted by Erhard Schön. The earlier pamphlets could have been the source of the anonymous author's inspiration. The broadsheet was entitled "A terrifying story of the devil and a witch that took place in Schilta near Rotweil."²² It is known that the story of the maid travelled far and wide, with the story even making an appearance in the correspondence of Erasmus of Rotterdam.²³

20 This case, and all of the reports surrounding it have been reprinted and analysed in detail in Hans Harter, *Der Teufel von Schiltach: Ereignisse, Deutungen, Wirkungen: mit einer Quellendokumentation* (Schiltach: Stadt Schiltach, 2005).

21 *Ein erschrocklich Warhafftige History wie es yetz auff den Gründonnerstag im Kintzgerthal zü Schiltach im dreyunddreissigsten jar / der listig Teüfel die frumen leüt daselbs / mit falschen worten/ pfeiffen / allerey gesang / rc. Betrogen / zü lest die Statt gar verderbt / und verbrant hat [...]. findestu gründlich in disem büchlin getruckt ston. M.D. XXXiii (s.l., 1533), USTC 643301; *Ein wunderbarlich erschrockenlich handlung / So sich auff den Grün Dornstag diars / inn dem Stedlin Schiltach / mit einer brunst durch den bösen geist gestiftt / begeben hat / im M.D. Xxxiii.* (Leipzig, 1533), USTC 647496.*

22 *Ein erschrocklich geschicht Vom Tewfel und einer unhulden*, printed by Stefan Hamer (Nuremberg, 1533). [USTC 750223]: "Ein erschrocklich geschicht Vom Tewfel und einer unhulden beschehen zu Schilta bey Rotweil..."

23 Erasmus' letters concerning this case can be viewed in German translation in Harter, *Der Teufel von Schiltach*, pp. 119–120, or in the original Latin in P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen and H.W. Garrod (eds.), *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, Vol. 10: 1532–1534* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), see letters 2846 and 2877. Erasmus referred to the case in two letters, firstly in July 1533 and then, albeit very briefly, in November of the same year. In the first letter, to Damien a Goes, Erasmus claimed to have heard about the fire in Schiltach from Heinrich Glareanus in Freiburg. He said that while one cannot be certain if everything that is said about it is true, it was certainly true that the whole city was burnt

Ein erschröcklich geschicht Vom Tewfel vnd einer unholden/ beschehen zu Schiltach bey Rorweil in der Karwochen. AN. D. XXXiii Jar.



Uenwe zeytung geschehen drey meyl von Rorweil da ist ein Stedlein im Hornberger tal das heysst Schylta do ist der tewfel in das selbig stedelein in ein Wirts hauss kummen/ist vngefarlich drey oder vyer tag im selbigen Wirts hauss gewesen / hat daselbst angefangen zu Trummen vñ Pfeysen in der Stussen vñ allenthalb im hauss man hat aber nichts sehen künden sonder so seltsam ding/der gleichen vor nie/gehört Es sind eithlich abeten vñ kummen vñ haben in wellen beschweren do hat der Tewfel angefangen zu reden sie sollt sein miessig ghen/ Was sie in wellen besweren: sie seyn böser das er/hat in gesagt was sie gethō vñnd gestolen haben. Zu lezt hat er so vil mit dē wiert geredt er soll die mayd auß dē hauss thō er well im sunst das hauss verbrennen dann die mayd sey sein vñnd er soll uns mit auffhalten / do hat der wieder der mayd vñ lawß geben. Nach dem ist der Tewfel hinweg gefaren hat zū wieder gesagt er soll sich dar zu rüft en er well im das hauss auffden geyenen Donnerstag in der Karwochen verbrennen. Darnach auff dē Euenen Donnerstag ist die mayd auffein ofengabel gefessen ist in einer halben stund zwū meyl vñ Rorweyl gē Schiltach in das wieder hauss auffein hewbaren gefaren/do ist der Tewfel zu je kummen hat ein hefelein gepracht vñ zu je gesagt sie soll das hefelein vñschütten so wer es gleich als bünnen/welchs so bald sie es gethō ist es als bünnet worden. In dē ist sie hinweg gen Oberndorff gefaren da ist von fundan das

hauss angangen vñnd das ganz Stedlein biß ondr ey kleine hefflein vngefarlich in anderhalb stund gar verbrunne Aber vber die drey hefflein/wie sie in der vergicht bekennet/hat der Tewfel kein gewalt gehabt. Die zway sind zwayer armen gesellen gewesen vñnd das drit eines dabey die armen vñnd was sunst niemants hat wellen beherbergē/herberg gehabt haben. Wie solchs beschē hat mā nach je gryffē sy gefeclich ange nāmē am Karfreitag zu Oberndorff/ vñ daselbst am mōtag vor sanct Gōgē tag verbrent/vñ sechsvñ dreyßig artickel verlesē die sie in ier vergicht bekennet hat / fast schendlich schröcklich vñ schedliche ding wie sie vñnd leut verderbt vñ schaden zugefügt hat Achtzehē jar hat sie mit dem Tewfel zugehalten vñnd ihr eygen mutter hat sie es selbst gelet.

Sölich erschrecklich geschicht solt vns billich zuherzen ghen vñ zur besserung vñsers lebens kayzen/ in ein rechten glauben gegen Got vñnd thetiger lieb gegen dem nechste zuwandlē/ dieweil er vns vñnd vnser sündt willen so mit schröcklicher straff heym sucht/ Darbey auch erlernē/wie vns Got imitten des vbels vñnd der straff behüten kan/wie er auch Daniel in mitte der lewen vñnd die drey kinden im feurigen ofen vnuerletzt behütet hat/damit wir auch in seiner forcht vñnd nach seinem wil len wandlen / auff das er vns nit einfür in ver suchung sonder behüt vns vor vñnd ver leyh vns nach disen leben das ewig Amen.

Steffan Hamer Briefmaler.

FIGURE 19.1 (COLOUR
PLATE IX)

Ein erschrocklich geschicht Vom Tewfel und einer unholden
(Nuremberg: Stefan Hamer, 1533). USTC 750223.
ZÜRICH, ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK, PAS II 1/33.

The image in this broadsheet shows the witch being executed in the right foreground, with the executioner doing his duty by stoking the flames. Interestingly, the woman is depicted topless. For this reason, Hans Harter has labelled the image as voyeuristic. We know that this representation is not historically accurate, as criminals had to wear a special penance shirt when being executed.²⁴ In the background one can see the image of the town alight. The flames bellowing out of the town mirror the flames encircling the maid who is held accountable for arson. The crime and punishment are illustrated in rather simplistic terms. If one were to only read the image without the text, one might gather that there was arson involved, but witchcraft? While the devil features prominently in the textual account, he is noticeably absent from the image.

Other reports from the sixteenth century similarly gave the execution pride of place in the accompanying illustration. For example, in a report about four witches who were executed in Wittenberg in 1540, the image dominates the sheet, taking over two-thirds of the page. Not only that, but the woodcut, which was executed by Lucas Cranach the Younger, focuses solely on the gruesome execution of these witches. The four witches, a woman, her son, and two others are seen mounted high on stakes to which they have been chained, their bodies appear charred, with skin flaking off their legs, their intestines and bowels pouring out from open wounds.²⁵ This image is unusual as most other execution scenes display the executioner. It also does not illustrate any of the crimes of which the witches were accused. The title extols the authorities, who are carrying out God's work, through referring to Paul's letter to the Romans. In this letter Paul insists that every person must be subject to the governing authorities, and that those who resist such authority also resist God.²⁶ Rulers bear the sword of God, to avenge those who do evil. As the broadsheet title summarises it: "Paul to the Romans XIII. The powerful or authorities are not to be feared by the good, but by those who do evil, for they [the authorities]

to the ground and that a woman was executed there on the basis of her confession. The rest of Erasmus' relation of the story is very similar to the pamphlet accounts (which included a description of the devil appearing at an inn, playing the pipes before taking off with the maid). While Erasmus remained sceptical about the rumours about what happened, he suggests that the rumours in the nearby areas are so tenacious that they cannot be considered falsehoods. His discussion of the story ends hastily, however; with him saying to Damian that he will spare his ears such "common talk" (*vulgi fabulis*).

24 Harter, *Der Teufel von Schiltach*, p.16.

25 This image is reprinted and discussed in Charles Zika, *The appearance of witchcraft*, pp. 183–184.

26 Michael D. Coogan (ed.), *The new Oxford annotated Bible: new revised standard version* (3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Romans 13.1–13.6.

do not bear the sword for nothing. They are God's servant, the avenger of those who do evil."²⁷ The use of scripture as an authority in news broadsheets was very common, particularly in the sixteenth century. The Bible was the one text with which everyone would be familiar on some level, either through hearing sermons, or increasingly, thanks to the Lutheran emphasis on 'sola scriptura', from studying it for themselves. The same broadsheet also closed with a citation from the Bible, using Psalm 83 to insinuate that witches were making 'cunning attacks' against Christian society.²⁸

In 1555 an account of three witches prosecuted in Derneburg was published as an illustrated broadsheet (Fig. 19.2 and Colour plate x): "A terrible history, which happened in Derneburg in the county of Reinsteyn, in Harz in 1555 of three sorceresses and two men." The image in this broadsheet is significant for a number of reasons. Charles Zika referred to this report as in many ways 'typical' but while the format may be typical, there is nothing 'typical' about the content of this report.²⁹ Firstly, unlike both earlier reports the image is more complex. On the left foreground, the three women are shown burning at the stake. Like the image from 1533, the fire is tended to by the executioner, but this time he is accompanied by another gentleman. Moreover, a number of spectators are displayed gathered in the distance to observe the punishment. The text focuses primarily on two witches, Gißlersche and Gröbische, but also details how Gröbische's husband was executed, by sword, for sleeping with her sister. His execution is visible in the right background. In the sky above, a demon-like figure flies through the air to claim one of the witches. When a witch made a pact with the devil, contemporaries believed that they surrendered their soul to him. This image literally represents the devil come to take his due. As the text explains, after Gröbische was fastened to the stake and as the fire was sparked "the lover, Satan came and took her away in the air visibly before everyone."³⁰ However, what makes this account so unusual is that the crimes discussed in the text and depicted in the image allegedly happened after the witches were executed. They supposedly came back from the dead and killed the husband

27 Paul. *zun Rom XIII. Die Gewaltigen oder Oberkeiten sind nicht den die gutes/ sunder den die böses thun / zufürchten / Denn sie tregt das Schwert nicht umb sonst / Sie ist Gottes dienerin / eine Racherin uber den der böses thut*, woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Younger (S.I., s.n., 1540). USTC 752694.

28 Ibid.: "Sie machen listige anschlege wider dein volck / vnd ratschlagen wider deine verborgene."

29 Zika, *The appearance of witchcraft*, p. 180.

30 *Ein erschrockliche geschicht/ so zu Derneburg in der Graffschafft Reinsteyn/ am Harz gelegen / von dreyen Zauberin* (Nuremberg: Georg Merckel, 1555): "...ist der büle / der Sathan kommen / und sie in lüfften sichtgklich vor jederman weckgefürt."



FIGURE 19.2 (COLOUR
PLATE X)

Ein erschrockliche geschicht/ so zu Derneburg in der Graffschafft Reinsteyn/ am Harz gelegen / von dreyen Zauberin (Nuremberg: Georg Merkel, 1555). USTC 750051.

ZÜRICH, ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK, PAS II 12/49.

of Gißlersche, and this is the scene taking place on the right, with the husband lying dead on the ground outside. This is the only account I have found, in broadsheets or in pamphlets, of witches coming back from the dead.

This emphasis on punishment in sixteenth-century broadsheets, more generally, has been noted by David Kunzle and Karl Härter. Härter noted that in a study of 100 broadsides reporting various crimes, the scene of execution and punishment played a prominent role.³¹ Kunzle also found that in the sixteenth century it was the elaboration of punishment that made for narrative.³² The depiction of punishment found in an illustrated witchcraft broadsheet from 1600 is in keeping with this trend (Fig. 19.3 and Colour plate XI).³³ This report which detailed the case of the Pappenheimer family, who were tried and executed in Munich, contained four separate images, with scenes from their punishment taking up three out of the four images. The broadsheet was printed in nearby Augsburg by Michael Manger and a coloured version is still extant at the Münchner Stadtmuseum. The woodcuts graphically depict the infliction of various forms of punishment on the accused. But how accurate are the representations?

The trial records for this case are extant, and it is known that the executive justice, Christopher Neuchinger of Oberneuching, sentenced them to death “by torment”: “namely that all six be placed publicly upon two carts, drawn in procession before their deaths to the place of execution, the body of each to be torn six times with red-hot pincers, the mother to have her breasts cut off, the five condemned males to have their limbs broken on the wheel, and Paulus Gämperle thereafter to be impaled upon a stake, all six persons then to be put to death by fire.”³⁴ Each of these stages is dutifully illustrated in graphic detail in the broadsheet that recorded the execution.

31 Karl Härter, ‘Criminalbildergeschichten: Verbrechen, Justiz und Strafe in illustrierten Einblattgedrucken der Frühen Neuzeit’, in Karl Härter, Gerhard Sälter and Eva Wiebel (eds.), *Repräsentationen von Kriminalität und öffentlicher Sicherheit. Bilder, Vorstellungen und Diskurse vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann 2010), pp. 25–88.

32 Kunzle, *History of the comic strip*, p. 165.

33 *Kurze Erzählung vnd Fürbildung der vbelthatten / welche von Sechs personen / als einem Mann / seinem Eheweib / zweyen jrer Söhnen / vnd zweyen anderen Jhren Gesellen / begangen / was massen sie auch / an dem 29. Tag dess Monats Julij / in dem 1600. Jar / in der Fürstlichen hauptstatt München / von dem Leben zum Tod gebracht worden / den Bösen zu einem Schröcken / den Frommen aber zur Warnung / für die Augen gestellt*, printed by Michael Manger (Augsburg, 1600).

34 Michael Kunze, *Highroad to the stake: a tale of witchcraft*, translated by William E. Yulli (London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 404.



FIGURE 19.4 (COLOUR Detail of Fig. 19.3.
PLATE XII)

take up two out of six scenes. Through the use of separate images, these later broadsheet illustrations communicate the witches' journey to the flames, from the first point of contact with the devil, to their bitter end.

The Crimes of Witches

The crime of witchcraft was presented as a real threat to society not only in early modern news reports, but also in legal codes, demonologies and literary texts. It is evident that research paradigms have shifted in recent years and instead of asking why people believed in witchcraft, the focus is now on how witchcraft was understood. Rather than simply labelling belief in witchcraft as illogical, historians now try to comprehend the logic of witchcraft belief on its own terms. The linguistic turn of the 1990s undoubtedly had a major impact on witchcraft scholars, who turned to texts to see how witchcraft was framed and constructed in contemporary discourses. Illustrated broadsheets and pamphlets, however, did not receive major attention until recently. Charles Zika, Harald Sipek, Wolfgang Behringer, along with Robert Walinski-Kiehl, have been important figures in drawing attention to the merits and value of illustrated

broadsheets as a source for historians of witchcraft.³⁵ Through exploring the reports, one can ascertain how the crime of witchcraft was being presented to readers. As a medium, the broadsheet had limited space so authors had to be very selective with what they included. Many followed the same formulaic approach in the text that can be found in other crime and punishment broadsheets. They began with a title which generally gave information concerning the crime, along with a location and date. The authors varied in how they defined their account, using words such as “ein erschrocklich Geschicht” (a terrible story), “kurze Erzählung” (a short account) or “warhaffte Beschreibung” (a truthful description). At the outset of the report, they usually offer some basic information, such as the age of the criminal, their employment, where they were from, and their familial status. This is followed by an account of their crimes.

By the sixteenth century any act of witchcraft was only deemed possible after one had concluded a pact with the devil. This pact formed the basis for all of the witch's subsequent crimes. Hence, it is not surprising that the witches' relationship with the devil is mentioned in most broadsheet reports. However, the pact is not always referred to as such, especially in the first half of the sixteenth century. That said, it is usually made clear that the witch had a relationship with the devil. For example the maid from Schiltach is said to have been with the devil for eighteen years,³⁶ while the aforementioned Gröbische, executed in 1555, was reported as courting the devil for eleven years (“*das sie Aylff jar mit dem Teüffel gebület habe...*”).³⁷

In the seventeenth century, descriptions of the nature of this relationship became more detailed, and, what is more, they were illustrated. It is interesting that despite the fact that more women were prosecuted for the crime of witchcraft, the extant broadsheets portray both women and men as allying with Satan and committing *maleficium*. In fact, the first image of a witch making a pact with the devil, in a news broadsheet, is of a man, Paulus Gämperle, from the 1600 report concerning the Pappenheimers (Fig. 19.3 and

35 See Zika, *The appearance of witchcraft*, especially pp. 179–209; Harald Sipek, “‘Neue Zeitung’ – Marginalien zur Flugblatt- und Flugschriftenpublizistik,” in Harald Siebenmorgen (ed.), *Hexen und Hexenverfolgung im deutschen Südwesten* (2 vols., Karlsruhe: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 1994), II. 85–92; Behringer, ‘Witchcraft and the Media’, pp. 217–239; Robert Walinski-Kiehl, ‘Pamphlets, Propaganda and Witch-hunting in Germany c. 1560–1630’ in *Reformation* 6 (2002), pp. 49–74.

36 *Ein erschrocklich geschicht Vom Tewfel und einer unhulden* (Nuremberg, Stefen Hamer, 1533).

37 *Ein erschrockliche geschicht/ so zu Derneburg in der Graffschafft Reinsteyn/ am Harz gelegen / von dreyen Zauberin* (Nuremberg, Georg Merckel, 1555).

Colour plate XI). Intriguingly the text of the report, which enumerated the many crimes of each person individually, did not go into detail about the witches' pact with the devil. We know from the trial records, however, that each of the apprehended suspects had confessed to entering into a pact.³⁸ The artist, therefore, had free rein in terms of who to choose for the image. They could have chosen to display any of the six accused, but they chose Paulus. One could interpret this decision as rational in a patriarchal society. Only one image is chosen to represent the crimes of all the witches, and that is the one of the father entering into a pact with the devil. As head of the family, the artist perhaps felt that his actions laid the foundations for the subsequent 'highroad to the stake'. In addition, as Paulus had confessed to being approached by both a female and male devil, they had a choice about how to represent the devil in the image. Would the artist depict the devil as the "beautiful woman in a tall hat" who had approached Paulus and persuaded him with a "wealth of grand promises" to fornicate with her, or as the man who appeared and made him pledge himself to him in body and soul?³⁹ Rather than depicting the devil in human form, he appears as a type of devilish beast, with the head of a goat with two large horns. From the neck down he appears human and is fully clothed in masculine dress. Their encounter is set outdoors, in the woods, with the devil standing in front of Paulus. A building, possibly a church, is located in the right background. Their hand gestures are suggestive of oath taking, so it appears that the image corresponded to Paulus' account of pledging himself to Satan.⁴⁰

In 1666 there was another woodcut depicting a male pact with the devil (Fig. 19.6). This image was one of six woodcuts that illustrated the account of the crimes and execution of Simon Altsee, a 78-year-old witch tried in Munich. Unlike the Pappenheimer report, the text in the later broadsheet outlined Simon's relationship with the devil. The text was connected to the image through an alphabetic key. The meeting with the devil represents the starting point of Simon's crimes, hence it is labelled 'A'; this reflects the idea that the pact was the foundation of all witchcraft. In the text that corresponds to 'A' the author explained that Simon had disowned God and all the saints and had

38 Kunze, *Highroad to the stake*, pp. 219–220.

39 Ibid.

40 Doris Gruber, "Welches Jeden ein Exempel sey, zu Meiden solche Teiffeley" Die Hexenverfolgung am illustrierten Flugblatt der Frühen Neuzeit' (Diplomarbeit, Universität Graz, 2013), p. 61, available online at <http://unipub.uni-graz.at/obvugrhs/content/titleinfo/226845> [15 April 2015].



FIGURE 19.5 *Relation oder beschreibung so Anno. 1669. den 23. Martij in der Römischen Reichs = Stadt Augspurg geschehen* (Augsburg: Elias Wellhöfer, 1669). MORITZBURG HALLE (SAALE), KUNSTMUSEUM

instead sworn himself to the devil keeping a “continual fellowship” (*unaußgesetzte Gemeinschaft*) with him. In the image the devil is portrayed as completely demonic with few or no human characteristics. He has large breasts, wings, horns, a tail and cloven feet. Unlike the image of Paulus, who was shown in the process of oath taking, Simon is shown shaking hands with the devil. A handshake was considered a symbolic legal act that could make a contract binding. In other words, the relationship with the devil is represented here as a business contract, between two equal partners. But how did these images compare to illustrations of women?

Unfortunately, there is only one woodcut in the illustrated broadsheets depicting the female pact with the devil. It was used in two of Wellhöfer's reports; first in 1654 and then in 1669. It was common for printers to recycle woodcuts where possible, and the four extant broadsheets from Wellhöfer's workshop are testimony to how woodcuts could not only be reused but also reworked. In the 1654 broadsheet the woodcut was used to illustrate the young Maria Pihlerin's encounter with the devil, prior to her possession. In the 1669 broadsheet it was used to represent Anna Eberlehrin's meeting with the devil at a wedding.

It is striking that the female relationship with the devil is illustrated quite differently compared to that of the male witches. The devil is portrayed as a well-dressed gentleman, who dupes and seduces women. He appears mostly in human form, with just a few tell-tale signs that he is not human. Unlike the men who are depicted as entering into some form of business contract, with full knowledge of who they are dealing with, the woman's relationship with the devil is understood in terms of seduction and courtship. The woman is shown as inferior to the devil, and it is implied that she could easily be tricked. It is noteworthy that the iconography found in this woodcut resembles quite closely a much earlier woodcut depicting the pact in various editions of Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, so perhaps it is possible that this is where the artist got their inspiration.⁴¹ Although it is hard to recognise any difference in how male and female witches are discussed in the texts, it is clear from the illustrations that the relationship with the devil could be imagined differently for men and women, and that this imagined relationship to some extent reflected contemporary understandings of gender.

When it came to using *maleficium* (harmful magic), witches were accused of all kinds of horrendous crimes, and they confessed, often under torture, to performing an array of harmful magic on humans, animals and the environment with the help of the devil. One of the most sensational reports with regard to

41 For more on these woodcuts see Natalie Kwan, 'Woodcuts and Witches: Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, 1489–1669', *German History* 30, 4 (2012), pp. 493–527.

the range and scope of the crimes involved is the Pappenheimer broadsheet, which included the following summation of the six witches' crimes:

So in total these six maleficent persons killed four hundred and one children and eighty-five older people through sorcery... [they] committed twenty-eight church robberies, one hundred and seven murders, caused fires twenty-six times, committed twenty-five break-ins at night, practiced highway robbery nine times, committed thirteen thefts, made hail and showers twenty-one times, destroyed animals and pastures countless times and corrupted four marriages.⁴²

The confession was of paramount importance because, in cases of witchcraft, it was seen as the 'Queen of Evidence'.⁴³ The authors of these broadsheets frequently alluded to the witches' confessions, listing, sometimes item by item, the crimes that they had confessed to committing. The most common crime reported in illustrated witchcraft broadsheets was of witches causing harm to humans and animals, often resulting in death. Sometimes the method used to cause harm was reported too, for example, in the broadsheet from 1555 a witch named Serckschen is said to have lamed a man and killed his livestock by burying a toad beneath the threshold of his front door. The idea that witches could cause harm through burying items beneath the ground, particularly under thresholds is something that was reported in demonologies, especially in a number of narratives from the *Malleus Maleficarum* (stories which were subsequently copied into other demonologies).⁴⁴ Witches were also believed to receive a special salve or magical item from the devil to cause harm. For example, the report on Simon Altsee in 1666 claims he had been given a special root from the devil, while Anna Eberlehrin is reported as receiving a white powder from her devil in a report of 1669.

42 *Kurze Erzöhlung vnd Fürbildung der ...* (Augsburg, 1600): "Haben also dise Sechs Malefizische Personen / in einer summa vier hundert vnd ain kind / fünff vnd Achtzzig alter Leüth / mit Zauberey hingerichtet... Acht vnd zweinzig Kirchenraub vnd ain hundert vnd siben Mord begangen : Sechs vnd zweinzigmal gebrandt : fünff vnd zweinzigmal Nächtlicher weil eingefallen : Neunmalen Straßrauberey getriben : Dreyzehnmal Diebstall verbracht : Ain vnd zwainzig hagel vnd schaur gemacht : Vnzählich vil malen vich vnd weyd verderbt / vnd vier böse Ehen gemacht."

43 Tom Robisheaux, 'The Queen of Evidence: The Witchcraft Confession in the Age of Confessionalism', in John M. Headley, etc (eds.), *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700: essays in honor of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 175–206.

44 Mackay, *The hammer of witches*, for examples see pp. 321–322 and 378–379.

Other crimes that were reported include weather magic, infanticide, arson, and theft. Weather magic, which was the most frequent crime attributed to witches in pamphlets in the sixteenth century, was recorded in illustrated broadside reports in 1540, 1600, 1666 and 1669. Infanticide features in reports from 1600, 1627, 1666 and 1669. Arson, while it was the subject of the first witchcraft broadsheet in 1533, is not often mentioned, although the Pappenheimers were accused of twenty-six cases of arson in 1600. Similarly, accounts of theft were rare. Another crime that was uncommon was the desecration of the host. There are two accounts of witches desecrating the host in 1666 in two separate broadsheets printed by Wellhöfer. Post-Tridentine Catholicism strongly identified the sacrament of the Eucharist with the sacrificed body of Christ.⁴⁵ Thus the witches were perceived as physically abusing Christ's body. Simon Altsee was accused not only of treading the host underfoot, but also selling it, and feeding it to a dog (these acts were illustrated in the top right woodcut in Fig. 19.6). Undoubtedly such stories overlap with contemporary accounts of Jewish ritual murder and blood libel.⁴⁶ Host desecration and blood libel are closely linked, as both were viewed as attempts to re-enact the Passion of Christ through a renewed attack on his body.⁴⁷ Such narratives clearly establish the witch as not only a spiritual enemy but also as a physical enemy of God.

In general, the crimes covered in illustrated broadsheets are quite similar to the crimes that were reported in pamphlets. Given their lengthier format, pamphlets had more space to provide more detail about the crimes. It is important to note, however, that we have almost no extant broadsheets from the decades in which the most witchcraft pamphlets were printed, that is the 1580s and 1590s. This makes any detailed comparative analysis difficult.

A Collective Conspiracy against Christianity: The Witches' Gathering in Illustrated Broadsheets

Were witches shown as acting alone or in a group in illustrated broadsheets? This seemingly simple question is important, as it was the belief that witches were conspiring together, congregating at special witches' gatherings, that

45 Michael Ostling, *Between the devil and the host: imagining witchcraft in Early Modern Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.169.

46 Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 236. See also Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The myth of ritual murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (Yale University Press, 1988).

47 Ostling, *Between the devil and the host*, p.169.

enabled large scale prosecutions.⁴⁸ On this basis the authorities began to extract the names of alleged accomplices from individual suspects, which resulted in further arrests and torture.⁴⁹ The broadsheets from 1540 and 1555 hint vaguely at the collective activity of witches, but there is no mention of a special dance or gathering. Interestingly, while stories of witches meeting together were dotted throughout news pamphlets in the sixteenth century, the concept of a large scale gathering only appeared in one illustrated broadsheet during the same period.

This broadsheet, which was first published during the last decade of the sixteenth century, was not like previous news broadsheets. The format was different: the page layout was in landscape, with the image taking over the print, with only a tiny fraction of the space given over to the text. The first known copy of this broadsheet was, in fact, included in a small tract.⁵⁰ The sheet lacked a title above the image, but the opening line exclaimed: "Listen to a new frightful adventure of the monstrous sorcerers" (Fig. 19.7).⁵¹ It appeared in Thomas Sigfrid's 1593 work, printed in Erfurt, titled: "The right answer to the question: Whether the sorcerers and sorceresses can bring about illnesses and death with their magical powder / what to think of their salves, their meetings and confessions ... with a copperplate engraving placed before your eyes."⁵² This tract was printed again in 1594 and 1603, with the broadsheet included on both occasions. There are some minor differences between the broadsheet used in the various editions. The earliest print had an unusual key to the legend, instead of having it in alphabetical order it was A, C, D, H, I, O and P. This was rectified in the later editions. In 1593 and 1594, the opening lines of the broadsheet claimed that the adventures occurred only in the Bishopric of Trier ("Im Bisthumb Trier der werden stat"). This was changed in another

48 Norman Cohn, *Europe's inner demons: the demonisation of Christians in medieval Christendom* (Revised ed., London: Pimlico, 1993), x.

49 Wolfgang Behringer, *Witchcraft persecutions in Bavaria*, p. 14.

50 Rita Voltmer, "Hört an neu schrecklich abentheuer / von den unholden ungeheuer" – Zur multimedialen Vermittlung des Fahnungsbildes "Hexerei" im Kontext konfessioneller Polemik' in Karl Härter et al (eds.), *Repräsentation von Kriminalität und öffentlicher Sicherheit: Bilder, Vorstellungen und Diskurse vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2010), p. 112. In this article Voltmer provides a thorough analysis of this broadside.

51 *Hort an new schrecklich abenthewr* (c. 1600): "Hört an neu schrecklich abenthewr / von den unholden ungehewr." USTC 750674.

52 "Richtige Antwort auff die Frage: Ob die Zeuberer und Zeuberin mit irem zauber Pulver / krankheiten / oder den todt selber beybringen können / was von ihren Salben / zusammenkunfft und Bekändtnuß zuhalten mit eim kupfferstück vor augen gestellet." See Rita Voltmer, "Hört an neu schrecklich abentheuer", p. 112.



FIGURE 19.6 Broadsheet reporting the sentencing of Simon Altsee in 1666: *Warhafft Beschreibung des Urtheils so Anno 1666. den 9. Januarij in der Churfürstlichen Residentz Statt München* (Augsburg: Elias Wellhöfer, 1666). MUNICH, MÜNSCHER STADTMUSEUM [M I/532].

edition that was also printed in 1594 to include other cities too (“Im Bisthumb Trier und ander stet”).⁵³ The latter version was reprinted again 1603.⁵⁴ A copy of the broadsheet also made its way into Marcus Lamm’s *Thesaurus picturarum* (which is not dated).⁵⁵ Aside from being appended to larger works, it is also likely that the broadsheet was also circulated by itself, as there is an extant copy of it in the Herzog August Bibliothek which is not attached to any tract or other text (see Fig. 19.7).

This detailed copperplate engraving, unlike the woodcuts from earlier broadsheets, illustrated nearly all of the crimes attributed to witches, including the witches’ dance and gathering. The image was marked with alphabetical keys that linked specific scenes to the rhyming couplets beneath the text. The first couplet, A, refers to the witch at the top of the image that are travelling

53 Ibid., p. 113.

54 Ibid.

55 Gruber, “Welches Jeden ein Exempel sey”, pp. 58–59.

on brooms in the air “over high mountains and cliffs.”⁵⁶ The witches’ dance and their journey to the dance are also depicted and described in parts C and D. The witches dance around a pillar with a toad on top of it.⁵⁷ The witches appear lively and scantily clad; behind the dancers two people appear to play music for the congregation. It is interesting that the dance here is combined with apostasy, as they appear to be worshipping the enthroned toad. To the right of the dance, more witches are arriving in large numbers, led by a witch riding a dead horse. According to Voltmer, this can be seen as a parody of a procession or of a ride to the place of sentencing, especially as the witch on the horse has her hands bound behind her back.⁵⁸ The witches following in the procession have brooms and other household implements in their hands; this alluded to the fact that many travelled there on such objects. The image also depicted sexual intercourse between a woman and a lover-demon (H) just in front of the dancing.

The idea that witches could travel up through chimneys is also portrayed, with the artist displaying witches emerging and entering a chimney top with brooms in their hands. This chimney scene also features in a pen and brown ink drawing by Frans Francken II (1581–1642).⁵⁹ It appears that the artist was familiar with this print. The witches’ feast (*Zechplatz*) is also portrayed in the image on the left hand-side, with a musician playing the pipes in a tree. This copperplate engraving demonstrates that by the close of the sixteenth century nearly all the characteristics of the fully developed witches’ sabbath myth were present. The witches are portrayed as flying to their gathering in the air, and riding on strange animals; when they get there music is performed, they dance and have sexual relations with their demon-lovers.

The witches’ sabbath became an arresting theme for numerous artists in the seventeenth century and beyond, with famous artists such as Jacques De Gheyn II (1565–1629), Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), and David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690) taking up the subject in several prints.⁶⁰ Two extant broadsheets

56 *Hört an new schrecklich abenthewr...: “Etlich auf bessemen in der Lufft / Farn uber hoche berg und klufft.”*

57 The toad was long associated with evil and the Devil with Pope Gregory IX claiming that heretics belonging to the “sect of the damned” had to kiss a toad on the mouth or on its hindquarters as early as 1233, see ‘Pope Gregory IX: Vox in Rama (1233)’, in Alan Kors and Edward Peters (eds.), *Witchcraft in Europe 400–1700: a documentary history* (2nd ed., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 115.

58 Voltmer, “Hört an neu schrecklich abentheuer”, p. 134.

59 Deanna Petherbridge, *Witches and wicked bodies* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2013), p. 105.

60 Many of these prints are reproduced in Petherbridge, *Witches and wicked Bodies*.

in the first half of the seventeenth century depicting the witches' nocturnal gatherings appear to have been heavily influenced by the works of these contemporary artists.⁶¹ For example one of the broadsheets, printed in 1627, simply titled "Zauberey", contained a detailed image etched by Matthaeus Merian the Elder (1593–1650), after Michael Herr (1591–1661), which was in part based on Jan Ziarnkos' (c. 1575–c. 1629) "Description et figure du sabbat" which in turn had borrowed from one of de Gheyn's sabbath prints.⁶² As the focus of this chapter is on illustrated news broadsheets I do not wish to deviate into the minute details of these prints, but is important to recognise that such images indicate how easily images moved from learned treatises and artistic works into the public realm.⁶³ It impossible to know whether the artists who created these images genuinely believed in the activities they were representing.⁶⁴ On the whole, they were decorative artistic, often fictional, works unlike the illustrated news-sheets which claimed to represent actual events. So how did news broadsheets depict the sabbath?

In 1666 and 1669, Elias Wellhöfer included the same woodcut portraying the witches' dance and feast in two witch reports. This image (Fig. 19.5), in comparison to the copperplate engraving (Fig. 19.7), and the multifarious representations of the sabbath from artworks of the seventeenth century, is certainly not as complex. Despite that, it highlights how the concept of the witches' dance, their ability to fly, and the diabolical feast had become fully integrated into the imagined concept of witchcraft. The image borrowed selectively from the extensive witchcraft iconography that had been firmly established by this point.⁶⁵

61 *Zauberey* (1626) and "Sih, wie die Teüfflich hexen rott..." (c. 1630). Both of these broadsheets are digitised on the British Museum website; for the former, see Museum number 1880,0710.388 and for the latter, Museum number 1880,0710.574 at www.britishmuseum.org.

62 Petherbridge, *Witches and wicked bodies*, p. 65.

63 Ibid. The representations of the witches' sabbath in broadsheets have been investigated in more detail by Doris Gruber, see Gruber 'Der Hexesabbat: Zeitgenössische Darstellung auf illustrierten Flugblättern' (Diplomarbeit, Universität Graz, 2013): <http://unipub.uni-graz.at/obvugrhs/content/titleinfo/233573>.

64 It is possible that they were intended for entertainment, see Lyndal Roper, 'Witchcraft and the Western Imagination', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 16 (2006), pp. 117–141. Charles Zika has recently argued that de Gheyn's works concerning witchcraft were not created as descriptions of any kind of social reality, Zika 'The Cruelty of Witchcraft: The Drawing of Jacques de Gheyn the Younger' in Laura Kounine, etc (eds.), *Emotions in the history of witchcraft* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 53.

65 For example the dance is reminiscent of the woodcuts used to illustrate the witches' dance in Maria Francesco Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum* (Milan, 1626). The flight on



FIGURE 19.7 *Hort an new schrecklich abentheur...* (s.l., s.n., c. 1600).

WOLFENBÜTTEL, HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, 31.8 AUG. 2°, FOL. 398.

However, the gathering is not illustrated as an elaborate inverted black-mass. And although a demon is shown reaching for a woman's breast at the feast, it does not compare to the sexual licentiousness evident in the Trier broadsheet (Fig. 19.7), and there are no naked female witches engaging in carnal activities with Satan. The woodcut appears to have been originally prepared for the report on Simon Altsee. Simon allegedly confessed that he attended the witches' dance and that at the dance there was also a "Devilish Feast" where he "committed damnable vices and improprieties."⁶⁶ The same woodcut was reused in the 1669 report about Anna Eberlehrin. In the text of the latter report we are told that Anna confessed to attending the witches' dance and assembly (*Hexen*

the oven fork and on the goat are also drawing from earlier illustrations. For more on the visual iconography of witchcraft see Charles Zika, *The appearance of witchcraft*.

66 *Warhafft Beschreibung des Urtheils so Anno 1666. den 9. Januarij....* printed by Elias Wellhöfer (Augsburg, 1666): "...vnd bey solchen abscheülichen Lastern vnd Ungebühr veruebt."

Tänzen vnd Versammlung) a number of times. At the dance she knelt before the Evil Spirit and gave him the same honour that was due to God the Almighty alone.⁶⁷ Interestingly, there is no worship of Satan in the accompanying image, and the feasting and dancing with demons is depicted as a jovial affair. This is significant as it is the ordinariness of the witches' gathering that possibly rendered it believable.

Perception and Purpose: Selling Stories of Witches

In order to understand the purpose and contemporary perception of illustrated witchcraft news broadsheets, we need to ask questions about readership and authorship. Joy Wiltenburg has argued that the audience for this type of literature was quite broad and could extend to people of humble status.⁶⁸ A contemporary account from Augsburg names both journeymen and students as groups who bought such reports.⁶⁹ Broadsheets also attracted the attention of learned and elite audiences. In fact, two of the witchcraft broadsheets, from 1533 and 1555, were collected by the well-known Swiss pastor Johann Jakob Wick for his *Book of Wonders*.⁷⁰ Wick, who was the second Archdeacon of the Zurich Grossmünster, collected, copied and illustrated a vast range of reports concerning the state of the world: signs and wonders of the times which he believed illustrated that the end of the world was approaching; among these were a number of witchcraft pamphlets. It is also noteworthy that the majority of extant witchcraft broadsheets are written in prose: this is all the more interesting when we reflect that half the pamphlets that related news of witches were written in rhyme to be sung to well-known tunes. Witchcraft broadsheets were not written to be sung but to be read. It is important to recognise, however, that reading could be communal.

Like readership, authorship is similarly hard to ascertain. While the authors remain unknown, it does not mean that we cannot consider why they were

67 *Relation oder beschreibung so Anno. 1669. den 23. Martij in der Römischen Reichs = Statt Augspurg* (Augsburg, Elias Wellhöfer, 1669): "....darbey dem bösen Geist mit kniebeigen vnd dergleichen solchen Ehr bewisen die sonsten Gott dem Allmächtigen alleingebühre."

68 Joy Wiltenburg, *Crime and culture in early modern Germany* (University of Virginia Press: Virginia, 2013), p. 11.

69 Ibid.

70 For more detail on Johann Jakob Wick and his collection see Joy Wiltenburg, *Crime and culture*, pp. 106–110; Franz Mauelshagen, *Wunderkammer auf Papier : die "Wickiana" zwischen Reformation und Volksglaube* (Epfendorf: Bibliotheca academica Verlag, 2011).

writing such works. The authors of illustrated news broadsheets were most likely inspired to write reports about witches for a number of reasons. First and foremost, as a sensational topic they probably believed reports about witches would sell. The broadsheets were above all else a commodity made for consumers. It is known that many printers used such reports as a way to generate income while they were compiling more complex works in the press.⁷¹ In the words of Andrew Pettegree: "No publisher could make their reputation with works of this sort. But they could make money."⁷² We know of numerous possible authors, such as print-shop workers and owners, as well as "hack journalists, roving students and clerks and underemployed teachers."⁷³ Churchmen, lawyers and magistrates were also responsible for penning reports about miracles, crimes and punishment.⁷⁴ Given the range of authors, it is not surprising that many were penned with a moral and religious agenda, to remind audiences that the devil was constantly lurking in the background, ready to devour those who diverted from the path of righteousness. One *Briefmaler* even believed that reporting about wondrous events was practically a Christian duty.⁷⁵ Religious undertones are particularly evident in the Lutheran broadsheets from 1540 and 1555. Other authors made an effort to report the minute details of trials and confessions, sticking very closely to the official record. This approach is evident in all the broadsheets printed in Augsburg, especially in the reports from Elias Wellhöfer. In fact, one of the reports from Wellhöfer's workshop contained extensive quotations from the *Strafbuch des Rats* (the Council Punishment Book) verbatim.⁷⁶ Such reports could help justify the authorities' actions. According to Lyndal Roper, the reiteration of the crimes and confession could also fix the details until there could be no doubt about the narrative.⁷⁷

71 Andrew Pettegree, *The book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 135.

72 Ibid., p. 334.

73 Tom Cheesman, *The shocking ballad picture show: German popular literature and cultural history* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), p. 48.

74 Ibid.

75 Franz Mauelshagen, 'Verbreitung von Wundernachrichten als christliche Pflicht: Das Weltbild legitimiert das Medium', in Franz Mauelshagen, etc. (eds.), *Medien und Weltbilder im Wandel der Frühen Neuzeit* (Augsburg: Wissner, 2000), p. 138.

76 See Warfield, 'Media representation', pp. 284–293; cf. Ursula-Maria Krah, 'Fiktionalität und Faktizität in frühneuzeitlichen Kleinschriften (Einblattdrucke und Flugschriften)', in Katrin Moeller and Burghart Schmidt (eds.), *Realität und Mythos – Hexenverfolgung und Rezeptionsgeschichte* (Hamburg: DOBU, 2003), pp. 77–86.

77 Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the devil: witchcraft, sexuality and religion in early modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 205.

There is no evidence that any of these reports printed in Augsburg rattled the authorities; rather they appear to have carefully toed the official line.

In nearby Nuremberg, however, a witchcraft broadsheet of 1627 caused a stir within the city council. It appears this was not the first case that aroused the suspicion of the Nuremberg council. Almost one hundred years earlier, in 1534, they voiced some concern over a print by Stefan Hamer, questioning the truthfulness of one of his reports.⁷⁸ Franz Mauelshagen believes that this broadsheet was possibly the witchcraft broadsheet about the maid from Schiltach.⁷⁹ Although all publications were controlled by municipal authorities, some authorities were more proactive at censoring works than others. From as early as 1522 the Reichstag in Augsburg decreed that the printer and place of publication had to be clearly displayed to assist the authorities with their monitoring of the press.⁸⁰ While waves of prosecutions swept through Bamberg and Würzburg in the 1620s, the Imperial Free City of Nuremberg witnessed no prosecutions whatsoever, with leading citizens remaining sceptical about the reality of witchcraft.⁸¹ Thus, when a broadsheet appeared in 1627 outlining the crimes of witches in neighbouring territories, the council were quick to act, no doubt fearing it could spark anxiety in the city. The suspected printer, Ludwig Lochner, was arrested and examined. Ludwig told the authorities that it was his brother who had printed it, and that he had since left Nuremberg. The printer had evidently lied about the place of publication, which was noted as Schmalkalden.

Robert Walinski-Kiehl has discussed this act of censorship in detail in an article from 2002; in the end the printing block used was destroyed, and Lochner was released.⁸² Compared to other witch reports, however, this account contained some peculiar content which may have led to its censorship. While it reports the usual crimes of witches, such as the pact with the devil and the destruction of crops, it contained a strange section in small font, labelled: "The Confession of these Weeds."⁸³ There follows a collection of superstitious beliefs, allegedly confessed by the witches themselves. For example, they

78 Hamer was questioned by the authorities about the origins of the story and its truthfulness: "von wem ers habe, das dise Zeitung und geschichten, die er gedruckt, warhafftig seien." See Mauelshagen, 'Verbreitung von Wundernachrichten', p. 143.

79 Ibid.

80 Kraus, *Kriminalität und Recht*, p. 44.

81 Nuremberg experienced no witch-hunts in the early modern period. See Hartmut Kunstmann, *Zauberwahn und Hexenprozeß in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, 1970).

82 Walinski-Kiehl, 'Pamphlets, Propaganda and Witch-hunting', pp. 68–69.

83 *Druten Zeitung* (Schmalkalden, 1627): "Bekannndnuße dieses Unkrauts."

confessed that if a person swept the house or a room, but left the dirt behind the door, the witches would have the power to cripple and lame that person. Moreover, the devil was said to be able to hide behind this dirt, allowing the witches to know everything that went on in that house. Other strange superstitions surrounding the use of salt and eggshells were reported, as well as cleanliness. It was claimed that the witches confessed to being able to kill any animals that had been touched by a person who did not wash their hands in the morning. Another bizarre statement claimed that if someone washed their feet in the evening but did not empty the water, devils could bathe in the dirty water, especially on Saturday night. By both detailing the witches' crimes, and outlining how witches claimed to be able to do such harm, this report had potential to fuel anxiety, not least by insinuating that everyday activities, like using salt improperly, or not washing your hands, could land you in serious trouble. This section of the report is most likely what caused it to be censored, although we can never know for certain.

When it comes to understanding early modern witchcraft prosecutions, there are many uncertainties and difficulties facing the historian. Historians are trained to sift out facts from fiction, but with witchcraft, we are left with news reports and trial manuscripts about imaginary crimes. In order to comprehend more fully how contemporaries perceived the crime of witchcraft, one must endeavour to look at a wide spectrum of sources. Traditionally, demonologies and trial manuscripts have been mined by researchers to reveal how witchcraft was constructed. However, this chapter has outlined some of the ways in which illustrated witchcraft news broadsheets can enrich our understanding further. There is no hierarchy of sources and although very few broadsheets have survived, when examined qualitatively they provide a fresh insight into how the crime of witchcraft was constructed by early modern reporters, and how representations of crime and punishment changed over time.

List of Extant Illustrated Witchcraft News Broadsheets (Excluding Reports on Werewolves):⁸⁴

- 1533 *Ein erschröcklich geschicht Vom Tewfel und einer unhulden* (Nuremberg: Stefan Hamer, 1533). USTC 750223

84 There were also a number of broadsheets portraying the crime of witchcraft that were not news reports, as well as reports on werewolves: these have not been included in this bibliography. For further details on these broadsides see Gruber, "Welches Jeden ein Exempel sey," pp. 167–171 where she gives full bibliographic details and descriptions of these items.

- 1540 *Paul zun Rom. XIII. Die Gewaltigen oder Oberkeiten sind nicht den die gutes/ sunder den die böses thun / zufürchten / Denn sie tregt das Schwert nich umb sonst / Sie ist Gottes dienerin / eine Racherin uber den der böses thut* ([Wittenberg], Lucas Cranach the Younger, 1540). USTC 752694
- 1555 *Ein erschrückliche geschicht/ so zu Derneburg in der Graffschafft Reinsteyn/ am Harz gelegen / von dreyen Zauberin* (Nuremberg: Georg Merckel, 1555). USTC 750051
- c.1600 *Hort an new schrecklich abenthewr / Von dem unholden ungehewr: in Bisthumb Trier und ander statt / Man ihrer vil gefangen hat* (s.l., s.n., 1600). USTC 750674
- 1600 *Kurze Erzöhlung vnd Fürbildung der vbelthatten / welche von Sechs personen / als einem Mann / seinem Eheweib / zweyen jrer Söhnen / vnd zweyen anderen Jhren Gesellen / begangen / was massen sie auch / an dem 29. Tag dess Monats Julij / in dem 1600. Jar / in der Fürstlichen hauptstatt München / von dem Leben zum Tod gebracht worden / den Bösen zu einem Schröcken / den Frommen aber zur Warnung / für die Augen gestellt* (Augsburg: Michael Manger, 1600).
- 1627 *Druten Zeitung / Verlauff / was sich hin und wider im Frankenland / Bamberg vnd Würzburg mit den Unholden / vnd denen so sich auß Ehr vnd Geltgetz muhtwillig dem Teuffel ergeben* (Schmalkalden, 1627).
- 1627 *Warhafftige erschrückliche Zeytung vnd Geschicht / So sich begeben vnd zugetragen hat in der Statt Wanga* (Kempten, 1627).
- 1654 *Warhafft Historische Abbild:vnd kurtze Beschreibung / was sich vnlangst in deß Heyl: Reichstatt Augspurg / mit einer ledigen / von einem stummen Teuffel besessen Weibspersohn* (Augsburg: Elias Wöllhöffer the Elder, 1654). VD17 23:675370B.
- 1666 *Warhafft Beschreibung des Urtheils so Anno 1666. den 9. Januarij in der Churfürstlichen Residenz Statt München an einem weitbeschreiten und erschrücklichen Zauberer vollbracht worden* (Augsburg: Elias Wellhöfer, 1666).
- 1666 *Warhafft Beschreibung deß Urtheils / so Anno 1666. den 15. Aprilis / in deß heiligen Römischen Reichs-Statt Augspurg / an einer alten Weibsperson namens Anna Schwayhoferin hat begeben vnd zugetragen* (Augsburg: Elias Wellhöfer, 1666).
- 1669 *Relation oder beschreibung so Anno. 1669. den 23. Martij in der Römischen Reichs = Statt Augspurg geschehen / von einer Weibs = Person / welche ob grausamer vnd erschrücklicher Hexerey vnd Verkremmungen der Menschen* (Augsburg: Elias Wellhöfer, 1669).

Selling Books by Broadsheet: The Sales Catalogue of Marie du Flo, veuve de Charles Savreux, marchand-libraire

Graeme Kemp

At first glance, item no. 7196 of the *Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé* would appear to be quite conventional. From the outside it is simply a large quarto volume bound in calfskin, whose contents would likely offer the reader nothing more than an example of one of the many early modern medical treatises in this library. Open the volume however and one discovers that such expectations are misplaced. The title page reads, *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae quondam per-illustris ac generosi viri domini Engelberti Della Faille*. It is in fact an auction catalogue for the sale of the library of a prominent noble and collector of books from Brussels. An interesting resource undoubtedly, but item no. 7196 has more to offer. Delve further into the volume and one finds another catalogue, *Bibliothecae Corbinianae catalogus, cum indice titulorum*. After this catalogue there is another, *Catalogue Des Livres Qui Sont Dans La Bibliothèque De Feu Mr. Galland*, and then another, *Catalogus librorum rei medicæ, herbariæ, & chymicæ bibliothecæ Joannis Riolani medicorum parisiensium primarii*, and so on. This single volume holds no fewer than twenty-eight book sale catalogues from the seventeenth century.¹

Scattered provenance marks within the volume suggest that this superb *recueil factice* was probably assembled by the Dominican bibliophile Jacques Quéatif. The most intriguing examples he collected appear towards the end of the volume. It is here that we find a sequence of single-sheet catalogues. One is little more than a rough folded sheet with items on both the front and back. Prominent authors, such as the poet Paul Scarron or the dramatist Gauthier de Costes, are highlighted; meanwhile at the foot of the list manuscript annotations indicate last minute additions to the stock.² Another is a dense little

1 For descriptions of additional catalogues in the collection of the *Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé*, see: Giles Mandelbrote, 'Les catalogues de libraires de Sir Hans Sloane', in Annie Charon, Claire Lesage and Ève Netchine (eds.), *Le livre entre le commerce et l'histoire des idées: Les catalogues de libraires (XVe–XIXe siècle)*, pp. 203–242.

2 *Catalogue de livres, à Paris, chez Guillaume de Luyne, libraire juré, au palais, dans le salle des Merciers sous la montée de la Cour des Aydes, à la Iustice* ([Paris, Guillaume de Luynes, 1670]).

sheet, notable primarily for the advertisement that gave details of the sale and invited people to attend.³ It announces the time and date of the sale, generously offering advanced credit on purchases to any *marchand-libraires* who attended.

Taken together, such catalogues testify to the variety we see in this genre of book-industry ephemera in terms of appearance and structure. But, more importantly, each one provides a rare glimpse into the everyday trade in buying and selling books. The most intriguing item in the whole *recueil* in this regard is inserted at the very end. It is a large broadsheet catalogue that advertises the books offered for sale by Marie du Flo, widow of Charles Savreux, at her boutique at the sign of the three virtues near the Cathedral of Nôtre-Dame (Fig. 20.1).⁴

This catalogue immediately catches the eye. It is laid out neatly with the content organized economically in columns. The titles of the works are presented with a description of format alongside a price for almost all titles. This was given in two forms, a price for a copy in a simple paper wrapping (*en blanc*) and one bound (*en veau*). For a potential purchaser passing by the stall, this laid out the wares on offer with admirable economy and clarity. To appreciate the advantage of a list of this sort one only has to compare this broadsheet to an octavo catalogue from the same boutique issued perhaps a year or two earlier.⁵ Here space is cramped, the typesetting of poor quality and it is impossible to look over the entire collection at a glance. In all, the broadsheet lists ninety-nine titles, with an additional one added by hand after it was printed. These are split between two categories, items from general stock and new translations and titles, highlighted here with a new heading. As to the date of printing, one can be fairly certain it was just before July 1671, the date when the book added as an additional manuscript entry was first printed.

All of the broadsheets in this book trade volume are extremely rare. Unlike broadsheets that featured some striking woodcut or appealing tale, everyday ephemera such as this catalogue was seldom preserved. It does not relate news of important significance, nor commemorate a historic event. It was not, like an ordinance or proclamation, freighted with legal significance. It has a far more mundane purpose: to advertise what could be purchased at a specific

3 *Catalogus librorum Petri Guillemot* ([Paris: s.n., 1666?]).

4 *Catalogue ses livres de la Veuve de Charles Savreux, marchand libraire juré à Paris, au pied de la Tour de Nostre-Dame, du costé de l'Archevesché, à l'enseigne des trois Vertus avec leurs justes prix ainsi qu'elle les vend en sa boutique, soit en blanc* (s.l., s.n., [1671]).

5 *Catalogue des livres de Charles Savreux libraire juré à Paris, au pied de la tour de Nostre-Dame, à l'enseigne des Trois Vertus* ([Paris: Charles Savreux, 1669]). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF), Q-9067.

shop. Undoubtedly it was intended to be displayed on the wall of the shop, or even at a book fair. One could imagine that it may also have been given to valued customers, or even dispatched to other booksellers who may have wished to add to their stock. Perhaps it was even used as a reference when constructing a library – was this the intention of Jacques Quétif when he added it to his *recueil factice*? We will never know for certain.

Such a document is therefore rare enough for this to be an exciting find in its own right.⁶ For Paris, where such broadsheet catalogues are almost wholly unknown, it is almost unique.⁷ This is already an extraordinarily valuable find. What made it even more so was the chance discovery in the *Archives Nationales* of a probate inventory for the entire stock of Marie du Flo, composed only a few years after this placard was printed. This, particularly when we place it alongside the broadsheet list, offers us an embarrassment of riches.⁸ A manuscript inventory of this sort is also relatively uncommon for this period: such documents were only drawn up when a complicated state of affairs warranted it. In the case of Marie du Flo, this was because she died without an heir. Such circumstances required that every book that could be found on her property would be described briefly, the total number of copies of each title tallied, and a fair price ascribed. The entire stock would then be sold to meet any debts on the estate or to fulfill any bequests made in the will. To this end, the probate inventory lists her stock in several categories. The first comprises the bound volumes which would have lined the walls of the boutique arranged by format. After these come the titles in loose sheets, which would have been displayed in carefully arranged packets and stored in the bookcases of the boutique. Then came the items, of both types, stored in the room adjoining the boutique. Another section lists the vast quantities of books of various types which were kept in a rented storeroom at Nôtre-Dame. This included not only bound and unbound volumes, but also unfolded sheets in reams. Finally, there were books that were kept in the personal rooms of Marie du Flo. In all, the inventory covers a total of 51,000 copies of over 500 different titles. The value of all of these

6 See Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The distribution of books by catalogue from the invention of printing to A.D. 1800: based on material in the Broxbourne library* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965); Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Books for sale: the advertising and promotion of print since the fifteenth century* (London: British Library, 2009).

7 For a recent bibliographic guide to French catalogues of this period, see: Claire Lesage, Ève Netchine and Véronique Sarrazin, *Catalogues de libraires 1473–1810* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2006).

8 Paris, Archives Nationales, Minutier central (hereafter ANMC), LXXV, 163.

items together was assessed at 33,269 livres. It is immediately clear that in the years before her death Marie du Flo was at the head of a flourishing business.⁹

The survival of a broadsheet catalogue and probate inventory enables one to piece together the business practices of a boutique that was at the heart of the Jansenist book trade in Paris. Marie du Flo and her husband Charles Savreux ran one of a number of businesses actively attached to the Abbaye de Port-Royal-des-Champs. From the early 1640s countless books and pamphlets were printed in the defense or promotion of Jansenism. In response, an equally determined counter-offensive took place. From the start it was clear that Savreux and du Flo would be caught up in these events. Little is known of their early life together, except that they were married on 17 July 1645.¹⁰ Witnesses in attendance included the Flemish painter Lubin Baugin, who may have been sympathetic to Jansenism, and the bookseller Denise de Corube, who certainly was.¹¹ It was in these years that Savreux established a boutique near Nôtre-Dame and acquired the title *libraire et relieur ordinaire du Chapitre de l'Eglise de Paris*. He also began to publish texts written by authors sympathetic towards Jansenism. So far had their star risen in the Jansenist camp that Antoine Arnauld would describe Savreux, along with Guillaume Desprez, as one of "nos libraires".¹² Such a reputation was bound to attract the attention of the royal authorities. On 2 February 1656, Savreux's premises were raided. In his shop the authorities discovered seven copies of the prohibited *Lettres provinciales* of Blaise Pascal. With their suspicions of clandestine dealings confirmed, Charles and Marie were arrested, interrogated and imprisoned for sixteen days in the Châtelet.

It is at this juncture that their place in the so-called heroic period of Jansenist print recedes.¹³ Instead it is Guillaume Desprez who comes to the

9 For a comparison with other booksellers, see Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII^e siècle (1598–1701)* (Geneva: Droz, 1999), vol. 2, Chapter 1.

10 ANMC, CV, 789.

11 Corube worked in association with Pierre Le Petit to produce Jansenist texts.

12 The full description details an interesting plan for encouraging dissemination through the commercialization of Pascal's *Lettres*: "Mais M. Arnauld s'est avisé d'un chose que j'ai utilement pratiquée: c'est qu'au lieu de donner de ces lettres à nos libraires Savreux et Desprez pour les vendre et nous en tenir compte, nous en faisons toujours tirer de chacune 12 rames qui font 6.000, don't nous gardons 3.000 res ci-dessus, à chacun 1.500 pour un sol la pièce; ils les vendent, aux, 2 s. 6d. et plus. Par ce moyen, nous faisons 50 écus qui nos payent toute la dépense de l'impression, et plus; et ainsi nos 3.000 ne nous coûtent rien, et chacun se sauve". Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, p. 589.

13 Remi Mathis, 'Diffuser le jansénisme au risque de la prison? Les imprimeurs "jansénistes" et le pouvoir royal (1643–1712)', in Jean Lesaulnier (ed.), *Port-Royal et la prison* (Paris: Nolin, 2011), pp. 197–211.

forefront with his continued resolve to publish Pascal's *Lettres*, an act that led to his imprisonment and exile in the Low Countries for six years. Perhaps Savreux and Marie cut a deal or the evidence against them was not sufficient to punish them severely; either way they were able to continue their business in Paris without further harassment. Little mention is made of them in the years that followed. They are, however, clearly still attached to Port-Royal. Prominent Jansenist authors such as Pierre Nicole, Jean Fronteau and Antoine Singlin continued to have their works published by Savreux in the 1660s. Indeed, Charles Savreux's last act involved the Abbaye des Champs, as it was on the road to Port Royal that he died in 1669. In the years that followed, nothing more is written of Marie du Flo, except that on her death in 1673 her stock and shop was sold to her husband's former associate, Guillaume Desprez, now returned from exile. This deal established Desprez as the foremost Jansenist bookseller in Paris, and helped him acquire a fortune of over 200,000 livres on his death in 1708. For their part both Charles Savreux and Marie du Flo were entered in the hagiographic *Necrologe* of distinguished Jansenists, an honour reflected by their varied role in the movement during their life and a final bequest to the Abbaye of almost 15,000 livres.¹⁴

The rest of this article will be devoted to a closer examination of the contents of the broadsheet catalogue in relation to the probate inventory, investigating the books offered for sale and offering a direct comparison of prices between the two lists. This will allow for some reflections on the market for Jansenist texts in the Parisian book trade at this date, as well as some speculation about the level of profit one could expect from dealing in such works. Given that neither list offers full bibliographical descriptions of the books on sale it can be fairly challenging to match the limited descriptions given in these lists to specific editions, especially since no comprehensive bibliography has yet been compiled of books published in Paris in the seventeenth century.¹⁵ However, by utilizing on-line catalogues, such as that of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* or the *Catalogue Collectif de France* an attempt can be made. As a result almost all the titles listed on the broadsheet have been identified, with a specific edition proposed for each and the location noted of at least one surviving copy. An annotated version of the broadsheet with this data is provided in Appendix A. In addition, an extract from the probate inventory entitled, *Livres en blanc des sortes de la maison, trouvez dans les Magazins de*

14 *Necrologe de l'abbaye de nostre-dame de Port-Royal des Champs* (Amsterdam: Nicolas Potgieter, 1723), pp. 134–135; 379.

15 For the first half of the seventeenth century this problem has been addressed with the extension of the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) to 1650, but this, unfortunately, does not cover the period of activity of Savreux and Madame du Flo.

Nostre-Dame, is reproduced as Appendix B. As will be shown, this section contains many entries related to titles on the broadsheet.

The most obvious characteristic of the broadsheet list is that it almost exclusively devoted to religious texts. Works of piety, such as Guillaume Le Roy's *La solitude chrestienne* or Sieur de Breuil's *Imitation de Jésus Christ*, are listed beside works of exegesis and scripture, such as Antoine Arnauld's *Historia et concordia evangelica*, the *Libri Job versio nova ex Hebraeo* annotated by Philip Corduc, or the numerous short theological pamphlets of Jean Fronteau. What one might characterize as "functional" religious texts are present in items such as the *Rituel Romain à l'usage du Diocese d'Alet*, or the *Rituel à usage de Bourges*. Controversy is well represented. Antoine Arnauld's famous treatise against Calvinism, *La Perpetuité de la Foy de l'église touchant l'Euchariste* is represented on this list in no fewer than three different formats. The continuation of the dispute, *Lettre d'un Ecclesiastique sur le Réponse de M. Claude*, is also offered for sale. The account of the conversion of a Huguenot minister to Catholicism, and the disputes that surrounded the French bishop of Alet, Nicolas Pavillon, are an especially striking presence. The absence of other sorts of literature is striking, and not at all characteristic of booksellers' catalogues of this type. The *Fasti* by Ovid provides the only example of literature present, science can be found in the works of Duhamel, while logic features in the classic Port-Royal treatment of the subject, *l'Art de penser*.

It is been possible to trace most of the items listed – or at least an edition thereof – in the broadsheet. However, a handful of titles have proved impossible to identify. These are often items in the smallest format and consist of simple prayers, descriptions of the last rites or even devotional texts. Examples include the *Avis spirituels donnez à une Dame de qualité pour la conduit de son ame* and *Les Prières de l'Eglise pour les Voyageur et pour les Agonisans*. Each cost little more than a few sols. In contrast to such ephemera, Latin works constitute almost half of the titles listed and stand out in terms of size and expense. One immediately noticeable title in this regard is the *Veterum aliquot scriptorium* of Luc d'Achery. The first volume of this major account of mediaeval ecclesiastical history was published in 1655 with further volumes appearing at regular intervals until the thirteenth was published in 1677. Nine volumes were ready when the broadsheet list was composed and were priced at the substantial sum of 48 livres unbound. Such a work was a lifetime project for Savreux and represented a huge investment for the business. Little wonder that the opportunity is taken here to advertise a tenth volume, still in the process of being printed, for 4 livres unbound.

As one might expect from the titles and names cited, most of the works and authors on this broadsheet had some association with Port-Royal. This

observation is perhaps of little surprise as almost all the titles listed on the broadsheet were published by Marie du Flo and Charles Savreux themselves. The only exceptions would appear to be the *Ragguaglio di due nuove osservazioni* by Giuseppe Campani, the *Rituel à l'usage de Bourges*, Denis Salvaing's *Usage des Fiefs*, and the *Liturgie sacrée* by Gilbert Grimaud. This broadsheet was not a list of all the items for sale at the boutique, but represent rather the core investments of the business. Although a comprehensive bibliography of Savreux's publications does not exist, a detailed analysis of titles in the catalogue of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and the *Catalogue Collectif de France* revealed around 265 editions published by Savreux from the 1640s until 1673. What was revealed in this data was that rather than publishing numerous different titles, their business strategy involved acquiring valuable privileges on highly marketable religious books and then printing them time and time again. The *Résolution de plusieurs cas importants pour la Morale et pour la Discipline ecclésiastique* was first printed on 20 July 1666 and by the end of 1670 was on its third edition. The *Discours en forme de lettre de N.S. Jésus-Christ à l'âme dévote*, was first printed on 7 February 1657 and was on the seventh edition by 1666. Yet, all these pale in comparison to the success of Sieur de Breuil's translation of the famous *Imitation of Christ* of Thomas a Kempis. This was on the fifteenth edition by 1670.

The range of titles on offer to visitors to Savreux and Madame de Flo's shop was certainly far more extensive than those listed on the broadsheet. One can find a Dante from Venice, the collected works of Dionysius from Antwerp, even an *Astronomia Britannica* from London. Counter-Reformation texts from Cologne feature alongside patristic texts from Basel; there is even a 1557 edition of a Bible from Salamanca. In the packets that lined the walls of the boutique, we see further evidence of such diversity. Many are religious books, such as breviaries or sermons, but there are also entries for Erasmus, Ovid, Cicero and Plutarch. Items related to current affairs were on sale too, and included Vittorio Siri's *Mercurio overo historia de Correnti tempi* and various issues of the *Paris Gazette*. A large collection of engravings were available, as well as maps pasted on canvas. Books published at the sign of the three virtues thus made up only a relatively small proportion of the titles on sale. However, this wider range of works does not reflect where the majority of investment was made. According to the probate inventory, the entire stock held within the boutique was valued at around 3,000 livres. Most of these items were present in only one or two copies. The vast majority of the stock and capital was tied up in those items advertised on the broadsheet.

Marie du Flo's stock was valued at on her death at 33,269 livres; of this total, the items published by Marie and her husband were valued at 29,362 livres.

These books were, for the most part, stored in the Magasin de Nôtre-Dame, and in vast quantities. For example, there were 2,513 copies of the first volume of the *Perpetuité de la foi*; 967 copies of the *Conduite Canonique des Religieuses*; and 1,270 of the *Response generale au Ministre Claude*. The copies of the *Imitation de Jesus* represented perhaps the most extensive holdings. There were 1,340 in octavo, with 185 of these on expensive large paper; 1,021 in duodecimo; 3,500 in 24 mo. A large consignment of around 2,300 copies was bluntly described as “impression de Rouen tres-mauvais”. In all, around 100 titles accounted for some 40,000 copies held in stock.

A final point should be made about prices quoted on the broadsheet list. These are broadly in line with what would be expected at this period.¹⁶ Smaller and shorter books are cheaper than longer ones, with little evidence that specific titles cost more than others just because of their content. The differential between selling books bound and unbound also followed the industry norm, increasing the cost by about one livre. There is of course the question whether the catalogue is accurate in its pricing, or if these prices were indicative only and open to revision at the point of sale. Provenance evidence discovered on various copies would suggest that the prices given do indeed reflect retail costs. For example, on the title page of a copy of the *Les Soliloques* the following notation in contemporary hand has been made, “aug. disc. par. 1# 10”, the exact price of this work as given on the broadsheet.¹⁷

The real surprise comes when we compare the prices taken from the broadsheet sales list with the valuation of stock in the probate inventory. If we take, for example, the entry for *La vie de S. Jean Chrysostome*, priced at 10 livres unbound, and then compare this to the same entry in the probate inventory, the cost per unit has fallen to 1.6 livres. Similarly, *La Conduite canonique de l'Eglise pour la reception des Filles dans les Monasteres*, priced at 1 livre 5 sols, was valued at stock at 10 sols per copy. The nine volumes of the *Veterum aliquot scriptorium* which cost 47 livres unbound, was at stock price valued at only 18 livres. If there was any question as to how Marie du Flo could amass such a fortune over the course of their life, one needs only look at such generous profit margins.

16 See: Michel Marion, “Approches du prix du livre au XVIIIe siècle”, in Frédéric Barbier, Sabine Juratic and Dominique Varry (eds.), *L'Europe et le livre. Réseaux et pratiques du négoce de libraire* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1996,) pp. 347–356; Véronique Sarrazin, ‘L’affichage des prix et la promotion des livres dans les annonces de libraire au XVIIe siècle’, in Charon, *Le livre entre le commerce et l’histoire des idées*, pp. 103–126.

17 *Les Soliloques, le Manuel et les Méditations de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Charles Savreux, 1665), BnF C-3032.

With such extensive investment tied up in stock, it is little surprise that the broadsheet catalogue was intended to advertise only their own publications. This was perhaps to the detriment of sales of the varied titles in the boutique, but that was not where the greatest profit margins were to be made. What of the connections to Jansenism indicated by the works listed in this broadsheet? It is worth noting that while many of their publications were the work of Jansenist authors, none of the texts listed on the broadsheet were illegal. All had been granted privileges and had been in circulation for some time. On the face of it there was nothing to concern royal authority. One would imagine, however that contemporaries perusing such a list understood very well the shop's religious leanings. In this way, we may think of the broadsheet list as serving a double purpose: selling books, but also offering a declaration of identity. This is perhaps why – much to the shock of Colbert and his agents who discovered this after her death – so many Jansenist publications were hidden in her private chambers. One could excuse the single copies that were unearthed as personal reading matter, but 380 copies of the Mons Bible, now that was a different matter altogether.

Appendix A: Catalogue des livres de la veuve de Charles Savreux, marchand librairie juré à Paris, avec leurs justes prix ainsi qu'elle les vend en sa boutique, soit en blanc, ou reliez en veau

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
1. In Ritus Laudunensis, imò & universalis Ecclesiae Observationes Antonij Bellotte, fol° (Parisiis, apud Carolum Savreux, 1662) pp. [16], xvi, 364; [2], 969, [3] Grenoble BM B.959 CGA	13. l.	15. l.	
2. Actus 52. Ordinis S. Benedicti sæculum ii. Fol° (Lutetiae Parisiorus, apud Carolum Savreux, 1669) pp. [4], lxi, [2], 1104 [=1100], [20] St. Lô BM Th 677 2	13. l.	15. l.	
3. Libri Iob versio nova Hebræo, cum Scholiis Phil. Codurci, 4° (Paris, in officina Caroli Savreux, 1652) pp. [28], 344, [2] Paris BnF A-3890	2. l.	3. l.	

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
<p>4. Veterum Scriptor. Spicilegium, pera & studio D. Lucae d'Acherij, 9 vol. 4° (Parisiis, apud Charles Savreux, 1655) Vol. 1 of 13 pp. [20], 352, [10], 353–701, [17] Paris BnF C-1991 (1). (Paris, apud Carolum Savreux, 1657) Vol. 2 of 13 pp. [50] 832 [24] Paris BnF C-1991 (2) (Paris, apud Dionysium Bechet et Ludovicum Billaine, 1659) Vol. 3 of 13 pp. [50] 832 [24] Paris BnF C-1991 (3) (Paris, apud Carolum Savreux, 1661) Vol. 4 of 13 pp. [50] 832 [24] Paris BnF C-1991 (4) (Paris, apud Carolum Savreux, 1661) Vol. 5 of 13 pp. [50] 832 [24] Paris BnF C-1991 (5) (Paris, apud Carolum Savreux, 1664) Vol. 6 of 13 pp. [50] 832 [24] Paris BnF C-1991 (6) (Paris, apud Carolum Savreux, 1666) Vol. 7 of 13 pp. [50] 832 [24] Paris BnF C-1991 (7) (Paris, apud Carolum Savreux, 1668) Vol. 8 of 13 pp. [50] 832 [24] Paris BnF C-1991 (8) (Paris, apud Carolum Savreux, 1669) Vol. 9 of 13 pp. [50] 832 [24] Paris BnF C-1991 (9)</p>	48. l.	57. l.	
<p>5. – Ejusdem Tom. x. in sub prælo 4° (Paris, apud viduam Carolum Savreux, 1671) pp. 26, [4], 664, x, [2] Paris BnF C-1991 (10)</p>	5. l.	6. l.	
<p>6. R.P. Io. Frontonis Epistola de Origine Parochiarum, 4° broché (Parisiis, apud Charles Savreux, 1660) pp. 14 Paris BnF D-4754 (4)</p>	5. s.		

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
7. – De Script. & Ecclesia ad mutuam sui probationem, 4 ^o – br. (Parisiis, apud Charles Savreux, 1660) pp. 20 Paris BnF D-4754 (5)	5 s.		
8. – De Morbis & vita Christianorum in primis Ecclesiæ sæculis, 4 ^o – broché (Parisiis, apud Charles Savreux, 1660) pp. 31 Paris BnF D-4754 (6)	10 s.		
9. – Familia Christiana in primis Ecclesiæ sæculis, 4 ^o broché (Parisiis, apud Charles Savreux, 1661) p. 23 [1] Paris BnF D-4754 (7)	7 s. 6 d.		
10. – Discussio Privilegij de facultate sacros Ordines, à quocumque Episcopo recipiendi, 4 ^o broché (Parisiis, s.n., 1660) pp. 18 [2] Paris BnF 4-LD13-23	7s		
11. – De Canonicis Cardinalibus, 4 ^o broché (Parisiis, apud Charles Savreux, 1660) pp. 15 [1] Paris BnF D-4754 (8)	5s		
12. – De Signo sanctæ Crucis, 4 ^o broché (Parisiis, apud Charles Savreux, 1662) pp. 20 Paris BnF D-4754 (9)	6s		
13. – De Ritibus antiquis sese in cōpotationibus salutandi, 4 ^o br. (Parisiis, apud Charles Savreux, 1660) pp. 20 Paris BnF D-4754 (3)	6s		
14. Io. Bapt. Duhamel, De Consensu veteris & novæ Philosophiæ, 4 ^o (Parisiis, apud Charles Savreux, 1663) pp. [28], 280 Paris BnF FB-663	2 l.	3 l.	

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
15. – <i>Astronomia Physica</i> , 4° (Paris, apud Petrum Lamy, 1660) pp. [24], 224, [4] Paris BnF R-3765	2 l.	3 l.	
16. – <i>De Meteoris & de Fossilibus</i> , 4° (Paris, apud Petrum Lamy, 1660) pp. 316 Paris BnF R-3764	2 l.	3 l.	
17. <i>Novum Iesu Christi Testamentum, cum notis</i> Henrici Holden, 2 vol. 12° (Parisiis, apud Carolum Savreux, 1660) pp. [14], 387, [3], 389–502, [2]; [2], 505–1053, [1] Paris BnF A-6378 (1); A-6378 (2)	4 l.	5 l.	
18. <i>Francisci Dulaurens Specimina Mathematica</i> , 4° (Parisiis, apud Carolum Savreux, 1667) pp. [8] 255 [1] Paris BnF v 6277	3 l.	4 l.	
19. <i>Ovidij Fastorum, feüilles de Classes</i> , 4°	1 l. 1 os.	2 l.	Lost.
20. <i>Epigrammatum Delectus</i> , 12° ¹⁸	1 l. 1 os.	2 l.	Lost.
21. <i>Passio SS. Perpetuæ & Fœlicitatis, & alior.</i> <i>Martyr. Per Lucam Holsthenium, è Biblioth.</i> <i>Vaticana</i> , 8° (Parisiis, apud Carolum Savreux. 1664) pp. [16], 327, [9], 60, [4] Paris BnF H-10033	1 l. 1 os.	2 l. 5s.	
22. <i>Calendarium Martyrologij Regalis, per D.</i> <i>Denyaldum</i> , 8° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1663) pp. [16] 94 [2] Paris St. Geneviève 8 H 1150 INV 4121	1 l.	1 l. 1 os.	
23. <i>Historia & Concordia Evangelica</i> , 12° (Parisiis, apud Carolum Savreux, 1660) pp. [16], [48], 204, [66] Paris BnF A-6510	2 l. 1 os	3 l.	

18 An edition in 160, printed in 1659, survives. For this edition, consult Paris BnF FB-6389.

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
24. Vita seu Martyrium Magistri Thomæ S. Victoris, 12° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1665) pp. 114 Paris BnF 8-LN27-19581	15s.	1 l. 5s.	
25. Paratitla Cujacij per Fabrotum. 12° 4 vol. (Parisiis, J. Jost, 1658) pp. 492 Paris Arsenal 8-J-2481	4 l.	6 l.	
26. La vie de S. Jean Chrysostome, 4° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1664) pp. [12] 907 [5] Paris BnF RES-H-928	10 l.	11 l.	
27. – La mesme en 2 vol. 8° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1669) pp. [16], 506 [=496]; pp. [4], 507–1047, [3] Paris Mazarine 8° 63623	4 l. 5s	6 l.	
28. Oraison Funebre du Roy Louys xiii. Par M. de Lingendes – broche (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1643) pp. [4] 75 [1] Paris BnF LB36-3391	10s		
29. Rituel Romain à l'usage du Diocese d'Alet, avec les Instructions & les Rubriques en François, 4° (Paris, chez Charles, Savreux, 1667) pp. [12], 479, [1]; pp. [4], 318, [2] Chalons BM AF 5018	7 l.	8 l.	
30. – Le mesme, d'où l'on a extrait les Insturctions separément, 12° (Paris, veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. [12] 723 [9] Paris BnF B-19953	2 l. 15s.	3 l. 10s.	
31. Deffense de l'Eglise d'Alet, 4° (s.l., s.n., 1664) Paris Arsenal 4-J-1895	8 l.	9 l.	

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
32. Resolutions de plusieurs cas de conscience touchant la Morale & la Discipline ecclesiastique, 12 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1666) pp. [4] 265 [3] Paris BnF D-13765	12s	1 l.	
33. Arrest du Conseil d'Estat du Roy pour le Reglement du Diocese d'Alet, 4 ^o broche (Paris, s.n., 1665) Paris BnF F-23669 (945)	18s		
34. Rituel à l'usage de Bourges, 4 ^o 2 vol. (Bourges, J. Toubeau, 1666) Paris BnF B-1705 (1); B-1705 (2)	10 l.	12 l.	
35. L'Image d'une Religieuse parfaite & d'une imparfaite, & les occupations interieures pour la journée 12 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1666) pp. [16], 464 Paris BnF D-23788	1 l. 15s.	2 l. 5s.	
36. La Perpetuité de la Foy de l'Eglise touchant l'Eucharistie, 12 ^o (Paris, chez veuve Charles Savreux, 1672) pp. [4] 475 [=470] [5] Paris Arsenal 8-T-9204	1 l. 15s.	2 l. 5s.	
37. La Perpetuité de la Foy de l'Eglise Catholique, touchant l'Eucharistie Deffendüe contre le Livre de M. Claude Minstre de Charenton, 4 ^o (Sens, Louis Prussurot, et se vend a Paris, chez Charles Saureux, 1669) pp. [52], 1176, 84, [4]	8 l.	9 l.	Lost.
38. – La mesme 4 ^o , petite letter (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. xxxii, 856 ; 84 Paris BnF D-6305	6 l.	7 l.	
39. Lettre d'un Ecclesiastique sur la Réponse de M. Claude au Livre de la Perpetuité de la Foy de l'Eglise touchant l'Eucharistie, 12 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1669) pp. [4] 189 [1] Paris BnF D-22199	15s.	1 l. 5s	

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
40. Nouveaux Elemens de Geometrie, 4 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1667) pp. [24] 340 [6] Paris BnF V-6278	4 l.	5 l.	
41. Arithmetique des Financiers, par Savary, 4 ^{o19}	2 l.	3 l.	Lost.
42. Explication du S. Sacrement de l'Eucharistie, par M. de la Milletiere, 8 ^o par (Paris, Charles Savreux, 1664) pp. 146 Paris BnF D-22189	1 l.	1 l. 10s.	
43. Motifs de Réunion à l'Eglise Catholique par M. Ouvard, 12 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1668) pp. 454 [2] Paris BnF D-22202	1 l. 15s.	2 l. 5s.	
44. Pour le temps de l'Advent, 24 ^o	12s.	2 l. 5s.	Lost.
45. La vie de Mademoiselle d'Esturville, 12 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1660) pp. 166 Paris BnF 8-LN27-16979 (a)	15s	1 l. 5s.	
46. Nouvelle Methode tres seure, & tres facile pour apprendre parfaitement le Plein chant en fort peu de temps, seconde edition augmentée, 8 ^o – en papier marbré, carton (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1669) pp. 91 Paris St. Geneviève VM 164 RES	10s.		
47. Dissertation sur l'Hemine de vin & sur la livre du pain des anciens, 12 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1667) pp. [24] 349 [3] Paris Mazarine 8 ^o 51599	1 l. 10s.	2 l.	
48. La Logique ou l'Art de penser, 12 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1668) pp. 473 [7] Versailles BM ancien F.A. in-12 A 182 a	1 l. 15s.	2 l. 5s.	

19 Possibly an edition of *La Théorie et pratique des nombres méthodiquement proposées dans l'usage des financiers* (Paris : l'auteur, 1644) Paris BnF V-6748 (1).

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
49. Dissertation sur les ouvrages de M. de Brebœuf, 12° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1664) pp. 73 [3] Paris Mazarine 8° 44357	12s.	1 l.	
50. Nouvelle disposition de l'Ecriture Sainte pour la lire toute entiere en une année commodement & avec fruit, 8° – brochée (Paris, veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. 35 [17] Paris BnF A-12163	8s.		
51. Excellente vertu de la poudre de Vipre, 4°	1s. 6d.		Lost.
52. Ragguaglio di due nuove osservazioni da Giuseppe Campani, con le Figure, 12° (Roma, per F. de Falco, 1664) pp. 42 Paris BnF V-21010	8s.		
<i>Traductions nouvelles, et livres nouveaux</i>			
53. De l'Imitation de Jesus-Christ; par M. de Beüil, 8° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux. 1663) pp. 606 [=608] Paris BnF D-16336	3 l.	4 l.	
54. – La mesme en grand papier, 8°	5 l.	6 l. 10s.	
55. – La mesme, 12° (A Paris, chez la veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. 447, [=449], [25] Paris St. Geneviève DELTA 55082 RES	1 l. 15s	2 l. 5s.	
56. – La mesme, 24° (A Paris, chez la veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. 421, [=411], [25] Venice Museo Correr Imitatio 0141(bis)	18s.	1 l. 5s.	
57. Les Conferences de Cassien, 2. vol. 8° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1665) pp. [58], 432; [4] 433–924 [=916] Paris BnF C-3153	4 l. 5s.	6 l.	

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
58. – Le mesme en i. vol. 8° (Paris, Charles Savreux, 1663) pp. [56], 432 ; [4] 433–924 Paris BnF C-3151 (1); C-3151 (2)	5 l.		
59. Les Institutions du mesme Cassien, avec la Regle de saint Benoist, 8° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1667) pp. [36], 436 Paris Mazarine 8° 24079	2 l. 5s.	3 l.	
60. Divers ouvrages de Pieté, tirées des SS. Peres, par M. de Laval, 8° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1664) pp. [24], 658 Paris BnF 8-T-3700	2 l. 15s.	3 l. 10s.	
61. S. Bernard sur le Pseaume Qui habitat, 12° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1668) pp. [10] 483 [1] Paris BnF C-3752	1 l. 15s.	2 l. 5s.	
62. – L'Eschelle du Cloistre, ou la methode de faire Oraison, 12°. sur la presse			Lost. ²⁰
63. – Deux Sermons pour la feste Pasque; 12° – broché	5s.		Lost.
64. Les Institutions de Thaulere, 12° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1668) pp. [36] 563 [25] Paris Arsenal 4-S-3294 (7)	1 l. 15s	2 l. 5s.	
65. Regles de la Morale Chrestienne, recueillies du Nouveau Testament par S. Basile le Grand, 12° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1663) Paris BnF C-4452	1 l. 15s	2 l. 5s.	
66. Morale Chrestienne tirée de l'Escriture & des Peres, par Jonas Evesque d'Orleans, 12°	1 l. 15s	2 l. 5s.	Lost. ²¹

20 A 1650 edition survives, but not this new re-edition.

21 A 1669 edition survives in octavo, but not this duodecimo edition.

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
67. Instructions Chrestiennes tirées des Sermons que S. Augustin a faits sur les Pseaumes, 7. vol. 12 ^o (Paris, Siméon Piget et Charles Saureux, 1662–1665) Paris BnF D- 13245 (1–7)	11 l.	15 l.	
68. La Solitude Chrestienne, contenant divers Traitez de SS. Peres, touchant la vie Solitaire, 3 vol. 12 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1659–1667) pp. [16] 623 [1]; [8] 632 [8]; [26] 587 [5] Versailles BM ancien 521–523	4 l. 10s.	6 l.	
69. La Regle des Solitaires à part. 16 ^o (Paris, Charles Savreux, 1657) pp. 56 Paris BnF C-3703	1 l. 10s.	2 l.	
70. Les Soliloques, le Manuël, & les Meditations de saint Augustin, 12 ^o (Paris, chez veuve Charles Savreux, 1671) Paris BnF C-3033	1 l. 10s.	2 l.	
71. – Les mesmes en plus gros caracteres, 2 vol. 12 ^o	1 l. 10s	2 l. 10s.	
72. Les Livres de Job & de Salomon, avec des Observations, par M. Codurc, 8 ^o	1 l. 10s	2 l. 10s.	Lost. ²²
73. De la pieté des Chrestiens envers les Morts, contenant l'Office en Latin & en François, & quelques ouvrages des SS. Peres, 12 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1666) pp. [20] 435 Paris BnF B-16971	1 l. 15s	2 l. 5s.	
74. L'Office des Morts en Latin & en François, à part, 12 ^o	15s	1 l. 5s.	Lost.
75. Les Paroles de la parole incarnée JESUS- CHRIST nostre Seigneur, recueillies du Nouveau Testament, 12 ^o (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1669) pp. 392 Paris Arsenal 8-T-639	1 l.	1 l. 10s.	

²² A 1657 edition survives in one copy held at Rouen BM. Such a survival rate, would suggest that another edition was printed at a later date and has probably been lost.

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
76. S. Chrysostome de la Providence, 16° (Paris : C. Savreux, 1658) pp. [26] 296 Versallies BM ancien F.A. in-12 O 1087	15s.	1 l. 5s.	
77. Lettre de N.S. Jesus-Christ à l'ame devote, par Lanspergius Chartreux, 12° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1666) pp. 371 [1] Paris BnF D-40422	1 l.	1 l. 10s.	
78. Les Soliloques de Gerlac, Chanoine Regulier de l'Ordre de S. Augustin, dit un autre Thomas à Kempis, 12° (Paris, Charles Savrent, 1667) pp. [14], 87, [1], 338, [6] Paris BnF D-16072	1 l.	1 l. 10s.	
79. Le Martyre de S. Laurent, Poëme, fol. – broche (Paris, Charles Savreux, 1662) pp. 25 Paris BnF YE-217	15s.		
80. – Le mesme avec la Vie & l'Office, 12° (Paris, Charles Savreux, 1662) Paris BnF H-10081; H-10082	15s.	1 l 5s.	
81. S. Cyprien de la Mortalité, 12° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1667) Paris Bibliothèque de la Société de Port- Royal	12s.	1 l.	
82. – Sur le Pater noster, 12° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1667) Paris Bibliothèque de la Société de Port- Royal	12s.	1 l.	
83. S. Gregoire sur l'Evangile du mauvais Riche, 12° (Paris, chez Charles Savreux, 1654) Amiens BM TH 2196 A	5s.	15s.	
84. Lettre d'un ancien Pere à Celancie, touchant les devoirs d'une Dame Chrétienne, 12° (Paris, Charles Savreux, 1667) Paris Bibliothèque de la Société de Port-Royal	12s.	1 l.	

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
85. D. Jean de Palafox, de la Bonté & Misericorde de Dieu, & de nostre misere, 12 ^o (Paris, Charles Savreux, 1661) pp. 240 Paris BnF D-46763	12s.	1 l.	
86. Avis spirituels donnez à une Dame de qualité pour la conduite de son, ame, 12 ^o	3s.		Lost.
87. Priere pour demander à Dieu le don de la Confiance, de la Penitence, & de la Foy, 24 ^o	8s.	15s.	Lost.
88. Les Prieres de l'Eglise pour les Voyageur, & pour les Agonisans, 24 ^o & in 32 ^o	1s. 6d.		Lost.
89. Considerations sur les Dimanches & les Festes de Mysteres, & sur les Festes de la Vierge & des Saints, 8 ^o – 2 vol (Paris, chez la veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. [10], 512, 228; pp. [2], 325, [3], 394, [2] Paris BnF D-15579 (Hyver); D-15579 (Este)	8 l.		
90. Traitez singuliers & nouveaux contre le Paganisme du Royboit, par Monsieur Des-Lyons, 12 ^o (Paris, veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. 346 Paris BnF D-12900 (1)	1 l. 10s.	2 l.	
91. Apologia pro Ruperto Abbate Tuitiensi, Authore Fr. Gabriel Gerberon, Benedictinus in Congregat. S. Mauri, 8 ^o (Parisiis, apud viduam Charles Savreux, 1669) pp. pp. [76], 443 [1] Paris BnF D-22205	2 l. 5s.	3 l.	
92. L'Histoire de l'Esprit humain, ou l'Imitation du Tableau de Cebes, 8 ^o (Paris, veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. [18], 250 [=254], [2]; +[1] fold-out engraved sheet Paris BnF R-38595	1 l. 10s	2 l. 5s.	
93. L'Education d'un Prince, par Monsieur de Chanterresne, 12 ^o (Paris, chez la veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. [24] 426 [6] Paris BnF R-31051	1 l. 15s	2 l. 5s.	

Entry	En blanc	En veau	Notes
94. L'Usage des Fiefs, & autres Droits Seigneuriaux, par Denis Salvaing, fol ^o (Grenoble, chez Robert Philippes, 1668) Lyon BM 127092	9 l.	10 l.	
95. La Liturgie sacrée, où toutes les parties & ceremonies de la Sainte Messe sont expliquées, avec leurs mysteres & antiquitez, divisee en trois parties, par Messire Gilbert Grimaud, Prestre, Docteur en Theologie de la Faculté de Paris, & Chanoine Theologal de l'Eglise Metropolitaine de Bourdeaux, 4 ^o (Lyon, Antoine Julleron, 1664) Montserrat Abbey Library	3 l. 10s.	4 l. 10s.	
96. La secondé Apologie de S. Justin Martyr, 12 ^o (Paris, chez veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. [8] 184 Versailles BM ancien Fénelon A 12	15s.	1 l. 5s.	
97. Studiosis sacrarum Scripturarum in lectiones ad singulos annidio, à Renato Ouvrard, 4 ^o – broche (Lutetiae Parisiorum, apud Carolum Savreux, 1668) pp. 48 [2] Paris Arsenal 8-BL-36105	15s.		
98. La Conduite canonique de l'Eglise pour la reception des Filles dans les Monasteres, 12 ^o (Paris, chez veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. 20, [4], 335, [3] Paris Mazarine 8 ^o 27117	1 l. 5s.		
99. Les Ceremonies & les Prieres de l'Eglise pour les Sacremens de Baptesme & de Confirmation: Avec quelques petits Traitez contenant des Regles chrétiennes de la penitence, de la modestie dans les Eglises, & autres Traductions des Prieres de l'Eglise, 16 ^o (Paris, chez la veuve Charles Savreux, 1670) pp. [12], 352 Paris BnF B-8086	18s.	1 l. 10s.	
100. [Manuscript Entry] Instructions Chrestiennes sur les Mysteres de n.s.i.c. sur les Principales festes de l'année 8 ^o en 5. vol. 1671 (Paris, chez la veuve Charles Savreux, 1671) Toulouse BM Fa D 19894 (1–3)	13 l.	18 l.	

Appendix B: *Livres en blanc des sortes de la maison, trouvez dans les Magazins de Nostre-Dame*

Entry	Price
1. 6 Specilegium, 4. 11. vol. complets, a vingt deux livres	132 l.
2. 1 – 4. 11. Vol. relié en veau, vingt sept livres	27 l.
3. 148 – Tomus primus, 4 blanc	185 l.
4. 6 – Tomus primus reliez en veau	10 l. 10s.
5. 24 – Tomus tertius 4. blanc.	30s.
6. 2 – Tomus tertius 4. en veau	3 l. 10s.
7. 88 – Tomus quartus, 4 blanc	110 l.
8. 123 – Tomus quintus, 4 blanc	153 l. 15s.
9. 3 – Tomus quintus, 4. veau	5 l. 5s.
10. 108 – Tomus sextus, 4 blanc.	135 l.
11. 1 – Tomus sextus, 4 veau	1 l. 15s.
12. 161 – Tomus septimus, 4. blanc, dont 17 imparfaits	20 l. 5s.
13. 3 – Tomus septimus, 4. veau	5 l. 5s.
14. 140 – Tomus octavus, 4. blanc, dont 27 imparfaits	175 l.
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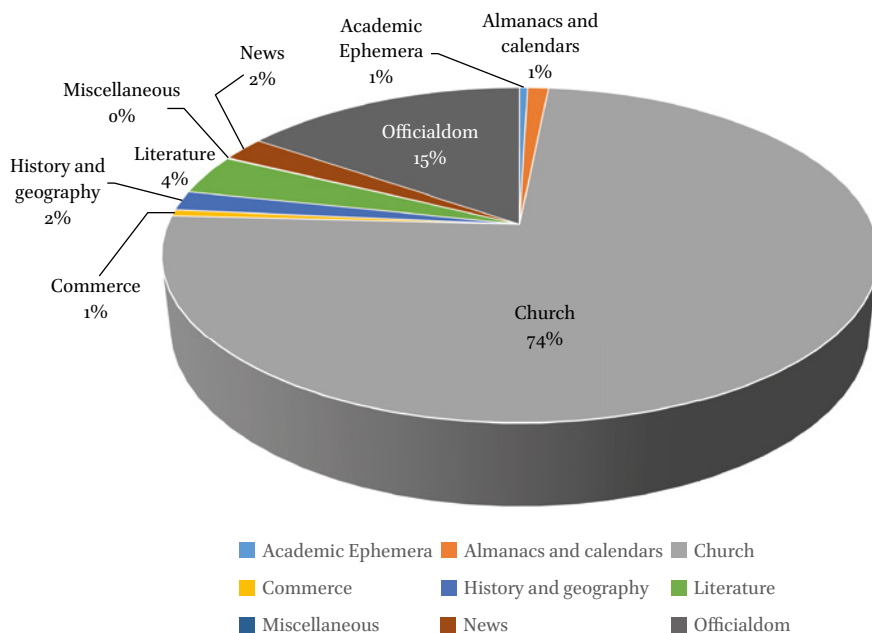
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Colour Plates





COLOUR PLATE I (CHAPTER 3) Classification of broadsheets and single-side folio items published in Spain, 1472–1700.

**C'est le iuste poys que doibuent peser les pains dung:
de deux: de trois: de cinq: et de dix deniers: selon la
valeur du bichet de froment: mesure de Lyon.**

Le bichet de choi de froment mes- sure de Lyon.	Le poys de la mithe dung des deniers.	Le poys de la mithe de deux deniers.	Le poys de la mithe de trois deniers.	Le poys du pail frans de cinq deniers.	Le poys du pail frans de dix deniers.
A trop gros.	lx onces & demie	Une livre iii onces	Une livre xii onces & demie	cing flu. ii on. i quart	ix fl. iii onces & demie
A m. gros ung blanc.	viij onces iii quarts	Une livre i on. & demie	Une livre ix on. & demie	iiii fl. vi on. i quart	ix fl. vi on. i quart
A m. gros ij. blancs.	viii on. i quart	Une livre & demie on.	Une livre viii on. & demie	iiii fl. ii on. i quart	ix fl. viii on. & demie
A quatre gros.	vi onces iii quarts	ix onces & demie	Une livre vi onces	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A m. gros j. blanc.	vi onces j. quart	xii onces & demie	i flure ii on. i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A m. gros ij. blancs.	vi onces iii quarts	xii onces iii quarts	i flure iii on. & demie	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A cinq gros.	ij onces & demie	xii onces	i flure iii on. & demie	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A six gros ung blanc.	ij onces	xii onces i quart	i flure ii on. & demie	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A six gros deux blancs.	cing onces iii quarts	ix onces iii quarts	Une livre i on. & demie	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A six gros.	cing onces & demie	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A six gros j. blanc.	cing onces j. quart	ix onces iii quarts	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A six gros ij. blancs.	cing onces	ix onces iii quarts	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A sept gros.	iiii onces iii quarts	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A viii gros j. blanc.	iiii onces iii quarts	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A viii gros ij. blancs.	iiii onces & demie	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A huit gros.	iiii onces & demie	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A viii gros j. blanc.	iiii onces j. quart	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A viii gros ij. blancs.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A ix gros j. blanc.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A ix gros ij. blancs.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A dix gros.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A dix gros j. blanc.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A dix gros ij. blancs.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A dix gros.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A dix gros j. blanc.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A dix gros ij. blancs.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A douze gros.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A ij. gros j. blanc.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A ij. gros ij. blancs.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A treize gros.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A xii. gros j. blanc.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A xii. gros ij. blancs.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A quatorze gros.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A xiii. gros j. blanc.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A xiii. gros ij. blancs.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A quinze gros.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A xv. gros j. blanc.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A xv. gros ij. blancs.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart
A ung franc.	iiii onces	ix onces	Une livre i quart	iii flures p onces	ix fl. viii on. i quart

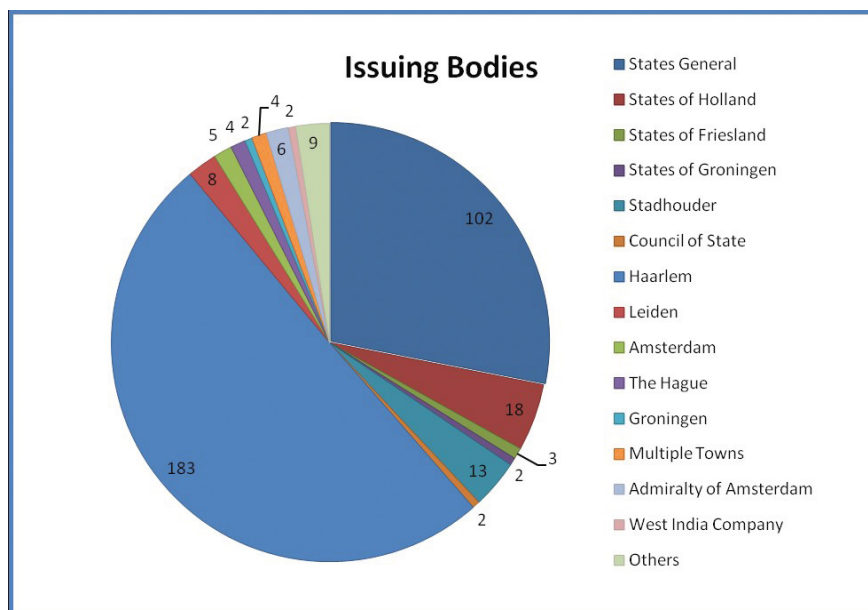
Gardant le droit
de la chose publique
Les conseillers
par leurs sens magnifique
Voulans le bien
du pauvre populaire
Ce patafe sy
dessus ont fait faire
Ou vous verrez
vne ceuvre autentique



Les boulangiers
y perdent leur pratique
Si daudente
à mal faire s'applique
Pugnis se font
car il est nécessaire
Chascun se doibt
parforcer de ce faire
Gardant le droit
de la chose publique.

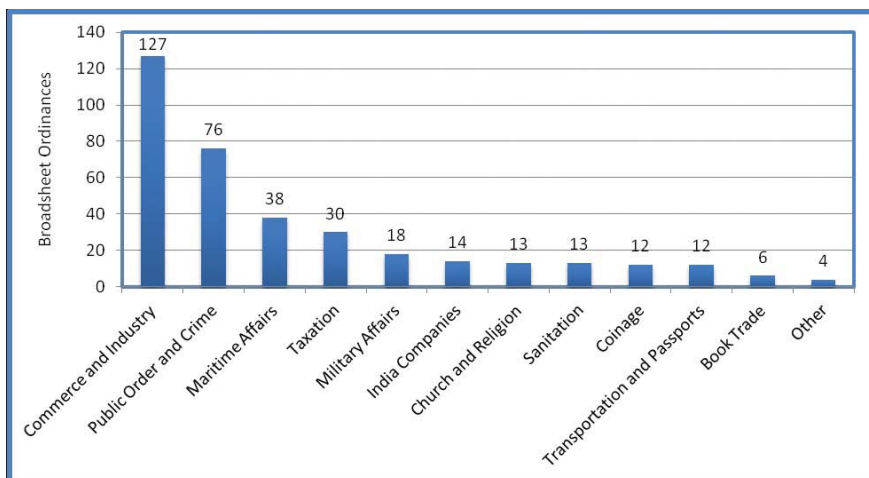
COLOUR PLATE II (FIG. 7.1)

C'est le iuste poys que doibuent peser les pains.
LYON, ARCHIVES MUNICIPALES, 6F1652.

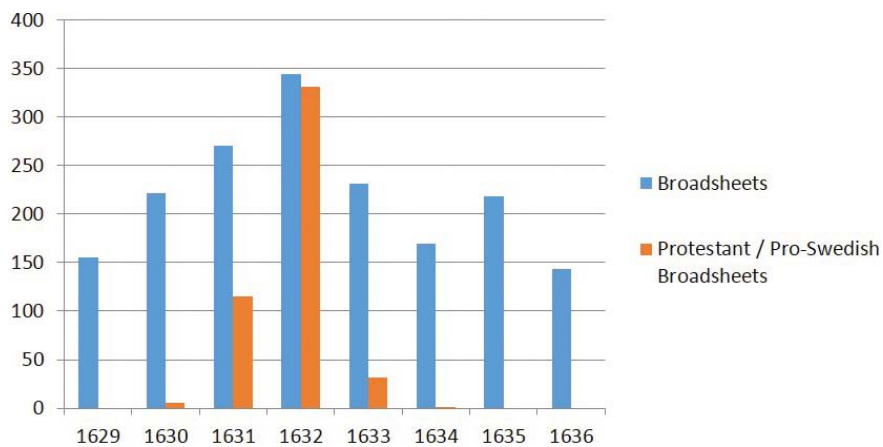


COLOUR PLATE III (CHAPTER 10)

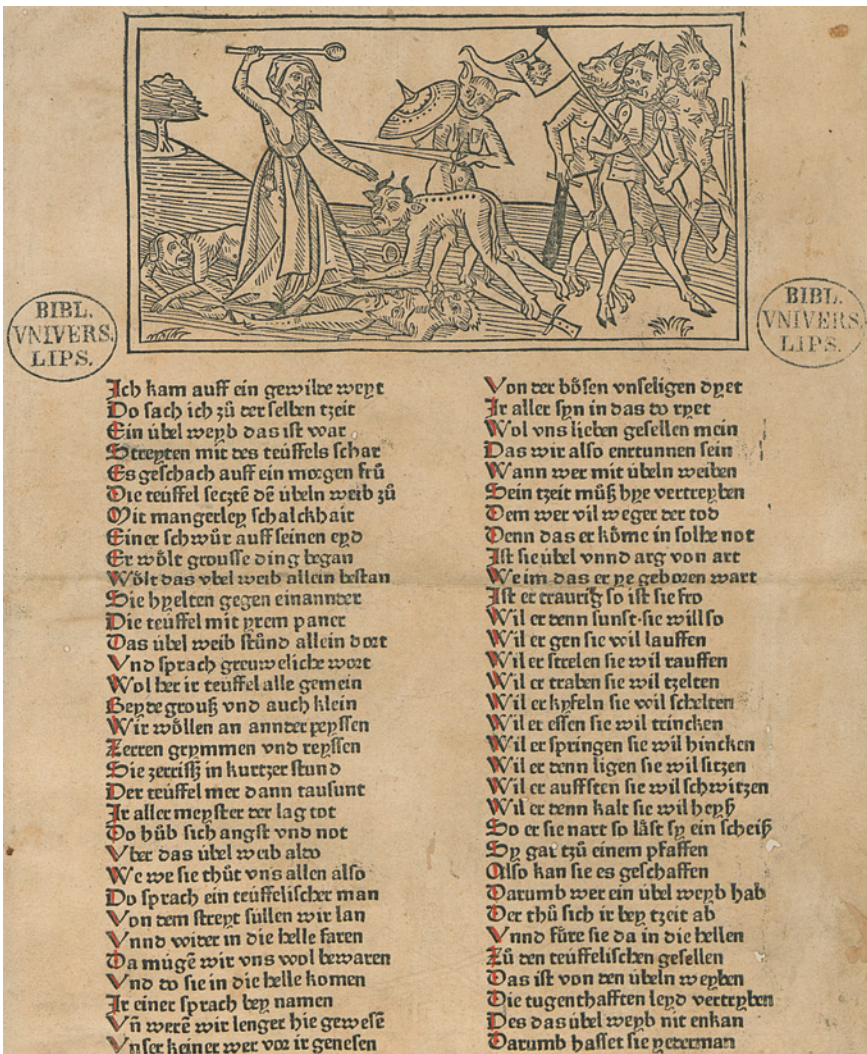
The issuing bodies of the Dutch broadsheet ordinances in the KB collection, 1601–1650.



COLOUR PLATE IV (CHAPTER 10) The topics of the Dutch broadsheet ordinances in the KB collection, 1601–1650.



COLOUR PLATE V (CHAPTER 12) German broadsheet production 1629–1636.



COLOUR PLATE VI (FIG. 17.2) *Ich kam auf eine Gefilde weit* (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, ca. 1475). 285 × 182 mm. USTC 749288.
LEIPZIG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ED.VET.S.A.M.1031.



COLOUR PLATE VII (FIG. 17.7) *Des Interims und Interimisten wahrhaftige abgemalte Figur* (Magdeburg: Pancratius Kempff, 1548). 266 × 365 mm. USTC 752088. NUREMBERG, GERMANISCHES NATIONAL MUSEUM, HB 235 KAPS. 1335.



COLOUR PLATE VIIIA (FIG 17.9A)



COLOUR PLATE VIIIB (FIG. 17.9B) Music table (ca. 1567)
GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, NUREMBERG,
HG 9412.

Ein erschröcklich geschicht Vom Tewfel vnd einer unholden/ beschehen zu Schiltre bey Rotweyl in der karwochen! AN. D. XXXiii Jar.



¶ Neue zeytung geschehen drey meyl von Rotweyl da ist ein Stedlein im Hornberger tal das heyszt Schiltre do ist der teufel in das selbig stetlein in ein Wirts hauss kummen /ist vngefarlich drey oder vyer tag im selbigen Wirts hauss gewesen / hat daselbst angefangen zu Trummen vñ Pfeysen in der Stußen vñ allenthalben im hauss man hat aber nichts sehen künden sonder so seltsam ding/ der gleichen vor nie/ gehört Es sind etlich abetwerrer kummen vñnd haben in wellen beschworen do hat der Teufel angefangen zu reden sie solle sein messig ghen/ Was sie in wellen besweren: sie seyn Götter dan er/ hat in gesagt was sie getho vñnd gestolen haben. Zu letzt hat er so vil mit de wiert geredt er soll die mayd auß de hauss tho er well im sunst das hauss verbiennen dann die mayd sey sein vñnd er soll ins mit auffhalten / do hat der wiert der mayd vñ lawß geben. Nach dem ist der Teufel hinweg gefaren hat zu wieder gesagt er soll sich dar zu rüsten er well im das hauss auff den geyenen Donnerstag in der karwochen verbrennen. Darnach auff di Grünen Donnerstag ist die mayd auff ein ofengabel gefessen ist in einer halben stund zwu meyl vñ Rotweyl ge Schiltach in das wieder hauss auff ein hewbaren gefaren /do ist der Teufel zu je kummen hat ein hefelein gepracht vñ zu je gesagt sie soll das hefelein vñschütten so wer es gleych als bünnen/ welchs so bald sie es getho ist es als bünnet worden. In de ist sie hinweg gen Oberndorff gefaren da ist von stundan das

hauss angangen vñnd das ganz Stedlein bis ondr ey kleine heyllein vngefarlich in ander halber stund gar verbrunne Aber vber die drey heufllein/ wie sie in der vergicht bekent hat der Teufel kein gewalt gehabt. Die zway sind zwayer armen gesellen geweest vñnd das drit eines dabey die armen vñnd was sunst niemants hat wellen beherbergē/ herberg gehabt haben. Wie solchs beschehe hat mā nach je gryffē sy gefecklich ange nime am Karfreitag zu Oberndorff/ vñ daselbst am mōtag vor sanct Gōrgē tag verbrent/ vñ sechs vñ dreyssig artickel verlesē die sie in ier vergicht bekent hat / fast schendlich schrecklich vñ schedliche ding wie sie vñnd leut verderbt vñ schaden zugefügt hat Achtzehē jar hat sie mit dem Teufel zugehalten vñnd ihr eygen mutter hat sie es selbst gelet.

Sölch erschrecklich geschicht solt vns bilich zuherzen ghen vñ zur besserung vnser lebens rayzen/ in ein rechten glauben gegen Got vñnd rhetiger lieb gegen dem nechste zuwandlē/ dieweil er vns vñnd vnser sündē willen so mit schrecklicher straff heym sucht/ Darbey auch erlernē/ wie vns Got imitten des vñls vñnd der straff behüten kan/ wie er auch Daniel in mitte der lewen vñnd die drey kinden im feurigen ofen vnuerletzt behüt hat/ damit wir auch in seiner forcht vñnd nach seinem willen wandlen/ auff das er vns nit einfür in verführung sonder behüt vns vor vñel vñnd verleych vns nach diesem leben das ewig Amen.

Steffan Hamer Buefmalere.

¶ Folget die geschichte / so zu Derneburg in der Graffschafft Keynstein am Harz
gelegen/ergangen ist/ Im October des 1555. Jars.

[illegible]

Getruckt zu Nürnberg bey Jörg Merkel/durch verleg Endres Zankel Botten.

Kurze Erzählung vnd Lirbildung der vbelthatten, welche
von Sechs personen/als einem Mann/seinem Eheweib/zweyen jrer beiden Söhnen/vnd zweyen anderen
Ihren Gefellen/begangen/was massen sie auch/an dem 29. Tag des Monats Juli/in dem 1600. Jar/in der kaiserlichen
Hauptstadt München/von dem Leben zum Tod gebracht worden / den Bösen zu einem Schicksel/den Frommen
aber zur Wahrung / für die Tugent gestell.

[illegible][illegible]

Getrud't zu Augspurg / bey Michael Manger / in Jacober Vorstatt.

COLOUR PLATE XI (FIG. 19.3)

*Kurze Erzöhlung vnd Fürbildung der vbelthatten / welche von
Sechs personen / als einem Mann / seinem Eheweib / zweyen
jrer Söhnen / vnd zweyen anderen Jhren Gesellen / begangen
(Augsburg, 1600)*

MUNICH, MÜNCHNER STADTMUSEUM, M I/320.



COLOUR PLATE XII (FIG. 19.4) Detail of Colour pl. XI.